

BROOCHES IN LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN BRITAIN



D. F. Mackreth

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BROOCHES IN LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN BRITAIN

D. F. Mackreth

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To Graham Webster who caused more trouble than he intended

Alternative views:

There once was a brooch in a barrow
Whose main part was long thin and narrow
The pin had come off
One end was a trough
And the other was shaped like a marrow.

(Miriam Mackreth act. 11)

Prologue

Why did I choose brooches to study? I can lay the blame firmly at the feet of Graham Webster who instigated the carefully tiered courses on excavation for amateurs at Wroxeter. The Advanced Course, last held in 1963, required the student to choose a class of object to study using what was, for those times, a good archaeological library assembled for the course. The intention was, no doubt, to illustrate the general difficulty in carrying out such a study in a short time with only a general library and no actual collections. I chose brooches on the grounds that they looked vaguely interesting and were certainly prettier than, say, horseshoes or tiles. The point about inadequacy of time and resources was quickly made.

In 1963 one had what was known to everyone as Camulodunum, now Hawkes and Hull 1947, and the chapter on brooches in Collingwood's *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* and that was that. Sir Ian Richmond's attempt to inject some sense into Collingwood's useless alphabetical system (Collingwood and Richmond 1969, Chapter 15) was well-intentioned but a failure: Collingwood did not use the whole alphabet and the term "Dolphin" has bedevilled the literature ever since. Thereafter, there were various excavation reports in which small finds were treated on a scale of good to bad, the former being at the level of Richborough IV and the latter being the Great Casterton excavations 1, 2 and 3 (Corder 1951, 1954 and 1961) in which small finds as such did not figure. There was, of course, Excavations at Camerton, Somerset (Wedlake 1958) which was both good and bad: there was a discussion at least by M. R. Hull, but the objects were very poorly illustrated. There were other reports in which the brooches were merely diagrams, so badly drawn that even a basic type could hardly be distinguished. It would be invidious to name any example – every student of any class of material will have come across such.

Using the library of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire, my local society, I began a card index on the small, and cheap, 5 by 3 inch size. I soon became aware that M. R. Hull had been working on brooches for thirty years with a view to publishing and, being sensitive of treading on toes, I asked Sir Ian Richmond, the then doyen of Romano-British studies, whether I should continue. His advice was to carry on. As I could not know what was going to be significant, I drew every item I came across and have never regretted the arduous labour. I was asked

why I did not resort to the camera; after all, I was familiar with the problems of photographing buildings, both inside and out. The reason was simple: a drawing can be given as many detailed views as are necessary and obscure detail made clear. Photographs are fine, but what is gained in initial speed is lost in subsequent study: photographs are less easy to sort than index cards. A drawing with notes was both much cheaper and more effective, and this is as true today as it was then.

After 500 items had been quickly gathered the road began to get harder. The amount of excavation carried out in the earlier 1960s was, in total area, minute compared with what was to follow in the 1970s and later. The production of excavation reports was limited and they were very small, nearly all going into county journals. Therefore, the only way forward was to visit museums and go through journal runs at a major library. I dealt with museums at Scunthorpe, Lincoln, Newark and Nottingham University, Cirencester and Devizes fairly rapidly, but there were constraints of cost and time. I only had a limited annual holiday, and sparse means. Although a member of the RAI with free access the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, I only really had the weekend to visit, which was not much use. As the 1960s progressed, I got sucked more and more into excavation and finally, I went to university. Thereafter, all was changed. The prime constraints of dealing with material still remain, but I was fortunate in being asked to report on newly excavated assemblages, and the flood of publication since 1970 has made life relatively easy. However, museum collections are still grossly under represented in my index, only that of the University Museum at Cambridge being an addition of any consequence.

By 1965 I knew that at least 2,000 brooches were needed before anything really useful could emerge from the material. I started a separate site index to record which brooches occurred on what sites. By 1975 features which had not been conceived ten years earlier in assemblages were beginning to show. The biggest groups of brooches proved to be the Colchester and its Derivatives. I decided to leave detailed classification until later and so grouped them under how the pins were mounted. Until then, "artistic" aspects were the chief means used to divide the material. My method was, in its way, just as arbitrary as putting all with bulbous foot-knobs, or all with enamel, together. The chief value of my method was that the technical aspect was safe: "Art" could wait. As it happens, by accident I had

stumbled upon a great truth, but brooches had already been classified as having hinged pins or springs mounted in the Polden Hill method etc., and everyone knew, of course, what a “Poor Man’s Brooch” was.

Once I had the 2,000 records, it was obvious that I would need at least 5,000 and then the figure became 10,000 and that is probably a fair base for study: new types are now excessively rare. More than 99% of the material coming my way can be slotted into existing categories and new sub-varieties are easier to spot and deal with. In the beginning I ignored the large Plate Brooch group and Penannulars. The first exclusion was unfortunate for those wanting reports naturally expected all brooches to be included. Penannulars I put off for much longer, Mrs Fowler’s paper being so easy to use, but I had to give in as I realised that, if dating had improved for all classes of material, then it would have also done so for Penannulars. Originally I had thought I would only deal with post-conquest brooches: “Iron Age” brooches could be ignored. This was an easy decision, it being commonly thought that the Colchester was a mainly post-conquest type, the dearth of published Iron Age collections hiding from view what was actually happening in the 100 to 150

years before A.D. 43. The acceleration in Iron Age studies since the middle 1960s has been such that it would take a very fool-hardy person indeed to insist that a political act in one particular year immediately changed what a society, governed by custom and tradition, wore.

This brings me to the limits set by this study. It covers what I call Late La Tène styles, the full Roman period and those elements amongst Penannulars which may or may not have had an influence on the styles which are undeniably post-Roman in every sense. Now that I have over 15,000 items, the need to accumulate more before committing myself to some positive views has gone. What follows is an attempt to bring order and sense to what can at times appear to be a mass of intractable and gradually rotting metal.

Lastly, let me apologise for having devised a monster of a classification system: brooches were made in their millions, types and variations came and went and we only have the pitiful remnants of a bewilderingly diverse scene. Somehow, the sheer range which can be detected has to be given a semblance of a system, a cloak of decent ordering. Whether I have succeeded depends upon the users of the system and to them I wish the best of luck.

Acknowledgements

It gives me great pleasure to mention a few friends or colleagues, among so many, who have sent me material without being solicited. Firstly, the late Dr. Grace Simpson, having undertaken the task of dealing with the Hull Corpus, sent me several of M. R. Hull's original drawings. Dr. Simpson also sent me copies of drawings of the South Cadbury brooches. Bill Milligan of Norwich Castle Museum is chiefly responsible, along with David Gurney, for filling in the once blank spaces of Norfolk. Ian Stead and Valery Rigby sent me copies of the drawings which appeared in Stead's (1976) account of excavations in Lincolnshire, as well as those at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986) and in the King Harry Lane cemetery (Stead and Rigby 1989). To have these before publication was invaluable, as has been acknowledged in many footnotes, although the slow rate of publication has meant that there are fewer of these in print than could have been the case. The same applies to Margaret Snape for permission to refer to her M. Phil thesis before it appeared in print (Snape 1993). Nick Griffiths has kept me supplied with items from almost the whole of the south of England, and Hilary Cool and Martin J. Dearne provided brooches from the

sparsely populated lands, as far as brooches are concerned, between the Humber and Hadrian's Wall. I am also grateful to Jeffrey May who supplied valuable material from the equally sparse lands of the Trent Valley. My thanks go to Nina Crummy for useful discussion, always to the point. Alas that Graham Webster did not live to receive a copy of the work he unwittingly inspired.

Christine, my wife, did more than just offer encouraging words. Had it not been for her numbering of the brooch index to form the master serial list for the database, I doubt if I would have begun to create that as soon as I did and her sub-editing skills have been invaluable. Thereafter, there was much sorting of bibliographical material as well as the more arduous chore of filling in fields in the database. As for bibliographic problems, I give my thanks to Adrian James of the Society of Antiquaries Library for dealing with tiresome *minutiae* which I had forgotten to add.

The original card indices of the brooches and sites, are deposited in the British Museum where they can be consulted. The locations, or collections, along with the names of known excavators and the bibliographical citation are on the attached CD-ROM.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Part 1. The Study

All the index cards were arranged initially by the way in which the pin was mounted. As I had only intended to study bow brooches, the Colchester came first, then followed the chief methods used in the Derivative forms and these were arranged by apparent increasing complexity. Therefore, the Rearhook came before the Harlow and that preceded the Polden Hill. Being a firm believer in typology and a sort of degeneration, I placed the hinged-pin brooches last. We will see how foolish this was in terms of absolute typology and how the degenerative principle can safely be ignored. Within each major group, I arranged the brooches in order of increasing complexity until, like St. Paul, the scales fell from my eyes. I have had few such moments of illumination, and only in earthly terms.

One such was when I discovered that Clarke's discussion of polythetic assemblages ([146] [] = no. in Bibliography, 37–38, 293–306) not only had relevance to brooches, but was actively useful. Needless to say, what is true of one group, type, sort or variety is not necessarily true of another. Certain fundamentals only became obvious when there were enough examples and I had begun to look in greater detail at the major publications of continental material. This is best exemplified in Plate brooches in which bilateral springs mounted either on a single or between double lugs (see Chapter 7) proved to be British by their much greater frequency here than on the continent where most with springs can be shown to be British types. This carries with it the entirely British phenomenon of white metal beading or rosettes (see Appendix 2). These were applied to the surface of an enamelled brooch so that the colours glint jewel-like in the depths of the silvered finish.

I only met Mr. Hull once, one weekday morning early in 1966, at the British Museum and he volunteered the information that he only really undertook the study of brooches in the hope that different types might define the areas occupied by individual British tribes based on what were then termed cantonal capitals. He said that he soon found that was not going to happen, but by then he had embarked on a major study and was not inclined to give it up.

My intentions were less high-minded, being concerned with the dating of the most common class of object found on sites after coins. The material from the Sheepen published by Hawkes and Hull [385] could be said to have had a limited time-span, but there was little guidance as to how accurate it was: what was common before the conquest

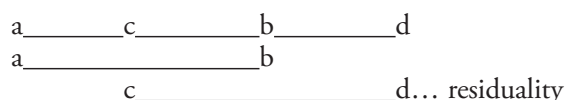
and after *c.* 65 was far from clear and, as subsequent work has shown, could not be adequately reflected on that site alone. Similarly, Collingwood's approach to dating [158] was heavily influenced by his philosophical viewpoint that brooches of good design are followed by cheap imitations. One's views are inevitably coloured by a subjective approach when faced with something outstanding like the Aesica Brooch. Definitely of first-class quality by whatever criteria one may choose, there can be different levels of craftsmanship within the mass of Aesica-Type brooches. Quality of finish could have been related to price and some products of a genuinely untalented worker should be expected in the archaeological record.

However that might be, I was primarily interested in establishing proper date-ranges while the size of the index remained small and in building up a framework for a basic typological study. It was, however, only with the increase in the publication of pre-conquest material that the relationship of truly Iron Age products with well known post-conquest brooch types could be seen. It was by looking mainly at the technical aspects of brooches that I could see that the very things that Hull had hoped to find was possible, not so much individual tribes, but culturally discrete assemblages dating back at least to the beginning of the first century. These are discussed in Chapter 11, Part 1.

In justifying the division of brooches on their technical aspects, one detail perfectly illustrates that no matter what influences worked on the artisan in producing a saleable article, the basic way in which the pin was fixed was so deeply ingrained in him that, as it seldom has any visual value, it would by preference be the method he was first taught. A demonstration of this lies in brooches with bilaterally sprung pins. When the brooch is viewed from the front, the spring coils out to the left and then returns via the chord to the extreme right-hand end to coil back to the centre and turns down to end in the pin. The alternative direction is taken by less than 1% of the brooches with this type of spring. Therefore, an absent spring can safely be restored this way. Even if nearly all Rearhooks (Chapter 3, Part 2) have lost their springs, it is noticeable that solder, or traces of it, is found behind the left-hand wing and occasionally behind the right-hand one. In other words, the spring, as far as the craftsman was concerned, had to return via the chord from left to right. This detail is to be seen on integral springs and on all Trumpets with a single lug system. If a brooch spring lies in pieces, the restorer should always follow the rule

that the spring coils out to the left first and the fragments will fall into place logically, providing not too many parts are missing. Whether the chord was external or internal the fragments often reveal this as well.

Part 2. Dating



This diagram seeks to show two principal things: **a** is when a brooch is first made, **b** is when it passes out of manufacture; **c** represents the point at which the brooch in manufacture begins to enter the archaeological record in sufficient numbers for an initial date to be arrived at by ordinary analysis of site finds; **d** represents the time after which only the rarest of survivors-in-use will still be seen. It follows that the general archaeological dating for a particular brooch is **c–d**. Thus, the true date for points **a** and **d** will be hard to assess.

Most brooches are found as part of the cultural debris on ordinary habitation sites and so must be treated as any other class of material. However, one class of site which can produce brooches has to be treated differently: cemeteries. The objects deposited as either grave goods or on the body follow different rules. A brooch deposited on the body itself may well bear a different relationship to the grave than one merely placed by the body. This, of course, should only really apply to inhumation burials, on the grounds that almost all material found in furnished cremations was clearly not in the pyre. In general, it should be accepted that grave goods stand more chance of being a purely contemporary group than miscellaneous site rubbish which will include differing quantities of residual material. Arguments based on the proposition that grandma's out-moded brooches would be discarded first should really only apply to graves containing grandmas: why should her belongings be held over to be placed with someone else and from whence would *her* grave goods have come? Although the dating used to arrive at the time when the burial was made, will be based upon normal archaeological criteria, the reality is that graves stand a better chance of falling with the period represented by **a–b** than **c–d**. But it must be admitted that there should be a fair number of graves which will actually belong to the period **b–d**, but they should be marked by a higher proportion of old and worn gear than others in the cemetery.

Furnished Iron Age and Roman cemeteries may, on the whole, be uncommon in the archaeological record, especially those which are large enough for some kind of internal chronology to appear. There are only two which really count at the moment: the King Harry Lane cemetery [675] and Lankhills, Winchester [147]. I shall have cause to discuss the dating of the former (Appendix 1) and the make-up of brooches in the latter (Chapter 11, Part 2).

The text is peppered with numbers in () brackets; these

are to specific brooches in the chief database each of which has a unique number. Sundry bar charts appear and these were constructed by assessing the length of time during which a brooch could have been deposited, in short the overall date of its context. The series is arranged in order of the earliest date of the context, the whole period appearing as a column with that base. Hence brooches from the Roman fort at Newstead are represented by bars running from 80–200, one for each brooch, the 80 determining where it stands in the whole of the group under examination.

In other words, the earliest date on the diagram stands a chance of representing point **a** in the diagram above. While that could lead to some discussion, what the best of the bar charts shows is the point at which brooches cease to be a regular part of the archaeological record. An orderly progression usually breaks down, frequently in the late second century or the early third and thereafter there are sporadic occurrences. Arguments based on the disruption of the archaeological record due to the difficulty of dating in the third-century have a certain validity, but it is noticeable how seldom a regular image emerges when dating becomes more reliable. It is the use of these charts which has enabled me to be fairly definite about the overall floruit of particular brooch types, and which demonstrates the peculiar nature of the terminal date of the Rearhook.

In the serial list given on the CD-ROM, the publication source of that particular brooch is given in the publication column a number in [] brackets which is that given to the relevant entry in the Bibliography

However, an element must remain about the Iron Age end of the spectrum. It is true that far more Roman sites have been excavated than Iron Age ones, although the gap is being narrowed. Iron Age material is bedevilled by a general lack of finds, compared with an equivalent Roman site away from the highland zones of Britain, compounded by what was a more effective system for recycling metal than was applied to the first 150–200 years of the Roman occupation.

Part 3. Typologies and Classification

The bug-bear for new students is the almost bewildering array of attributes which brooches can have. A purely formal approach (*e.g.*, [617]) will divide the available corpus into major groups, and number these, then subdivide into lesser major groups, and number those, and then finally detect sub-varieties which will also be numbered. The result is an intellectual triumph, but not memorable: how many people actually manage to remember more than, say, ten Almgren types? The difficulty in using standard terms is that many of these have a wide currency, but do not necessary provide a clear indication of their origin. The Hod Hill is one and the Langton Down ([756], 71–4, fig. 10) is a notorious other. Both are continental in manufacture, but neither has a satisfactory other name. As this book is about brooches in Britain, I shall unashamedly retain both

names. Thereafter, we have Colchesters and a few foreign names which are useful, such as Augenfibel, Nauheim and *Drahtfibel* ("Wire Brooch"), and these are also kept.

Of the three major divisions of brooches found in Britain, the earliest is Collingwood's alphabetical system which is rightly castigated, the next would have been a numbered series devised by the late Rex Hull and the last is one devised by Richard Hattatt, an indefatigable worker blessed with great perception. He tended to use names and accepted numbers, hence "Birdlip" and Type G Penannulars, but there is a limit to how memorable such a scheme would be if applied to a greater body of information, or even how the names should be arrived at. The student is presented with a dilemma and my way out of this morass is to use a combination of names and numbers, which, I fear, will prove to be intractable to many.

I have opted for names for major families, Colchester Derivative, Nauheim Derivative and the like, and names also for major sub-groups which cover scores of examples: here Rearhook and Harlow in Colchester Derivatives can be cited. Thereafter, numbers come into play as ultimately there is a residue in each major family difficult to divide into groups of truly associated versions in a single polythetic family. Future work by others should be able to refine by adding more examples and, with a bit of luck, the residue will become smaller and smaller as a percentage of the available corpus, even if actual numbers remain obstinately the same. The whole of the system is not set out here but will be found in Chapters 2–10 where the types and varieties are discussed.

Lastly, there is inevitably a residue of brooches which refuse to fit any category. These have been sorted into their most likely chapter and appear at the end of each as "Desperate Cases".

The reader, skimming through Chapters 2 to 10 may well be daunted by the enormous number of divisions which appear, but help is at hand in the Database. The simple names devised can in some instances be reduced to initials all of which derive easily from their designation. Thus Rearhook becomes RH, Colchester Derivative is CD and as for the Nauheim and the *Drahtfibel* Derivatives, these are ND and DD respectively. This *aide-memoire* is necessary as both have a Type 1 and it is only the letters of the abbreviated form which distinguishes them on the accompanying CD-ROM. As the basic database has a sort engine, it will be easy to isolate all the examples of any particular major Type and each sub-variety. The same engine can be used for arriving at site assemblages. The CD-ROM has a simple listing of these abbreviations and the chapters and sub-sections where the relevant items are to be found.

Part 4. Selection and Bias

There has been little exclusion from what was to go into the Corpus beyond the obvious one of fragments of spring and pin. The major bias in selection caused by not dealing

with Plate brooches and Penannulars from the beginning became statistically less significant as the index grew.

However, I have had no real choice over the areas which have favoured me with material for report. Taking East Anglia, I have seen a lot of brooches recovered by metal detectors and which came to me through the good offices of Bill Milligan of the Castle Museum Norwich. I have picked up, inevitably, a fair amount of major published material from Essex, but Suffolk in comparison is like a black hole. Otherwise, the rest of England south of the Dee–Humber line is covered patchily but probably effectively, which is more than can be said for the lands north of that line. I have material from parts of South Wales, but even allowing that Wales has produced little, North Wales is under represented. Margaret Snape has kindly made available the items recorded by her from the forts of the Stanegate and there are groups of useful material from parts of Hadrian's Wall. However, there is a major imbalance in the assemblages north of the Dee–Humber line: nearly all of it comes from Roman military sites, the Caves of Derbyshire and Yorkshire being honourable exceptions.

Whereas in the southern parts of England there is a fair mixture of material from town, villa and purely rural settlement, assemblages from the north come firstly from forts and a lagging second from town or vicus. Practically nothing has been recorded from plain rural sites. It is possible that this really represents the quantity of material to be expected from such sites, but the truth is more likely that the information is masked by a lack of excavation. This may be a serious omission and as such severely limits the value of any discussion dealing with brooch wearing in the third and fourth centuries, if not earlier.

Practically all items in the Corpus have been published in one way or another – individual excavation reports, papers in journals, or as notes – and this is a surprising state of affairs given that so little had been published before 1960. In other words, there has been a revolution in how small finds are treated. It is no longer acceptable to publish excavation reports, such as those on the Great Casterton town and villa, in which a few items of interest to the editor get a mention and the bulk is passed over in silence. Even if financial constraints prevent full publication in letterpress or microfiche, there is usually a statement saying where an archive can be consulted. But, and it is a big one, outside fortunate publications, what is selected for illustration can be quite arbitrary. If the item is enamelled, it is often described in conversation as being "pretty" or "nice", so much so that the latter term has become, for me, shorthand for a Plate brooch of second-century date. Similarly, the Nauheim and *Drahtfibel* Derivatives tend to get short shrift. The matter is aggravated when it comes to individual notes, which tend to be of the "An unusual triple-bowed exotic zoöomorphic fibula" type. If one relies only on publications, then this sort of bias is bound to affect the perception of what is common. It is assemblages of "common" brooches which need to be

published. In fact, one report of mine [495] was nearly turned down for a publication grant on those grounds, yet it is precisely because they were ordinary that they needed to be published in a region in which publications had failed to show what was commonplace.

The same general point can be made about museums where, outside collections derived from modern excavations, the dead hand of “taste” had removed virtually all iron brooches and the Nauheim and Drahtfibel Derivatives as they were visually unattractive and hence not worth exhibiting. The British Museum Collection, outside its site-specific assemblages, is a glaring example of one built up on the basis of attraction rather than being typical. As can be imagined, it has a much higher percentage of enamelled brooches than any site assemblage would warrant. Many another type will have suffered by being passed over on no rational basis, except what was attractive to a museum curator who may well have been more familiar with medieval alabasters, nineteenth-century corsets or every variety of gun from one manufacturer than with any archaeological material. Those of us who have been known to get our hands dirty are probably still regarded by museum curators as scrabblers in mud: an otherwise admirable man in charge of the Castle Museum at Nottingham said in a public address “Archaeologists concern themselves with things which our ancestors, quite rightly, threw away”.

My greatest regret is that there is now almost no chance of building up a corpus which includes the bulk of brooches above ground. In the “old days”, this was a feasible proposition, given a private income, as nearly every brooch lurked in a museum collection and, if from an excavation, was likely to be published. However, the explosion in the use of metal-detectors, despite the protestations of the highest of motives, has meant that sites are daily plundered and the number of unprovenanced brooches is going to become a severe embarrassment to the student in the future: I have details of some private collections, and the sites which have produced the items which, in fifty years’ time, will probably be the only record. Many museums see items collected in this way and there are people who record in one way, frequently badly, what is brought in, but there is no time to travel round every museum and pick up these details. The Portable Antiquities Scheme is a brave attempt.

Part 5. Materials and Manufacture

In theory any material which can be made stiff enough to form a bow and pin can be used but, in reality, only metals are known, even lead (Chapter 3, Part 3). The commonest surviving metal is a copper alloy, the next commonest is iron and the rarest are, naturally, gold and silver. Iron is almost certainly under represented in the archaeological record, its manner of corrosion easily reducing it to shapeless lumps of basic soil bound by migrated iron compounds. X-ray is almost always needed

to establish what an object had been and it is only in recent times that collections of corroded iron have been subjected to systematic study with the consequent increase in the numbers of known iron brooches. However, it can be demonstrated that the extensive use of iron was a cultural phenomenon quickly coming to an end in the Early Roman period, possibly as the result of the change from forging brooches in favour of casting. It would have been harder to produce a sophisticated shape this way, yet the Involute series of La Tène II Brooches ([415], 156–70, pls 46–9) shows that there were no fears or clumsiness in doing just that. The finished product would have gleamed like silver at a distance and may have had to have been oiled to prevent rust.

Copper alloys have been subjected to the greatest study, and there is no need to discuss them as they have been more than adequately covered by Justine Bayley ([45], 12–25) who has also dealt with the basic decorative techniques used (*ibid.* 26–51). It is worth adding, however, that enamelling is known on iron, both in the Iron Age in the case of swords ([673], 66–70, figs 51–3, frontispiece) and in one workshop in the Roman period ([71], 26, 31–4, 84).

The chief types of brooch forged from rolled or folded sheet are, naturally, the simplest forms: the Penannular and the basic Nauheim or Drahtfibel Derivatives. It is more than likely that the technique was used for the parent types themselves, but they occur so seldom that the chance to check this in Britain has not really arisen. The technique, however, was used for a major British school operating in the South West (Chapter 2, Part 5). Certain other types (Chapter 3, Part 3, Type 2.a) would seem to be suitable for the use of the same technique, but although there is evidence for hand-finishing, they were undoubtedly cast and the cast parts of the scabbard of the Peterborough Sword (Orton Meadows: Stead in Mackreth forthcoming) show that relatively large castings with very thin sections were no problem to Iron Age craftsmen and, therefore, should not have been to those trained in the same basic tradition.

Only rarely does one come across a brooch type which can use sheet metal to form hollow sections to form the whole of the major part of a brooch (Chapter 4, Part 2, Type 1.e; Chapter 9, Type 2.6). In the first instance it is probable that the use of folded or rolled sheet metal was so extensive that the craftsmen using it did not know how to produce the sturdy sections found on many Colchester Derivatives. It is also surely significant that it is in this group that one finds false springs in which the hinged pins normal for the region were mounted. In the second, the argument is that the use of sheet metal was to reduce the weight greatly so that the brooch could be worn with a delicate textile (Chapter 11).

In the early stages in the development of the Rosette or Langton Down we come to the transition from a purely forged technique to a cast one. In British brooches the same transition shows best in the Colchester. I have not noticed a single Colchester definitely made from rolled or folded sheet metal, but most show that there had been

extensive forging to achieve the finished product. The evidence fits the examples of cast Colchester blanks from Baldock ([674], 122–3, fig. 50, 160), but also suspected from Odell (excavations, B. Dix, unpublished) and Ashton (excavations, J. Hadman, S. Upex and B. Dix, unpublished). These show that the beginnings of the catch-plate are there: incipient wings; a very crudely indicated catch-plate; thick bars which were to be worked up into hook and spring. The blank was straight with the stalks for the spring and hook pointing upwards. The shape of the bow and especially the bend at the top of the profile had to be fully forged and this accounts for the tell-tale marks probably of an anvil along the back of the bow. The catch-plate frequently has its junction with the bow marked by tools which helped to form it and all the piercings have to be punched through. On a poorly finished Colchester it can be seen that these were always punched through from the right, when the brooch is viewed from the front.

The die block makes a definite appearance, as analysis of Aucissas at Augst has shown ([617], 36) the bow and the head-plate were made separately and then joined. The development of the Rosette in the second half of the 1st century B.C. should be another example of the way in which the decoration on the bow is frequently repeated on the fantail foot. However, rather than hammering the casting into the die block, it is possible that a block was stamped on to the casting itself, the first method has the block on a bench, the second has the casting on the bench instead.

The only brooch mould which fully allows the technique for casting brooches to be seen is the unused one from Prestatyn ([71], 87–8, 96, fig. 39, 20, pl. XIX). The mould demonstrates two things, firstly how to produce a series of moulds from a single pattern, and, secondly, that the result was a casting which needed extensive hand work to achieve the final result. The pattern has a projection which marks the gate by which the metal will enter the mould. The split in the mould shows that half the pattern was invested in clay and the keying for the other half was made by pressing a stick or rod into the intended joint line repeatedly so that the depressions radiate from the pattern. A parting material such as fine sand would be placed on the joint line before the second part was formed. On removing the pattern, the two parts were joined and smeared round with wet clay to bind the two.

The dried moulds would be baked to drive out any remaining moisture. A series of moulds would be cast together and it would be the merest chance that one was not used and was then preserved to be found under modern archaeological conditions. Once the castings had cooled down, the clay would be knocked off thus accounting for the tiny pieces usually found. More often than not the actual surface of the mould comes away from the body and is lost when the casting is cleaned and fettled. This term means the removal of blips arising from metal penetrating air holes in the mould, the flash along the joint lines, and the down gate. These are all

excrescences on the finished product and all provide new metal for further items. It is worth the thought that the filings resulting from fine-finishing were also carefully collected, a detail which has great point when working in precious metals.

It is legitimate to ask what material was used most often for patterns. Wood is possible, clay unlikely, but the most likely because of its ease of working may have been lead. A pattern from Donington, Salop, (9825) and another from Poole Cavern are just two examples. The first was for a brooch belonging to one of the Polden Hill Dophins (Chapter 3, Part 3, Type 4.b) where the indications were for the gate to have been at what we call the foot. The other belonged to the Wroxeter type (Chapter 4, Type 1.b3: brooch 5676).

Norfolk has produced two examples of metal moulds for brooches. The more extensive find was at Old Buckenham (Plate 36) where several mould halves were found for a type of Harlow [46]. The other is a single valve which came from Felmingham (Plate 38, [47]) and was for a type of Rearhook (Chapter 3, Part 2, introduction). It may not be a coincidence that both finds are from the lands of the Icenii, a tribe which seems to have had a high level of metal-working skills. Obviously there were sets of moulds, and each was re-usable. The Old Buckenham finds, with the other scraps, could be described as part of a metalworker's baggage lost in transit. How common such moulds may have been will never be known for they were in themselves a valuable resource and usually melted down.

One way of perpetuating designs, or creating more patterns, would have been to use castings themselves as patterns. How often this took place is difficult to say. Metal contracts as it cools so any new brooch made from an old one would be measurably smaller, and lighter, than its parent. In the discussion of specific types, the sizes are given and the ingenious reader is invited to explore the possibility.

The brooch as found is usually a green colour, the result of corrosion after long burial. In some instances the finish is very smooth and polished and this is more often found on forged brooches than any other and may be related not so much to the alloy used, but to the crystal structure after forging and, possibly, annealing. Cast brooches seldom needed heat treatment to correct any brittleness. At base, the original brooch would have gleamed like gold and occasionally the exceptionally preserved remains of this have fooled people into thinking that the brooch is either gilded or even of gold. Inspection under a $\times 10$ magnifying glass should be enough to reveal the mistake as nothing can disguise the brilliant yellow of real gold. The commonest finish applied to a brooch to remove its basic yellow colour is tinning ([45] 41–2) to give a silvery finish and it is noticeable that gold is rarely used for brooches in the first and second centuries, whereas silver is occasionally found. However, silver parcel-gilt is known [83]. Tin was itself used differentially to produce the same effect and the commonest type to show this is the Hod Hill (see Chapter

6, Part 2), but it has only seldom come to notice because so few Hod Hills survive in a good enough state for those with partial tinning to stand a chance of being noticed.

Silver Sulphide or niello was used in two main periods. The earlier is the middle of the first century A.D. where it is found providing an inlaid contrast to the popular imitation silver provided by tin. The material was applied as a powder, heated and, on fusion, polished to continue the sheen imparted by the tinning. The material is frequently met on Hod Hills (Chapter 6, Part 2) and on some Plate brooches, especially those of Feugère's Atelier C (Chapter 7, Part 3, Type 7.3). I have not found niello in use with any other finish except in its second period of favour when it was used in conjunction with gold or gilding in the fourth century (Chapter 9, Part 2) and reflected current taste in high class table ware such as that in the Kaiseraugst Treasure.

Enamelling is by far the most obvious decorative finish. There are occasionally traces that it had been used on the fully developed Langton Downs and Rosettes of the Augustan-Tiberian period (Chapter 2, Parts 1 and 2) with enough technical know-how to produce bead-rows, but there is no evidence that it had been used on pre-conquest brooches of the British Late La Tène tradition.

The earliest finish found on British brooches, other than the plain metal of the brooch itself, is tinning, and enamelling makes a fitful start in the decade 60–70 (Chapter 4, Part 2, Type 3.a). The earliest colour in use is red, in common with pre-conquest preferences, but a second colour becomes almost *de rigueur* very soon and the commonest contrasting one is blue, hence the use of red and blue almost as standard on enamelled Headstuds (*ibid.*, Type 5.a) and on some types of Plate brooch such as the British Domed series (Chapter 7, Part 1, Type 6.a). A silvery finish and enamel are very seldom found together almost certainly because of the higher temperatures needed to fire the enamel paste than for the washing of the surface of the brooch with tin.

Although it is generally safe to consider enamelling as a second-century phenomenon, it is sufficiently common in the last quarter of the first century for it to be a mistake to assign all enamelling to the later period. A further development can be seen in the use of silica-based materials. In a few instances it can be seen that the enamel was prefabricated and then applied as a kind of *opus sectile*. In such cases, it was laid on a bed of powdered enamel which was then fused together with the base metal and the surface enamel pieces to hold all together (*e.g.* brooch 5619 in Chapter 4, Part 3). Red appears to have been the commonest colour used as the “glue”. Glass canes were also prepared and then thin-sliced to be inserted into a contrasting matrix which helped to keep them in position. The canes were sometimes only a thin rod of a single colour, frequently black or white, and were used to provide dots of colour and on one type of Plate brooch formed a hob-nail pattern on the sole of an item of foot-wear (Chapter 7, Part 3, Type 1.1b, Pl.123).

All the brooch examples I have seen with these simple glass canes are continental in origin, but this does not apply to the most elaborate form of this technique: millefiore. Canes of this were formed on the same principle to make sea-side rock: blocks of colour were combined in a crude block in the pattern required and then the block was worked so that it became very thin and long, the pattern being perfectly reduced as though the block had been through a true extrusion process. Slices of millefiore were most often floated in a matrix which provided the “glue” needed as well as a contrasting background (*e.g.*, Chapter 7, Part 2, Type 8.a). Even when millefiore alternated with plain enamel, it can be seen that the latter is still acting as the fixing agent (*ibid.*). Where the entire field is filled with millefiore, it should be assumed that a plain enamel has been used underneath to fuse the whole together.

The introduction of glass dots was obviously secondary to the initial mass use of enamel itself. It also seems to be clear that millefiore is later still and that the conversion from mixed millefiore and enamel to all millefiore is again a chronological one. In other words, the disappearance of enamel as a finish in its own right ceases to be a puzzle if it had in fact been naturally superseded by a different effect. When fashion turned against that in its turn, enamel or slices from canes, or glass in prefabricated paste gems, passed completely out of use.

The ultimate in the use of silica-based materials was the direct imitation of precious or semi-precious stones. There was, when it comes to their use on the brooches I have seen, no real attempt to fool anyone, it being the simulation alone which mattered. Two types of fake can be seen, the intaglio and the cabochon gem. Both are frequent on only one main sequence of brooches and this happens to be British, the round/oval, enamelled/gilded group (see Chapter 7, part 1, Type 3.b2). The detailed discussion makes it clear that there is a problem about what usually filled the central cell on the enamelled series: I am not sure that enough glass intaglios have been found for these to have been the normal case. As intaglios occur on the gilded part of the series, I see them marking the transition between the two parts as there can be no doubt that enamelling ceased entirely when gilding was introduced. Brooches from this end of the line nearly always have a conical glass gem in the centre, frequently black in appearance, although the glass seems always to have been a very dark red purple, sometimes marbled and rarely entirely of any other colour.

The nearest I have come to a silver-plated brooch was a Trumpet in Rowley's House Museum, Shrewsbury, but it was so coated with sticky varnish that the details of the brooch were obscured. The closest I have seen to the common use of silver as a plating medium has been in the extensive use of white metal trim on a host of brooch types, all British (see Appendix 2 for its dating). The trim is not plating as such. It is a prefabricated decoration usually in the form of beaded strips, or rosettes, or twisted wire wound into cones (Chapter 8, Part 2, *passim*).

The decoration was soldered to the brooch whose base metal was frequently allowed to show and thus giving the appearance of silver parcel gilt. In other instances, it was applied to the borders and reserved areas on flat plate brooches whose surface was almost entirely given over to enamel. In these cases, the polished fresh enamel would have gleamed like jewels set in an encrusted setting (Chapter 7, Part 1, Type 2).

The sheet used was very thin and it is hardly surprising that it so seldom survives. Usually its former presence is detectable by the presence of strips of a dull grey wash, the remains of the solder used to hold it in place, and it is the observation of the layout of the solder which allows many schemes to be restored from the few fragmentary traces occasionally found.

Gilding is another matter. The chief techniques would be the use of mercury gilding on an almost pure copper base, and evidence has been found for its use in Britain [810]. Perhaps significantly the technique at large seems to belong to date after the early third century. Unfortunately, little proper analysis seems to have been done on the base metals of brooches of the gilded round/oval plate brooches (Chapter 7, Type 3.b) and the Crossbow sequence. Occasionally, the bare base metal of a Crossbow can be seen to have a red colour which suggests that it was basically a copper and this could make such brooches more suitable for mercury gilding. However, it seems most unlikely that the members of the round/oval gilded school were also of an almost pure copper: they all, when well enough preserved, have a tinned back and it is possible that the fronts were also tinned in the hopes that the gold would adhere more easily.

Thereafter, there are a series of mechanical decorative effects. The commonest stamps are simple dots which occur too often for any particular type to be singled out. The next most common are the concentric circles which are also too frequent for any type to be picked out, but honourable mention must be made of a hugely popular continental strain (Chapter 7, Part 2, Type 1). A series of small stamps in triangles or short propeller forms to be filled with enamel; leaves or Christmas trees to be filled with niello can be found on other Continental forms (*ibid.*, Type 2). However, the most varied collection are those to be found on Type 3.b of British Plate brooches gathered on figure 2.

Part 6. The Illustrations

The index numbered over 15000 entries when the list was closed for this book on June 28th, 2004. It had been obvious for at least two decades that it was unrealistic to think that the index could be published as a single, fully illustrated Corpus. The end product would have been hopelessly expensive and repetition of almost identical examples inexpressibly tedious. Even so, the number of those selected for publication stands at 2093. This I regard as the minimum number required to cover all the points which I have to make and to show sufficient differing varieties. Note: those brooches on the **Plates** marked by * are the most common varieties so far identified. Those in the **Text** marked by * are the ones actually illustrated.

Ordinarily, it would be difficult to spot which are the commonest forms of main types or their main sub-varieties without constantly referring to the text. While I hope, of course, that the text will be useful, the casual reader who is hoping to get a basic grasp of the subject will need a little help. The reader will have to bear in mind that the moment the list of entries for this book is closed, some site will produce an assemblage which will identify what is currently a lone example as being a genuine sub-group or major variety. Unfortunately, the onus will be on the reader to look out for such examples. The bulk of the brooches in the index has been published, one way or another, even if an exceptionally well-equipped library is needed to find them. I have consciously tried to select for illustration examples which have *not* been published and which stand little chance of being so, whether from reputable excavations or from private collections. People like Richard Hattatt are all too rare and with the general despoiling of archaeological sites by users of metal detectors, private collections are now numerous and, when broken up, their contents will add to a growing body of material without provenance and, therefore, of diminished use.

The original card indices of the brooches and sites, are deposited in the British Museum. The locations, or collections, along with the names of known excavators and the bibliographical citation are on the attached CD-ROM.

A note on using the CD-ROM

The database contained on the CD-ROM that accompanies this volume is a Microsoft Access database and readers will need Microsoft Access to be able to query it. Mac users will need to load the software provided but will only be able to conduct simple searches not full queries.

Note: All dates are A.D., unless otherwise specified. Those before and straddling the Great Divide are given with both indications.

Chapter 2. Late La Tène, Britain and the Continent

Plates 1–30

Here are all those chief groups of brooches which were to be found in Britain between the earlier part of the first century B.C., some perhaps a little earlier, and the latter part of the first century A.D. The longest sequences are the Nauheim–Nauheim Derivative and *Drahtfibel*–*Drahtfibel* Derivative, the former being the larger. Also included is a group of brooches which are related but do not form any part of those sequences: they are the “*etc.*” in Part 1.

The purely continental types, The Rosette and Langton Down, did not give rise to large families of British copies or Derivatives. However, the Aesica of Part 4 and the Durotrigan Type of Chapter 6, Part 3, are offspring.

The Colchester derives from a continental form, but those made on the continent were never common in Britain and the form quickly became “native” and was the *fons et origo* of the bulk of British brooches in the latter part of the first century and well into the second century.

The Aesica is purely native owing only its general form to the Rosette: there is no slavish copying, principally because the methods of manufacture were different. The Glastonbury is a blip on the horizon: it appears to be purely British, but owes a lot to earlier forms of La Tène types.

The brooches of the King Harry Lane cemetery [675] are scattered throughout this chapter. As this is a very important and dated site, they occur in the sections on dating where only the phase in the excavation report is given: the dating of these phases is discussed in Appendix 1. These brooch types stand at the very beginning of the La Tène III series and have a spring system differing from earlier types whose integral springs coiled to one side only of the central axis of the bow. The novelty of the new types was that the spring was bilateral; it was evenly divided on either side of the axis, the two parts being joined by a chord. Almost invariably the initial coils were on the left-hand side when the brooch is looked at from the front, the chord crossing from the extreme left to the extreme right-hand side before the spring coils back to the centre. Therefore, the open face of the catch-plate was also on the right.

La Tène I brooches have a foot which generally turned up at an angle to the axis of the pin. The La Tène II brooch has the foot returned and tied to the bow either by a collar or by a wrap-round. The La Tène III family has the catch-plate as an integral part of the bow, there being no turned up foot. The collar, or wrap-round, is subsumed into the bow, but often survives as an ornamental feature. The last

change marking the break between the La Tène II and the La Tène III is related to the spring. The La Tène II chord was always external and untrammelled. With the La Tène III, the chord was moved so that it lay at right angles to the pin, and fairly quickly became internal, i.e. running under the head of the bow. Alternatively, as we shall see in Part 3, it was held by a forward-facing hook.

This is a brief summary, and the fact that Britain produced several varieties which used hinged pins does not detract from the overall development, any more than the Involute Series ([385], Type 2Cb) which reverses the curve of the bow and can have a hinged pin, destroys what has been said. The three chief types forming Part 1 of this chapter all begin with external chords and end with internal ones and arguments that such a development may not be allowed to influence chronology are, in the writer's view, misplaced. The last section of the chapter is devoted to an aberration which rightly belongs here, but whose origins and influence need to be discussed.

Part 1. The Stead, Birdlip, Nauheim and *Drahtfibel* Group, *etc.*

[Late La T, N, ND, D, DD]

The Stead [Late La T]

Ian Stead [668], in studying the Iron Age, looked for something to act as a kind of marker for a horizon amongst the objects belonging to the Later pre-Roman Iron Age and chose brooches. His discussion sought to bypass the refined discussion of isolated rare items decorated in a distinctive style by seeking the more common found in association with other objects. However, ordinary archaeological sites so rarely yield such associations that brooches had hitherto been seen to be relatively useless. His was the first useful attempt to inject sense into this body of material whose examples, while never common, are frequent enough to serve as a class of object capable of useful sub-division. His study helped to define both the earlier phases and the end of the period. Since his paper, both the King Harry Lane [675] and the Westhampnett cemeteries [277] have been published.

I have, of course, not followed Dr. Stead absolutely, but used his basic criteria and have also abandoned the use of “belgic”, to define an overall type probably covering more elements than he would then have allowed. Stead was

unwilling to accept that the external chord, a *typologically* early feature, had any real value in dating terms ([668], 410). A problem in dealing with a large class of object, such as brooches, is that a large number of sub-divisions needs some form of designation to render part of the whole mass intelligible. Numbers beyond a certain point are not easily memorised, hence the tendency to name a chief type after what is taken to be a type-site, but in the present case, not one is convenient for the whole. To call it “Imitation La Tène II” is too clumsy, even if the collar was important. Therefore, as Dr. Stead was the first to deal with it in this country, I decided to attach his name to it. Perhaps he will take it as a compliment to his contribution to Iron Age studies in Britain and beyond.

An interesting feature which results from identifying a new basic type is the way in which new examples grow at a rate seemingly out of all proportion to the actual ratio of the type to its near neighbours. The tendency is also to add more and more because there is no other obvious home for them. The absolute cut-off here is that brooches only having grooves across the bow have no home here (see Type 3.a1 in Nauheim Derivatives).

There is no extended discussion of dating; there is perhaps not enough evidence yet to sustain one. When Stead published his study the date-range offered, c.50 B.C.–A.D. 50, was eminently reasonable, but there is now some evidence to suggest that it begins and ends too late. The most convenient guide is the King Harry Lane cemetery, the most important site published to date for the period just before the Roman conquest [675]. There, the relevant brooches are, with notes on the form of the head and style of catch-plate: Phase 1, g270.4, trumpet and fretting; Phase 3, g124.4, trumpet and fretting. Amongst so many, the rarity of brooches belonging to the main British brooch series before the appearance of the Colchester, suggests that the bulk should be earlier than the date of the cemetery whose inception should be carried back to c.15 B.C. (see Appendix 1).

The arrangement of the brooches in this section is not by any perceived succession, but by discrete groups. Only after these have been identified, along with the limited dating evidence, is any consideration of possible trends looked at (see after Birdlips, Type 4). At best, there are several strands, and there is some interaction.

The spring usually has four coils and an internal chord. However, there is a significant number with external chords which help to divide the series into groups. The bow tends to be long, almost straight in profile with a marked bend at the head, and is generally very thin. The defining feature is decoration at or near the top of the bow which obviously owes its origin to the collar of the La Tène II. There is usually some kind of step between the bow proper and the spring, and the head may even be expanded roughly in the form of the mouth of a trumpet. The catch-plate tends to be very tall in proportion to its width, frequently making the return almost parallel with the bow, but there are also framed catch-plates which are

almost certainly a good chronological marker. Decoration is to be expected on the copper alloy examples and may be either elaborate fretting or piercing with circles, the latter normally late in the series.

1.a Plate 1. The spring usually has four coils, although three-coil examples are known (*e.g.* 3758), the chord may be external or internal, the former usually occurring with framed catch-plates, and these may have piercings divided by dog-legs or fretted bars, or may even be solid. What they must all have is a moulded decoration on the bow which runs all the way round and has a recognizably bulbous central element. The mouldings may be either at the top of the catch-plate or at the top of the main bow before it bends to become the spring. The bow above the moulding may be slightly expanded.

1.a1. The chord is external; all have bulbous mouldings with smaller ones on each side. The catch-plates probably all had shaped bars across them, 3742*, but smaller ones such as 3748 had undivided framed catch-plates. 2907, one of a pair, lies in limbo in that both have lost the moulded decoration. They are placed here without great emphasis.

2907 a pair, 2917 a pair, 2934 a pair, 3741 3742* 3743 3745 3747–8

Dating: 2907 2917 2934, Westhampnett cemetery, 90–50 B.C.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 11111 SOM 11 DEVON 1 ESSEX 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1

1.a2. As the last, but the chord is internal. Again there is the suspicion that large brooches had shaped bars dividing the pierced catch-plate, the smaller ones being just framed. All here have pierced catch-plates. 2902 from the Westhampnett cemetery was one of a pair. Neither had a surviving spring and both might have been 1.a1. 14924* has all the appearance of being a La Tène II.

2902 2950 3045 3746 3754* 3756 3757* 3758–60 13674 14924*

Dating: 2902 Westhampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 13674 Salford, 50–10 B.C.; 3746 Kelvedon, late 1st century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.; 14924* Silchester, 40–50/60.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 11 SOM 11 ESSEX 11 BEDS 1 CAMBS 11

1.a3. The catch-plate is solid, otherwise the rest is the same. 3749* 3751–3

Dating: 3753 Canterbury, 79/80–300/320.

Distribution: KT 1 ESSEX 1 LEICS 1 E MIDL 1

1.b. Plates 1–2. Very like 1.a, the mouldings are applied to the front or front and sides, but not the back of the bow. The items gathered here are arranged according to the same criteria used for 1.a.

1.b1. The chord is external. The catch-plates are framed, even when the brooch is as large as those in 1.a1 which have

shaped bars. Both 3707 and 3731* would, had there been no mouldings, have been classified as either Nauheims or at least proto-Nauheims because of the shape and decoration on the upper bow. The odd one out is 2959* which has a solid catch-plate and an external chord which dips down in front more than is usual; the decorative moulding has slipped to just above the catch-plate.

2959* 3704 3707 3730 3731* 3732 12205 13669* 13671 14923 / 3705 13670

Dating: 14923 Silchester, 50/60–80.

However, the probable associations with the Nauheim series suggest that the dating is the earlier part of the first century B.C. and not the later.

Distribution: KT 111 HANTS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 BEDS 1 NORF 1 NHANTS 111 WALES 1

1.b2. The chord is internal. Again all the catch-plates, where they survive, are or show signs of having been framed. Those after / have a ridge down the bow under the mouldings. 3734 in iron has a less well defined opening in the catch-plate, probably the result of using iron. It is a moot point whether 3761 and 1762* (Plate 76) should be here: Type 2 is defined as having an incipient or full trumpet head. The distinction made is between what are really shoulders here and a trumpet which in its most primitive form has a deliberate expansion just before the spring.

2904 2949* 3044 3710 3727–9 3733* 3734 3738–40 3744 14922 / 3735* 3761 3762* 3763 14921

Dating: 2904 Westhampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 3738 Maiden Castle, c.50 B.C.–A.D. 20; 3744 Kelvedon, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 43; 3728 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 14922 Silchester, 125–3rd century; 3739 Baldock, 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1111 DORS 111 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11111 GLOS 1 CAMBS 11 Lincs 1

1.b3. The bow ornament does not run round and the catch-plate is solid. 3736* is in iron, and that may account for the solid catch-plate. 14925 may have had a pierced catch-plate, but the length of the bow beneath the mouldings is against this.

3718 3736* 12206 13673 14925

Dating: 14925 Silchester, 40–50/60.

Distribution: HANTS 1 OXON 1 GLOS 1 CAMBS 1 Lincs 1

2. The Trumpet Head. Plates 2–3. The form did not arrive fully developed; the earlier stages seem to have been only a moulding just in front of the spring. The sequence ran from these minimal effects to what were without doubt full trumpets. These did not directly inspire the development of the later full-blown Trumpet Brooch (Chapter 5), which came from the Birdlip (see next section).

2.a. Minimal trumpet heads. Only the very large have framed catch-plates, underlined below, the others having solid ones.

3755 3764* 3780 3701 3785* 3831

Dating: 3764* Fox Holes Farm, 80–20 B.C.

Distribution: KT 111 HANTS 1 MSEX 1 HERTS 1

2.b. Full Trumpet heads. Where traces survive, all had pierced catch-plates. Where any significant trace is left, none is framed save for 11808 which, being in iron, may have affected the outcome, although 3769, a giant, has a finely fretted design. 13740* has a false trumpet. 3838 is added because, although the head is missing, the remains above the mouldings suggest that a trumpet is more likely than not.

Those after / have no mouldings on the bow, but their full trumpet heads assure that they are closely related enough to be put here. The x-ray of the illustrated iron example shows that it was made in two parts and that the head was forged with a peg which fitted into the top of the straight part of the bow. 3839* has a separately made spring inserted into the mould for the brooch to be cast round it. Those underlined have framed catch-plates, while the rest, where there is evidence, have a single bar or are fretted, the latter in italics.

14839, in iron, is corroded and any mouldings are hidden. However, the spring is hidden behind a plate which could be seen as a reduced trumpet. Its great size, in excess of 90mm, and what was very probably a framed catch-plate make it a likely candidate for this group. 14838 may be another.

2955–6 3769–71 3772–4 3786 3838 3839* 11808* 14838? 14839? / 12203* 12204 13740*

Dating: 3771 King Harry Lane, Phase 1; 3786 Swarling, grave 13; 3772–4 Weekley, 25–mid 1st century; 3769 King Harry Lane, Phase 3.

The generally indicated dating, from the latest first century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D., may represent the true *floruit* of this particular sub-type, including the time it was a survivor in use after manufacture had ended. Only 11808 has a framed catch-plate, the others, where enough is present, having mainly fretted ones: all are sub-divided.

Distribution: KT 111 HERTS 1111 BUCKS 11 SUFF 1 NORF 1 NHANTS 11111 Lincs 1

3. Close Relatives of the Main Type. Plates 3–4. The majority of these could be described as also-rans, but those before / have external chords and are definitely contemporary with 1.a1 above.

3.a. All have knurled knobs in the mouldings on the bow, and many have a groove up the sides from the top of the catch-plate which represents in fossil form the division between the bow and the returned foot. In these instances, the mouldings on the bow are definitely a reminiscence of the collar of a La Tène II. The catch-plates where they survive are all framed. On the whole, these are very large brooches. The one from Walmer, 3777, has traces of red enamel in the cross-cutting. It should be noted that there

is approximately a half and half split between external and internal chords, if the item from Leicester is given an internal one.

3775 3777–8 9287 /3776* 3779* 9655

Dating: 3778 Lemsford, mid-1st century B.C.?

The signs are that these ought all to be early in the first century B.C., the external chords being hardly later than 75 B.C.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 SUFF 1 LEICS 1

3779*, from Leicester, lies well away from the South East, but other pre-conquest material is known from the city.

3.b. The affinity with the La Tène II shows clearly in the beginning of this group. The examples are arranged more or less in sequence from clear relatives of the original type to those where the ornament is too high on the bow for there to be any remote “memory” of it. Those with framed catch-plates are underlined. 3712 has two circular holes in its catch-plate. The incidence of external chords and open catch-plates (those before / in the list below) shows that there is no inner logic. In one sense, the fact that they occur almost at random suggests that there was little differentiation on the whole. However, the picture might have been clearer if more springs had survived to show whether the chords were internal or not.

Whether examples in this group form a coherent one is difficult to say. When ornament becomes reduced it is a hit and miss factor as to whether any type of decoration was diagnostic or only a matter of artisan’s whim.

2906 3709* 3725 3726* 13668 / 2894 3711 3713 3714 3715 3716 3719 3720* 3721–2 3724* 3826 3832–3 3834 3708 4085* 4253 10549 11804 12208 13676–7 13675? 14782

Dating: 3708 Gussage All Saints, 190–10 B.C.; 3719 Kelvedon, 1st century B.C.–43; 2906 Westhampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 13675 Salford, 50–10 B.C.; 3832 Maiden Castle, 25–50; 10549 Maiden Castle, before A.D.45; 3826 Dorchester Poundbury, 1st century A.D.; 3720* Weekley, mid–late 1st century A.D.; 3714 Baldock, 70–90; 3712 Braughing, 100–150; 12207, Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century; 11804 Gorhambury, 250–300; 3709* Braughing, 4th century.

The following with definite framed catch-plates should be accepted as being in the first century B.C., whether in the dated list or not, and the list gives external chords where the catch-plate is missing: 3709* (external chord), 3714, 3716, 3721, 3722, 3724* (Glastonbury), 3725, 3726* (external chord), 3832–3 (Maiden Castle), 14782, 13668 (external chord).

The Gussage All Saints dating takes the latest start-date and end-dates from the radio carbon samples assigned to phase 2, to which the brooch was assigned. All the dated examples come from sites with proven occupation in the first century B.C., if not before.

Distribution: SUSS 1 HANTS 1 DORS 11111 WILTS 1 SOM 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 111111 SUFF 11 BEDS 1 GLOS 111111 NHANTS 11 LEICS 1 Lincs 111

There are two main areas. One along the east coast from the Thames to the Humber, penetrating to Leicester and Bedfordshire, the other along the south and up into the Lower Severn Valley. Firstly, the east group is arranged in order as much as can be from framed external chord through to solid catch-plates [and then any tendency for there to be a shovel foot]. The south and west group follows the basic scheme.

East: 3709* 3714 3719–20*–21 3726* 13668 14782 / 3712 circular holes / 3713 3715 11804 13677 catch-plates missing /13675–6 = 15 examples

South and west: 2906 3708 3716 3722 3724*–5 3832–3 /3711 3826 / 2894 3834 4085* 4253 10549 12208 = 16 examples.

The only major difference seems to be that in the east one finds groups of plain mouldings while in the other group there is a tendency for there to be a shade more ornament involving vertical elements or paired scallops in the sides. The dating is not markedly different, except that there is a tail running on beyond the mid first century A.D.

3.c. Here, the lower bow is wider than the upper; the illustrations say it all. Although 3845 is perhaps more typical than 3846*, as it is already published the other is illustrated. 3851 is almost identical to 3846*, and the same might be said of 2961 and 9654. Only 3850 had any piercing in the catch-plate which may have been framed. 2960 3845 3846* 3847–52 3765 3767* 3768 4120 9654* 12207

Dating: 3845 Braughing c.25–40; 3851 Baldock 70–90; 3850 Chew, late 1st–early 2nd century; 3768 Silchester c.120–160/70; 12207 Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 111 WILTS 11 SOM 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 SUFF 1 EA 1 NHANTS 1 LEICS 1 SCOT 1

3.d. Plate 4. A mixed group in which the one recurring feature is a small decorative hook just under the mouldings which is applied only to the front of the bow. The hook on 3782* points to why these brooches are gathered here: it may prefigure the one found on the Birdlip, the next type to be dealt with. Others immediately related to this specimen are given there. Perhaps the members of 3.d might be regarded as a kind of Birdlip prototype.

Those with pierced catch-plates are underlined. 3783, 14464 and probably 13672, have elaborately fretted catch-plates. 3783 and 14464 have trumpet heads. 3827* is superficially like many of those of Type 1 or Part 3 in Chapter 4.

3782* 3783 3827* 3788–9 3790* 3791 13672 14464

Dating: none as yet. However, the evidence of the catch-plates is for largely poorly formed open-framed or for elaborate fretting, and these best suit the later part of the first century B.C. into the earliest first century A. D.

Distribution: KT 11111 HANTS 1 MSX 1 OXON 1 CAMBS 1

3.x1. Oddments which had all the attributes of the type

– the La Tène II derived decoration, spring *etc.* – but which do not fit very easily into any of the categories above. Only 3706*, which has a Nauheim-like upper bow, has the slack profile which should only belong to the first century B.C. 3737 is one of a pair found in a “belgic” pot, most probably with a framed catch-plate, and 3706* may also have had one.

3706* 3750 3784 3787* 3828* 3830 3836–7 3886 3929 4094 9653

Dating: 3836 Braughing, 10 B.C.–A.D. 20; 3830 Leicester, early–mid 1st century.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 11 WILTS 1 HERTS 1 OXON 1 GLOS 1 NHANTS 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 11 DERBS 1

3.x2. None of these had any, or at least any surviving, moulded decoration round the bow. They tend to have decoration along the bow, or the groove running part way up the side of the bow from the top of the piercing in the catch-plate, or a square of faceted section, or more than one of these. Underlining indicates a framed catch-plate and Bold an external chord. The number of these surely indicates a date range beginning at least in the early first century B.C. Most of these are quite large brooches and their profiles suggest that they might also belong to the later first century B.C.

2908 3699* 3700 3701* 3702–3 3835 3837 13683–5

Dating: 13683–5 Salford, 50–10 B.C.; 2908 Westthampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 3835 Weekley, 25–mid 1st century.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 ESSEX 1 BEDS 111 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 11

4. The Birdlip [Birdlip]. *Plates 4–6.* The straight profile of the bow with the sharp bend at the top remains; the spring may be replaced by a hinge, but the spring is usually integral with the body and the chord is always internal. However, what strikes the eye is the use of decoration incorporating a turned up beak under a moulding across the bow. Frequently there is other ornament, usually in relief on the head and on a broad plate under the beak, but none of these features, except for the beak, is essential.

4.1a Plate 4. All are obviously varieties of the main series of the Stead, but all also have an incipient beak under the mouldings which, when exaggerated, becomes a chief feature of the Birdlip. Of these, all have exposed springs, save for 3800 which has a developed trumpet head conforming to Stead Type 2.b and could have been allocated to Stead 3.d. The first two have framed catch-plates. 2919 3792* 3793–7 3798* 3799–3800

Dating: 2919 Westthampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 3799 Canterbury, 50/55.

Distribution: KT 11111111 SUSS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1

The dating and distribution says it all: it is early in the first century B.C. and runs on, though perhaps not as late as the one from Canterbury might suggest. However, that site has produced brooches which are definitely pre-

conquest. The distribution might suggest connections with East Anglia, but just not necessarily with the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni.

4.1b. Plate 5. All have or had sprung pins hidden behind what was in effect a disguised version of the trumpet head of Type 5. All also have a relatively broad lower bow and a recurve in the profile under a sharp bend at the top and this places the most noticeable features right at the top. Most have moulded decoration of some elaboration and in extreme cases the beak turns up so much that it touches the bow above to form a loop. The most important brooch here is 10537*. In gold, it is a masterpiece of the goldsmith's craft. It comes from Lincolnshire, the birthplace of the earliest Trumpets (see Chapter 5, introductory passages). It has a complete knop made up of three mouldings and must be very close to the first Trumpets.

Another brooch with a moulded knop, from Winesham, Suffolk (10543*), has a flat face with a rounded top under the knop, concave in profile. It could almost be mistaken for an Almgren 101 (see Chapter 8, Part 2). However, the integral spring issues from a trumpet head typical of those from Lincolnshire. Its date is indicated by the engraved decoration. On the head radial lines fan out on each side, while on the foot, there is a bordering line with a typical celtic pelta at the top filled with a basket-work pattern.

Many have the spring integral with the body, usually because the separately made spring was inserted into the mould before casting. However, many published examples have no mention of how the spring was mounted. 3821 from Silchester and 10538 from Newent clearly had a separately made spring mounted on a lug with a single hole, the internal chord trapped by the notch in the lower edge. The second has a small nib projecting above the head like those trumpets fitted with loops and collars.

Those which are underlined have a greater affinity with the type specimen, 3815, while the others are closer to the Type 4.1c which has its main home on the eastern side of England.

3808 3811 3813* 3815 (THE Birdlip) 3816 3817 3818 3819 3821* 3822* 3824 10537* 10538 10543* 13842–6 14508* 14512

Dating: 13845–6 Dragonby, before 45; 3815 Birdlip, mid 1st century; 14512 Castleford, 85/90–135/140.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 SOM 1 SURR 1 OXON 1 GLOS 11 SUFF 111 NORF 1111 CAMBS 1 SALOP 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 111 YORKS 1

The large number from East Anglia is a product of the collecting bias mentioned in Chapter 1.

The Dragonby items are the only Birdlips which can be given a certain Iron Age date. Both have integral springs, the spring of the Castleford one mounted on a pierced lug. The latter should not have come into being before those on Trumpet Brooches and at present all that can be said about that is that it had evolved by 75. However, the gold brooch from Market Rasen now in the British Museum, 10537* has a trumpet head, albeit narrow, and

a triple moulding and in this bears the strongest Trumpet resemblance of all. It even has the recurved lower bow so common amongst Trumpets, so much so that it is not hard to see the type developing from it (see Chapter 5, introductory passages).

4.1c. Plate 5. The pin is always hinged, and the decoration is more commonly confined to the beak and a few cross-mouldings. The overall profile and proportions are very much the same as before. 9880 and 13735 in iron, while accreted with corrosion products, look very much like a member of this group.

3802–6 3807* 3809–10 3812 3814 3820 3823 3825 9880 10132 10548 11881* 14509* 14510* 13735 13847–50

Dating: 13847 Dragonby, before 45, 13735, Iron Age?; 9880 Haddon, late 1st–early 2nd century; 14510* Kingscote, mid 4th century.

Distribution: OXON 11 GLOS 111 NORF 11111 CAMBS 111 Lincs 11111111 NOTTS 11

3812 from Lechlade has the beak turned up so far it touches the cross-moulding, and this prefigures what happened in the next type.

4.2. The late sequence. Plates 5–6. The Birdlip develops its beak to such an extent that it in effect becomes a loop to start with and then quickly a kind of extrusion which bends down as a separate element to join the main bow. It then has a moulded extension back towards the top (e.g., 5529): **a**. Then follows a reduction to a form which can go into common manufacture, **b**, and after that there is a group which may have drawn inspiration from these “common” forms, but which is in doubt: **c**.

4.2a. 5536–8 6587* 14194

Dating: 6587* Wroxeter, c.90 or before; 5537 Camerton, 150–200.

4.2b. 5529–30 5531* 5532–35 9992 12389 14193 14698–700
Dating: none as yet.

4.2c. 5539* 6792/5528* 14192/5540/5541–2

Dating: 5541 Wroxeter, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Distribution: SUSS a SOM ab SCILLY c WILTS aab OXON bc GLOS bbbbbc NORF bc HERE b STAFFS c SALOP acc WALES bb

None comes from the South East, effectively none is in the east and certainly none is as yet north of the Dee-Wash line. If the **a**, **b** and **c** version mean anything, the first belongs to the South West and the Severn Valley, and the second is further afield up the eastern side of the initial distribution. But the third is perhaps too eclectic to try and localise at this stage.

4.3. The Birdlip/Aesica overlap [Birdlip/AESICA]. Plate 6. The following brooches have the distinctive beak of the Birdlip but this has been married to the Aesica to replace the disc of the correct form leaving the fantail foot and the heavily articulated bow. Only one has an unequivocal pin fixing arrangement (6133, a Polden Hill, see Chapter

3, Part 3; the other two are ambiguous. None has been seen in the flesh, so to speak; 6132* might have had a Rearhook spring system while 6134 is taken from a very poor published drawing.

6132* 6133–4

Distribution: OXON 1 WARKS 1 NOTTS 1

“Birdlip” singleton. From Wilcote, Oxon: this item has all the appearance of some kind of Birdlip, but with no beak or room for one. The spring is mounted on a pierced single lug.

12388

Dating: 12388 Wilcote, 70–100/110.

Summary:

Type 1.a1, external chord: the only indication of date is the Westhampnett cemetery which gives a range of 90–50 B.C. It might be argued that the framed foot and external chord could go back into the second century B.C., as it seems to on the continent, but caution is advised, as with the Nauheim in the next section. With the internal chord of 1.a2 an equally early date might be possible but the range runs on into the early first century A.D. With 1.b1, external chord, and 1.b2, internal chord, we meet the same basic kind of dating, even if it is weak for the 1.b1.

Type 2.a, those with incipient or small trumpet heads, seem to fit in with the mid first century B.C. Those of 2.b with larger trumpet heads are later, but still have a decidedly pre-Conquest look.

Type 3, close relatives: 3.a with knurled knops could all belong to the first century B.C., and could be a strand equivalent to 1.a2 and 1.b2. 3.b with the external chord and framed catch-plates should go with the similar features above and 3.c belongs to the later group, being essentially after 25 B.C. They might all even be after A.D. 1 and might even run into the second century, but more evidence is needed.

The origins of the Birdlip, Type 4, are clearly defined under 1.a and are to be looked for in the middle of the first century B.C. in the land of the Cantiaci, unless it comes from the continent and has not been noted by me. As for 4.1b, it belongs clearly to the first half of the first century A.D., but might just go back a little bit. 4.1c is later again and probably after A.D.25. There is little to be said about 4.2 and 4.3; although none is dated, but should follow Aesicas (Part 4).

Definite British types derived from the early contexts belong at best to the later first century B.C. and run into the first century A.D.

The Nauheim and *Drahtfibel* and their Derivatives

The spring always has four coils, and sometimes an external chord, but usually an internal one. Both parent types must have a framed catch-plate, for without this, examples become Derivatives. The difference between a Nauheim and a *Drahtfibel* is simple: the first invariably

has a decorated upper bow with a thin rectangular section tapering towards the foot, while the latter always has a plain circular-sectioned rod.

The Nauheim [Nauheim]. *Plate 6.* The decoration on the upper bow tends to consist of simple borders with a central feature frequently carried out with a graver.

1.a. The triangle is relatively broad at the top with a marked cut back to the start of the spring. There is a range in width at the top which has nothing to do with chronology: some of the narrower ones have external chords. In the list below those with external chords are underlined; those which are narrower than 3936*, one of the very few standard Nauheims to survive complete, are in *italic*. Many of these brooches are damaged or even only fragments, and their presence here relies on the decoration on the bow. Those which are demonstrably of Derivative form hardly ever have similar ornament. A notable exception is the one from Foxholes Farm, 3990, Type 1.a in Nauheim Derivatives, which comes from a secure context. 3918 is in iron. Those after / have no decoration, the one illustrated, 3943*, came from the Aylesford cemetery and was found only about 30 years ago when one of the cremation pots was finally emptied.

2900 3918–9 3921–3 3925* 3927–35 3936* 3942 3944 3945 3946* 3947 3948 3951 3952 3954 3988 9667 9673 9681 9976 12210–11 13679–81/ 3943* 3952

Dating: 9667 Westhampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 3925*, 3936*, 3942 Glastonbury, LPRIA; 3934 Puckeridge, c.25–Claudian, ?plus; 12211 Ketton, pre Roman?; 3918 Weekley, mid–late 1st century; 3928, 3931 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110; 3945 Baldock, 90–120; 3944 Chichester, late 3rd–4th century.

The roll-call of sites is heavily biased towards prominent LPRIA occupation. In the case of Canterbury, although actual occupation deposits have been hard to find, the overall LPRIA spectrum has been discussed and the conclusion, albeit tentative, was that there was major occupation before A.D. c.10/20, and that there had been a marked presence in the middle of the first century B.C. ([73], 955–7).

Distribution: KT 111111 SUSS 11 HANTS 11 DORS e SOM e11 HERTS 111 SUFF 1 NORF 111 BEDS 111 CAMBS 1111 NHANTS eee11 LINC e

There are not enough of those with external chords to argue from and they could all have been the product of coastal and riverine penetration along the south and east coasts. The rest represent what might be seen to have been an extension to that, the examples coming from further inland as far as the South East is concerned. The Severn Valley seems not to have attracted much attention at this time.

1.b. These are the narrow examples, again; those with external chords are underlined. 4118 is plain, but its external chord does not allow it to be put anywhere else. 13702 and 9675 are in iron, the catch-plate of the first assuring it a place here. It was not well enough preserved for the habit of the chord to be established, and it is the

size of the second which finds favour here. 14837 is of iron and was more than 80mm long, the bow a thin rectangle. 14941 from Silchester consists only of the lower plain bow and the framed catch-plate.

3231 3920 3924 3926* 3937–9 3940* 3941 4110–12 4118 9669 9674–5 12212 13702 14837 14941 15380 15413

Dating: 13702 Salford, 50–10 B.C.; 14941 Silchester, 15 B.C.–A.D. 40/50; 3937 Maiden Castle; 25–50; 3940 Canterbury; LPRIA; 9674 Monkton, before early 2nd century; 9669 Wroxeter, 2nd century; 3938 Bishopstone, late 2nd century; 4111 Chichester, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

Distribution: KT e111 SUSS 11 HANTS 11 DORS 11 ESSEX e BEDS 1 SUFF e1 GLOS 111 NHANTS 11 SALOP 1 LINC ee

The items with external chords, all five of them, lie close to the coasts. The others show some penetration to the interior of which only 4112 from Cirencester is an extension to the larger area of Type 1.b.

Oddments. These are giant pins almost all with external chords, underlined below, which could only have come from Nauheims or, less likely, *Drahtfibel*. Their distribution is of little value.

2958 10491 11199 11940 12663 13235 13248 14264

Dating: 12663 Kelvedon, 1st century B.C.±; 10491 Braughing, 25 B.C.–A.D. 20; 11940 Baldock, 3rd century; 13248 Feltwell, 4th century.

All are sites with proven first-century B.C. occupation except for Feltwell. All the external chords come from what was to become Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian territory with an extension north.

The Nauheim Derivative [ND]. *Plates 7–11.* This the same as the Nauheim, but with a solid catch-plate. Almost all would be recognizable as Nauheims, had they had framed catch-plates. None recorded by the writer has an external chord. Many would qualify one way or another for inclusion under this heading, but the difficulty is in determining which may form viable groups and which are nothing more than sub-varieties of others. On the whole, the sub-division has been generous on the grounds that I have not seen every brooch in the country and it can sometimes only be chance which identifies a distinct version lying in a set territory and the reader is asked to make allowances for wrong guesses or even a complete misunderstanding on occasion.

The end of this section covers a very small number of brooches which do not fit in with the *Drahtfibel*, and whose numbers do not justify a separate major section to themselves: see Oddments after Type 6.

1. Relatively broad-topped bows, etc. Plates 6–8.

1.a. These are parallel with the similar kind of Nauheim. 3997 is a very large brooch with some attempt at fretting in the catch-plate and 12234 might have had a circular hole. Distribution is after 1.c.

3884 3896 3955–7 3959 3961* 3962–68 3970–1 3973–83

3987 3988* 3989–92 3994–4001 4006–8 4011 4086 4113
9658 9664 9668 11811 11816 12215–6 12218 12234 13686
13688 13692 14469* 14470

Dating: 3990 Foxholes Farm, 80–20 B.C.; 3996 Baldock, 25–50; 3983 Hod Hill, 43–50; 4007 Fishbourne, 43–c.70/75; 3997 Richborough, Claudian; 4006 Baldock, 50–90; 4001 Park Street, before 75?; 3956 Weekley, mid-late 1st century; 3979 Chichester, Flavian; 3992 Highstead, 50–150; 3955 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110; 3987 Fawkham, before 100; 3977 Chichester, c.100; 3976 Chichester, early 2nd century at latest; 4011 Gadebridge, before 150?; 3957 Baldock, late 3rd century; 3964–5 Colchester, 250–300; 11816 Gorhambury, 4th century.

1.b. Narrower versions of the last, the decoration sometimes including true beading. However, the division can only be arbitrary as there are many which are neither broad nor narrow. 3985 is made of iron. 15414 has two grooves down the top stopped at the top of the main bow by two cross-grooves. In this, it has some of the marks of a Stead, and its date would suit a derivation from that. Distribution is after 1.c.

3960* 3972 3984 3985* 3986 3993 4009–10 4012 4088 4095
4117 9683–4 12217 13678 13689–90 14472 14928

Dating: 3984 King Harry Lane, phase 1; 3993 Durrington Walls, LPR1A; 15414 Fairford, Thornhill Farm, 1–50; 13689, Folly Lane, early–mid 1st century; 14928 Silchester, 40–50/60; 4088 Orton Hall Farm, mid 1st century–c.175; 4009 Verulamium, pre-Flavian; 3986 Chichester, 2nd century; 3972 Chichester, 3rd–4th century?

1.c. Even narrower, the front is given over to decoration usually arranged as a bead row, ridge or flute. 4091 and 4082 have punched dots to form wavy ridges.

4080–1 4082* 4083–4 4087 4089–93 9656–7 9672 14932

Dating: 4087 Hengistbury Head LPR1A to before 100; 4093 Gussage All Saints before 50–75; 14932 Silchester, 260/70–5th century.

The dating overall favours a pre-conquest *floruit*, beginning, indeed, in the first century B.C. Some were to be seen afterwards, but all should have entered the ground by c.70.

Distribution: KT aaaaaaaabc SUSS aaaabb HANTS aaaaaaabbcc DORS abbcc WILTS aac SOM c ESSEX aaaaaaa MSEX b HERTS aaaaaaaabbbb BEDS b OXON ab GLOS b HERE cc SUFF aaaaaa NORF aaaaab CAMBS aaaabc NHANTS aab LINC abbbccccc

1.a belongs firmly to the South East as defined by the Wash and by Central Southern England skirting the Midlands. In other words, Dorset, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire as well as Lincolnshire are very definitely frontier lands with few specimens; one might suggest that Norfolk also belongs here, the number being distorted by bias in collecting for the Corpus. 1.b covers the same area, but with a suggestion that it is also found in lands to the north west of those occupied by 1.a. In contrast, 1.c is definitely more borderland than 1.b and it may be that it was made in some numbers in Lincolnshire,

although obviously those on the south coast are unlikely to have come from there: coastal trade would surely have touched on the Iceni.

2. **The Lowbury.** Plate 7. Here is the only Nauheim Derivative forming a major group both in design and in distribution. The upper bow may be almost parallel sided before tapering to a pointed foot, or have a gentle curve from top to bottom, or a marked recurve in the edges at the top of the catch-plate. What unifies the group is the way in which the decoration is carried out. A small metal strip cross-cut to produce one or two rows of square punch-marks is used mainly to produce borders, but can also run down the middle of the bow, sometimes with plain grooves along the border. Curved stamps producing a wavy line down the middle are also known.

2.a. Here are all those which have some attempt at a wavy line down the middle between borders. These come first because they are the closest to what is a major decorative element amongst the Nauheims, but there is no argument here for saying that they must be the earliest. Distribution after 2.d.

4069–72 4073* 4074* 4075

Dating: 4071 Harlow temple, before 80.

Distribution: of the six brooches here, only one, 4069 from the type site, lies outside an area covering East Anglia, Essex and Hertfordshire; even the one from Kent 4074* can be argued to be an extension of this initial group. The basic distribution is unlike that of the rest.

2.b. Following the general line that the examples of the Lowbury should be arranged in some sort of descending order from the “pure” Nauheim strain of 2.a, these all have borders. Those before / have a groove; those afterwards rely only on the square punch-marks. Distribution after 2.d.

4042 4045 4062 4068 4079* 14929 / 4046–53 4054* 4055–58
12214

Dating: 4062 Fishbourne, 43–c.75; 4042 Wroxeter, after 55/60; 4045 Shakenoak Farm, 4th century plus.

Distribution: the centre has shifted markedly to the west and south west to cover central southern England, with scarcely any away from there.

2.c. This is the commonest group, with paired rows of punch-marks down each side of the upper bow. Those after / have only one line, but these are so very few that there is little point in making a completely separate distinction. Distribution after 2.d.

4014* 4015–39 12213 13687 14934–6 / 4041 4044 9660
14831 14930

Dating: 12213 Wilcote, Claudian; 4028 Fishbourne, 43–c.75; 4014* Wroxeter, after 55/60; 14936 Silchester, 50/60–80; 14924–5 Silchester, 80–125; 13687 Wilcote, mid 2nd century; 4015 and 4016 Verulamium, 200–225, 350–375.

Distribution: The core distribution is north Hampshire and Berkshire, Silchester and Lowbury Hill swamping the rest.

The extremes are interesting, only two in Hertfordshire, otherwise the drift is towards the west. The example from Wroxeter must have arrived with the Legio XIV Gemina; how many others travelled in tandem with the army is of course unknown but it should be assumed that some did.

2.d. All these have decoration confined to the middle of the bow. Those before / have paired squares, those after only a single line.

4040 4043 4059–60 4061* 4063–64 14474 / 4065 4066* 4067 4076–8 15414–5

Dating: 4043 Hod Hill before 50; 15415 Fairford, Thornhill Farm, 1–50; 4040 Silchester, not after 60.

Distribution: KT a SUSS bcd HANTS bbbbbbccccccccccccccccddddd DORS d WILTS bbccdd SOM b ESSEX aa HERTS acc BERKS abbbcccccd OXON bbccc GLOS bbbccddddd SUFF a NORF a CAMBS b NHANTS cc SALOP bc

2.a has no marked presence, certainly not in Atrebatian lands, and may indicate that the wavy line is not actually part of the main run. However, 2.b is more closely related to perceived Atrebatian territory before the conquest: Hampshire through Berkshire into Oxfordshire. The items from Essex and Shropshire were almost certainly picked up by members of the army. If 2.c is the commonest group, then its major appearances at Silchester and Lowbury Hill, as well as the south part of Hampshire, surely indicates the chief area of the tribe. 2d may show a slight direction to the north west, but the overall picture indicates that Kent, Sussex and the whole of East Anglia along with Middlesex and Hertfordshire have no part of the core distribution.

3. These might have been in the last group, had they had the defining square punch-marks; as it is, some have bordering grooves. They also have the two basic bow shapes found amongst those of the Lowbury type: either a sudden narrowing at the top of the catch-plate and then a very narrow bow ending in a point, or a basic taper from top to point. They are distinguished here for convenience in the first place by being divided into the bow shapes and then again into those which have any kind of decoration, and those which either undecorated or only seem to have no decoration: one cannot always be sure that illustrators notice such things.

Most of the brooches belonging to the general family represented by the Stead, Nauheim and most Nauheim Derivatives have narrow lower bows. This arises because most were forged from either rolled or folded sheet metal, and it is easier to make the catch-plate if the bow at the top is narrow.

3.a1. *Plate 8.* These have a sudden narrowing more or less in line with the top of the catch-plate, and decoration. Some have an exaggerated taper outwards with a marked narrowing, so much so that they can sometimes be taken for a different type, but the habit is not consistent enough for them to be accepted as such.

3030 3854–8 3859* 3860–63 3864* 3865–67 3869–70 3871* 3873–4 3877 3880–3 3958

Dating: 3863 Verulamium, mid 1st century; 3869 & 3854–5 Fishbourne, 43–c.75, 3030 c.75–80; 3864 Chichester, Claudian–Neronian, 3867 late Flavian, 3857 late 1st–early 2nd century, 3856 late 1st–mid 2nd century, 3881 & 3865 early 2nd century, 3860 Antonine; 3874 late 2nd–late 3rd century, 3861 3rd century plus?; 3958 Bancroft, mausoleum mid 4th–early 5th century.

Distribution: SUSS 11111111111111111111 HANTS 111 WILTS 11 HERTS 1 BUCKS 1

Remarkably similar to those of 2.c and 2.d, there are so many from Chichester/Fishbourne that one might think that it was exclusive to that area and was in fact another Atrebatian type.

3.a2. The same, but with no decoration in fact or in illustration. There are so very few that one might wonder whether these really had no decoration: 3878 was so corroded on the front that any decoration had been destroyed; 3879 is only a fragment; 3872 may well have had decoration. 4331 was stolen before cleaning.

3872 3878–9 4331 12220*

Dating: 12220* Wilcote, Claudian; 4331 Bignor, 2nd century.

Distribution: SUSS 1111111111111111111112222 HANTS 111 WILTS 11 HERTS 1 BUCKS 1 OXON 2 This repeats in essence 3.a1.

3.b1. There is a more gradual taper to a pointed foot. 4157* from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Alton, Hants, was published as a scabbard mount. 4158* has a very unusual feature in the boss riveted to the bow.

3969 4002–5 4013 4128–33 4134* 4135–56 4157* 4158* 4159–60 4271 4340 11812–3 14822–3

Dating: 3969 Canterbury, 20 B.C.–A.D. 70/80, & 4158* 15–43; 4340 Baldock, 25–50; 4144 Chichester, Claudian; 4160 Verulamium, pre-Flavian; 4129 Richborough, 4143 Chichester, Flavian; 4152 Baldock, 120–150; 4013 Amersham, 300–350; 4132 Barton Court, late to post-Roman.

Bearing in mind the usual dismal quality of the dating available coupled with a high residual content, it is encouraging to find that four examples are Claudian or earlier and that in all seven are pre-Flavian.

Distribution: KT 11111111 SUSS 1111 HANTS 111 ESSEX 111 MSEX 11 HERTS 11111111 BEDS 111 BUCKS 1 OXON 1 GLOS 11 NORF 11 CAMBS 11 NHANTS 1111 RUT 1 Lincs 1

Unlike 3.a1, or even 3.a2, there is no very clear indication that these are related to the Lowbury. The main grouping is, however, in the South East with a thin scatter over Lowland England into Lincolnshire in one direction and the Lower Severn Valley in the other, but the Midlands Plain hardly figures.

3.b2. These are the utterly plain version of the last. What they all have in common is a bow section which is much wider than deep, and has square corners. The bow tapers

to a pointed foot. They are so undistinguished that the choice in how to manage them is very limited. One could take the form of the profile, whether it is bowed or essentially upright, but there are too many fragmentary ones or distorted ones for this to be a useful exercise. The preferred way here is to adopt an approach used elsewhere and that is to size the brooches, with all the fragments at the end. The value here is that the sample is large and it may be that something will emerge: the choice in differing sizes is simple, little people = little brooches, large brooches represent a higher price, and so on.

87mm	4115
65mm	4280 4302* 4330
57mm	4262 4264
55mm	4277 4303
54mm	4300 12223
53mm	4275
52mm	4283 4327 4363
51mm	3876 4276 4281 4278 4337
50mm	4260 4296 4298 4320 4347 4350 13691 12226
49mm	4282
47mm	11818 12237
46mm	4299 4341 4366* 4367 12219
45mm	4263 4267 4285 4348 4361 4365 9666 11814
44mm	4259 4261 4286 4311
43mm	4269–70
42mm	4291 4304 4315 4359
41mm	4279 4284 4295 4310 4321 4338 4342
40mm	4265–6 4272 4288 4294 4301 4306 4309 4319 4353 4369
38mm	4268 4287 4290 4292–3 4322 13693
35mm	4289 4317
34mm	4323
30mm	4370 4374
27mm	4375* 4377 4379
Incomplete	4273 4297 4307–8 4314 4318 4328–9 4351 4356 4360 4364 4371 4386 4388–95 4397 4399–4000 4402–3 4405 4407–9 4411 9670 11823 12221–2 12224–5 12227–9 13700 14476–7 14913
Distorted	4316 4335–6 4343 4352 4362 4396 4398 4404 4410 9659 13691 13699
Unsize	9676

The listing shows that there are groups and the breaks are indications of the limits. At the top of the range there is no problem and in the 53–57mm band the small numbers of examples prevents certainty. However, at the bottom of the range, the miniatures are also certain and the greater numbers point to a break between 42mm and 44mm, with 40–41mm being one peak and 45mm being the other. Caution is needed. These brooches were all forged by hand, none was made from a common pattern or mould, so variations must be expected, and that is what the ranges indicate. Another factor is the tendency through time for sizes either to increase or decrease: the jump from 38 to

40mm. The smaller sizes below 38mm should be secure.

Dating: 4403 Verulamium, *c.*5–35; 4319 Chichester, pre-conquest; 4375* Skeleton Green, *c.*25–40, 4292 pre-conquest?; 4342 South Cadbury, *c.*45; 4260 Chilham, mid 1st century; 4404 Orton Hall Farm, mid 1st century–*c.*175; 13693 Hacheston, 1st into early 2nd century; 4321 Chichester, 44–Flavian; 4302* Basing, mid-late 1st century; 4115 Hod Hill, before 50; 4409 King Harry Lane, phase 3; 4295–6 Fishbourne, 43–*c.*75; 4289 Chichester, & 12219 Wilcote, Claudian; 4394 Richborough, Claudian?; 4265 & 4287 Colchester, 49–61; 4278 Silchester, before 60; 4328 Canterbury, 60–90; 4293 Colchester, 61–*c.*65; 4318 & 4377 Chichester, pre-Flavian; 4337 & 4343 Baldock, 70–90; 4400 Verulamium, *c.*75; 4267 & 4282 Fishbourne, before *c.*75/80; 4264 Richborough, before 80/90; 4290 Chichester, Flavian; 11818 Gorhambury, 75–100?; 4341 Baldock, 120–150; 4335 Dover, before 160/70; 4314 & 4322–3 Chichester, late 1st century–mid/late 2nd century; 4273 Fishbourne, *c.*90–late 3rd century; 4351 Canterbury, 2nd century; 4288 Chichester, 2nd century; 4311 Chichester, 2nd–3rd century?; 4329 Dorchester, Oxon 240–90; 4315–6 & 4399 Chichester, late 3rd–early 4th century; 4338 Baldock, before 300; 4347 Alcester, early-mid 4th century; 4410 Neatham, mid 4th century; 4390 Canterbury, 350–375; 4327 Chichester, mid 4th–early 5th century.

There are a lot of dated items and they show that the sequence breaks down at the end of the first century and mainly before 75/80. 13691 has a very upright stance and three circular holes in its catch-plate. Piercings of any sort are excessively rare, and this brooch ought to be pre-conquest. There was very probably a round hole in the catch-plate of 4302, and its date-range would allow that to be an early feature.

Distribution: KT 2222222222222222 SUSS
222222222222222222 HANTS 2222222
DORS 22 WILTS 22222222 SOM 22 CORN 2
ESSEX 222222222222 MSEX 22 HERTS
222222222222222222 SUFF 22 BEDS 22 BUCKS 22
BERKS 2 OXON 22222222222222 GLOS 22222 NORF
2222 CAMBS 222222 WARKS 22 NHANTS 2222222
RUT 2 LEICS 2 NOTTS 22 HERE 2 WALES 22

While there are always imbalances in the sampling system, it being governed by the incidence of excavation and the sight of the finds by the writer, the message is certain. They mass essentially in Kent and Sussex on the south coast, and from Essex in the east through Hertfordshire into the Oxford region. There is a clutch in the Lower Nene Valley. East Anglia has few, as does the area west of Hampshire and the Midlands Plain with districts west and north generally lacking.

3.b3. Plates 8–9. Now follows the bulk of Derivative forms on which their makers seemingly lavished little care, or at least seem at best not to have followed any marked theme. How many should be regarded as being derivatives of carefully made *Drahtfibel* is beyond knowing. The best have properly rounded sections tapering regularly, or have nearly square sections, but there are not enough to isolate properly. There are many more fragments in this collection, and the generally poorer state overall may mean

4177* 4179 4183–4 4190 4254 4258 14836 / 4221 4222* 4224–6

Dating: 4226 South Cadbury, *c.*45; 4184 Gussage All Saints, 25–50; 4174 4193–4 4197 4217 Hod Hill, before 50; 4222 Chichester, LPRIA; 4224 Chichester, pre-Flavian; 4181 4211 4112* 4255 Fishbourne, *c.*75–80; 4225 Chichester, late 1st – late 2nd century; 4191 Scole, Trajanic–late 3rd century; 4223 Chichester, late 2nd–late 3rd century; 4200 Neatham and 4227 Bancroft, late 3rd–4th century; 4199 Braughing, 4th century; 4177* Wilcote, late 4th century; 4190 Hockwold cum Wilton, probably after 375.

Distribution: SUSS 11111111111111 HANTS 11111111 DORS 111111 SOM 111 WLTS 111111 HRTS 1 BRKS 1 BCKS 1 GLOS 1 OX 11 SUFF 111 NORF 11 CAMBS 11 WKS 11 NHTS 1 DBS 1

Noticeably west of East Sussex, Hampshire is well represented and the main area extends to the west into Somerset, but hardly any occur in Gloucestershire and the fringe area is wide with a sparse incidence. A few got as far as the east and south edges of the Midland Plain, one even finding its way to Strutt's Park, Derby, the suggested precursor of Little Chester.

4.b2. The only real difference here is that these either have a proper flute down the bow, or sufficient of a cleft not to be the same as the 4.b1. Those before / have proper flutes, those after do not.

4096 4099 4101–6 4107* 4108* 4401 13695 / 4097* 4098 4100 4109 9678 13696 14475 14481 14834–5

Dating: 4106 South Cadbury, *c.*45; 4104–5 Gussage All Saints, before 75; 4098 Fishbourne, *c.*75–80; 4107* Baldock, late 3rd century; 13696 Wilcote, 300–360; 4109 Chelmsford, 320–410/420.

Distribution: SUSS 2 HANTS 2 DORS 222 SOM 22 WILTS 222 ESSEX 2 HERTS 22 OXON 2 GLOS 22 NHANTS 22 RUT 2 LINCS 22

Nothing positive emerges, the general picture being very much the same as 4.b1.

4.c. *Plate 10.* All these have grooves across the bow in discrete groups, often only two or three. They may have two such groups, in which case they generally mark the top of the bow and the top of the catch-plate. More often there is only one group which may be either at the top of the bow or the catch-plate, or indecisively in the middle. The / below divides them into these sub-groups in the order just given. What these marks may represent is not over clear. One might imagine that there is some faint echo of the collar of the La Tène II, or even of the high mouldings found on the Stead (see part 1). At the earliest time we know any of the brooches here were to be seen, it is possible that some older ones were still in use. But, more importantly, many of the craftsmen may well have learnt their trade a few decades earlier than the deposition of the brooches given here. We will never know. 9680 has in addition to the grooves at the top of the bow, a series of vertical ones above those.

4230* 4231 4240 4245 4250 4252 4256 9679 11815 12232–3 13682 14479 / 4233 4235–7 4239* 4242 9680 / 3875 4241*

4244 4246 / 3717* 4232 4234 4238 4247 4251 12235 14480

Dating: 4235 Skeleton Green, 15–25; 12235 Wilcote, Claudian; 4231 Wilcote, *c.*100–240; 11815 Gorhambury, 2nd century; 4247 Neatham, 2nd–mid 3rd century; 4240 Marshfield, 250+, 4252 360–370+; 4244 Canterbury, 375–early 5th century.

The one from Skeleton Green would certainly fit with the possible transmission of a tradition in a severely modified form, otherwise the useful dating is meagre.

Distribution: KT cccc HANTS ccc SOM ccc WILTS cccc ESSEX c HERTS cc BEDS c OXON cccc GLOS cccccccccc NORF c LINCS c HAD W c

Assuming that Kent, Sussex and Essex are the deep South East, only Kent has any number. Outside that area, there is a spread along the south coast and into Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire and then a scatter through other peripheral areas of the South East, the Marches and the Midlands Plain seemingly empty.

A view of the overall distributions of all three sub varieties suggests that Kent, Essex the whole of East Anglia and the eastern side of England did not receive very many: the apparent greater number in East Anglia is entirely a product of the main bias in the collecting for the Corpus.

5. *Plate 10.* Here are those plain brooches with angular sections to their bows. Most are lozenges, but there is a small group after / with hexagonal sections. These were briefly referred to in 4.b above, the only difference being that those were decorated and these are plain. 4466 is of iron. Those which have lost their springs might have had only three coils, in which case they would have been added to Odd 3.3. There is a problem with three brooches from the Westhampnett cemetery [277] in that they have external chords and two have their framed catch-plates preserved. These are dated in the report 90–50 B.C., although as should have been clear from the analysis of the external chord in the Nauheim, an earlier date is possible. These brooches have lozenge sections and are made in iron, which may have accounted for the section: it is easier to form a square than it is to make a wire, although the springs show that there should have been no difficulty.

4447* 4448–54 4456–67 13734 14482 14827 / 4324* 4349 4383 9685 9663?

Dating: 4460 South Cadbury, *c.*45; 4450 Hod Hill, before 50; 4452 Waddon Hill, *c.*50–60; 4459 Gussage All Saints, before *c.*60/70; 4461 Exeter, before 75; 4448 The Lunt, before 70/80; 4462 Exeter, before *c.*75/80; 13734 Wilcote, 1st century; 4466 Haddon, late 1st–early 2nd century; 4324* Chichester, Antonine; 4349 Braughing 3rd century?

Considering how few there are, a lot are dated, and they point to a *floruit* which had ended by *c.*75.

Distribution: KT x SUSS xxx DORS xxxxx SOM xxxxx WILTS xxxxx DEVON xx HERTS x BUCKS x OXON x GLOS xx WARKS x NORF x CAMBS x x NHANTS x There is a concentration in Somerset and Devon, otherwise there is a thin scatter across southern England with no

There are two brooches given to sub-type 4.a (4164, 4205) which have the same bow section, and they serve to show that decoration is usually applied.

6. *Plate 10.* Iron, all the sections are wider than deep. Being of iron, the general state of preservation is variable, to put it mildly. Therefore, no sub-division or sizing is offered.

3004 4412-35 4436* 4437-46 4688 4692 4699 4703 4750-1
4755-6 11807 12261 12265-6 12269 13733 14473 14914

Dating: 4422 Braughing, c.25 B.C.–A.D. 20; 4433 King Harry Lane, phase 2; 4445 King Harry Lane, phase 3; 4414 Bagendon, 43/4–47/52; 4430 Longthorpe, Claudian-Neronian; 4427 Chichester, 43–late Flavian; 4434 Kelvedon, before c.65; 12265–6 Leicester, mid-late 1st century; 4429 Chichester, late 1st–early 2nd century; 11807 London, early 2nd century; 4444 Verulamium, 2nd century; 13733 Wilcote, 150–175; 4431 Neatham, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 4428 Chichester, mid 4th century–early 5th century; 4417 Barnsley, after 350; 4416 Wilcote, late Roman plus.

Distribution: KT 66 SUSS 666 HANTS 66666666
DORS 6 WILTS 6666 ESSEX 666 MSEX 66 HERTS
66666666 BERKS 6666 OXON 6666 GLOS 66666
WORCS 6 SWALES 6 WARKS 6 CAMBS 66 NHANTS
66 LEICS 66 SALOP 6

Virtually all iron brooches recorded in the Corpus came from excavations carried out since the middle 1960s. Before then, few iron objects were kept, usually being in a poor condition further deterioration being guaranteed. Consequently they added little lustre to collections, private or public, a state further exacerbated by the aesthetic susceptibilities of museum curators when it comes to what is displayed and what was kept in reserve. A notable exception in the early 1960s was Devizes Museum where, to my untutored eyes, there were cases unaccountably devoted to rotting iron. Though the Corpus has a strong bias towards Norfolk, I have no iron examples from there to put into this group. This suggests that iron brooches were not used, yet that is absurd: it is the collectors who have screened out the iron.

Oddments which do not seem to arise naturally out of what has gone before

Odd 1. *Plate 10.* The profile is almost box-like. The catch-plate is very shallow in proportion to its projection to the rear. The bow tends to be squat and broad and many have what looks like what used to be called chip carving. 4809 is made of iron.

4801 4802* 4803–4813 4814*

Dating: 4813 Chilgrove, late 1st–early 2nd century; 4809 Neatham, 3rd–4th century.

Distribution: SUSS 11 HANTS 1111111111 DORS 11
Remarkably tight, it seems very unlikely that the centre will move far from southern Hampshire and the nearer parts of Sussex and Dorset added on.

Odd 2. *Plate 10.* The bows are relatively narrow at the top and taper to a pointed foot, the section of the bow having a marked arris down the middle of the front face.

Odd 3. *Plate 10. The Three-coil Spring* While the habits of these brooches conform with their four-coil brothers, their distribution suggests that they cannot be confused with being a product of skimpy workmanship. They are placed amongst Oddments more or less to draw attention to their existence. Had not every example of a brooch met with been drawn for the Corpus, these would not have been identified at all, the expectation always being that such brooches would have had four coils.

Not all springs survive complete, but one can be fairly sure of the identification if all the right-hand part of the spring with the pin has been lost, because the common habit is to run the first coil under the bow leaving only the one loop on the left-hand side. Nearly all have thin rectangular-sectioned bows like those of 3.b2 above, but there are those with rounded or indefinite sections and these are treated here as well.

Those few with a round section, and which under other circumstances would be regarded as *Drahtfibel* Derivatives, are dealt with under Odd 3.b.

Odd 3.1a. *Plate 10.* These have rectangular-sectioned bows and are made from copper alloy. 4854 coils to the right instead of the otherwise ubiquitous coiling to the left. 4852 has a weak form of the bow of sub-type 3.a1. 4871–2 have grooves along each border of the bow. One common feature is the nature of the catch-plate. This is best explained by looking at 4841*, *Plate 10*, where the catch-plate is rather like that on Odd 1 in being excessively shallow in depth.

4355 4357* 4834-7 4839-40 4841* 4842 4844-65 4866*
4867-77 11819 13742 13744

Dating: 4872 Baldock, 50–70; 4851 Chichester, Flavian; 4859 Springhead, early 2nd–c.140; 4877 Chelmsford, c.150; 4871 Baldock, 150–180; 4869 Colchester, 150–250; 4839 Canterbury, 300/320–350, 4844 & 4847 350–375, 4841* 375–early 5th century.

Curiously, the dating is overwhelmingly after 100 and there is a reasonably strong presence right through the fourth century, but the late ones are all from Canterbury where there is a high residual factor. This pattern of dating is repeated for the three-coil brooches amongst the *Drahtfibel* (see *Drahtfibel*, Odd 1.a)

Distribution: KT 111111111111111111111111
SUSS 1 HANTS 111 WILTS 111111 ESSEX 11 HERTS
111 BERKS 1 CAMBS 1 LINCS 1
They are all overwhelmingly from Kent. However, there is

a clutch in Wiltshire suggesting that the small number in Hampshire is due to the fact that the number of brooches recorded by me overall is smaller there than to the west. On the other hand, the very poor showing of Sussex should mean that there was little penetration there and contrasts with the plain four-coil version classified here as 3.b2.

Odd 3.1b. Plate 10. These are the same but of iron.

4830 4831* 4832–3 4838 12267 13741 13743

Dating: 4838 Skeleton Green, c.10 B.C.–A.D. 20; 4830 Puckeridge, c.25–Claudian? +?; 4831* Maiden Castle, 25–50; 13741 Wilcote, 150–170; 4832 Neatham, 3rd–4th century; 12267 Trowse, later Roman.

The dating is a clear sign that iron examples are likely to be pre-conquest, unlike the copper alloy ones which are much more common and which show no sign so far of being so early.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 1 HANTS 1 HERTS 11 OXON 1 NORF 1 Lincs 1

This is a stark contrast with the copper alloy versions.

3.2. Plate 11. As 3.1a, but with a rectangular bow sections, the deep dimension being from the front to the back. How real this distinction is depends upon the regular appearance of new examples, and their proper recording: three of the four were drawn by me and it may be that other drawings have failed to represent the section on the grounds that it should not be like that. The main axis of the bow from front to back on 4898* is strongly reminiscent of the rectangular section of the Military Colchester, Type 8, see below Part 3 (Plate 27 550*).

4898* 4899–900 12240

Dating: 4899 Canterbury 350–375.

Distribution: KT 11 GLOS 1 LEICS 1

3.3. These have a lozenge section to their bows. There are only two so far and if only the start of the spring had survived they would have been added to Type 5 of the ordinary Nauheim Derivative.

4901* 4902

Dating: 4902 Bagendon, 50–60.

Distribution: ESS 1 GLOS 1

Odd 4. Plate 11. The bow is broad from top to bottom and, in profile, has a flat-fronted bow stepping back to a straight foot. Decoration is basically confined to punch-mark strips down the bow. 12209* has been flattened, but it has all the characteristics of the others. 3898 is again from the Hildyard Collection (No 204) and is not to scale.

3897 3898* 3899 9661 9681–2 12209*

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT 11 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 CAMBS 11

The Drahtfibel [D]. Plate 11. These, as the name suggests, have wire bows. In principle, all were made from uniform-sectioned wire from the catch-plate to almost the end of the pin. These might have been termed filiform, but that

conveys as much sense as the German word which was more or less the common one until the publication of Feugère's (1985) work. One might have thought that such a simple manufacturing requirement would have given rise to a very commonly found brooch, yet, in fact, those related one way or another to the Nauheim are about three times as common.

As was the case for the Nauheim, there are many with external chords, and here they are separated from the others.

1.a. The external chord. Those in italics lack the catch-plate, but have external chords. While it is possible that some of these might not have had framed catch-plates, e.g. 4477* included here, the comments on dating under 1.b below suggest that that was a great rarity and, as in the case of the Nauheim, solid catch-plates seem not to go with external chords. On the whole, the external chord can usually be used as a dating agent.

4494, like 4496 in 1.b, had at least six coils and must have come ultimately from the early site under the extraordinary late structures destroyed on the collapse of the Icenian revolt at Thetford (Gregory 1992). The other items from the same site in the dated list should surely also have derived from the earlier occupation. 4475 has an elusive date but is guaranteed to be anterior to the first century B.C. It also has five coils and cannot have been a La Tène II as the remains of the catch-plate show.

4495* has a rod through the coils of the spring which seems to have five coils, but this results from a repair, a new pin having been wound round an introduced axis bar. 4496 from South Cadbury had more than four coils and this ought to be a throw back to earlier La Tène types which tended to have no fewer than six coils. Those underlined are in iron. The proportion is a high one and the comment under the 1.c2 Derivative may be pertinent. The bows of those after / have lozenge cross-sections.

2920 2937 2940–2 2944–5 2947 4163* 4469–73 4474 4475–6 4477* 4493–4 4495* 4496 4500 9692 14900 / 2911 2913 2915 2939

Dating: 2911 2913 2915 2920 2937 2939 2940–2 2945 2947 14900 Westhampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 4475 Gussage All Saints, phase 1; 4493 Hengistbury Head, c.50 B.C.–A.D. 43; 4476 Maiden Castle, c.25–50; 4495* Maiden Castle, c.40–70; 4470–3 Thetford, c.45–61;

The finds from the Westhampnett cemetery [277] have dramatically changed the dating of brooches in that the recovered suite comprehensively showed what was current during a fairly short time-range. One may argue that the external chord could go back into the second century B.C., but the fact that so many were found should not blind one to the fact that the earliest possible date is not necessarily of much use when dealing with a large group. In the light of the cemetery, it would be difficult to push the external chord much after 50 B.C. Future work may show that the whole of the date-range could with profit be pushed back by perhaps 20 years, but for the present what we have is a great advance over the vague speculations of the past.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 111111111111 HANTS 11 DORS 111 SOM 111 EA 11111 CAMBS 1 Lincs 1 All come from coastal counties, and the number from Fison Way, Thetford indicates that this was an important site before the major late developments.

1b. Internal chords; again, those in iron are underlined and those without catch-plates are in italics.

2905 4468 4479* 4487 4489 4492 4499 4513 9688 11809 14828

Dating: 2905 Westhampnett, 90–50 B.C.; 4468 Foxholes Farm, 80–20 B.C.; 4479* Thetford, c.45–61; 4489 Gussage All Saints, before 75; 4492 Hengistbury Head, ?50–100.

The roll call of the dated examples alone demonstrates that most should perhaps be referred back to the date provided by the example from Foxholes Farm which broadly matches that given by the Westhampnett item. When it comes to the 1.a brooches, those from Gussage All Saints and Danebury are in a class on their own in the sense that in absolute terms they are not *Drahtfibel*. However, the tenor of the remarks concerning the more wayward examples gathered here is that, unlike the Nauheim which had a simple progression in terms of the external/internal chord change over, there is a more complex relationship between brooches of the current form and their precursors.

Significantly, the examples from Thetford came from a remarkable site which overlay an earlier one [345] which should have been the origin of the two brooches there.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 DORS 1 WILTS 1 HERTS 111 EA 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1

The basically coastal bias is still present, but the examples from Wiltshire and Hertfordshire show that there was some penetration.

The *Drahtfibel* Derivative [DD]. *Plates 11–12.* The framed catch-plate has gone, replaced firstly by multiple piercings, 1.a, but shortly by solid ones 1.b. The other main characteristic is that the section of the bow is as wide, or scarcely wider, than the section of the spring coils.

1.a These have pierced catch-plates. The number is very small for the simple reason that there are a great many which have lost their catch-plates and so might have been here, but have to find their place in 1.b. 4498 has a line of circular holes and the others, where there is enough evidence, seem to have elaborate fretting.

4483 4497* 4498* 4503 4510 14937

Dating: King Harry Lane, 4503 phase 1, 4510 phase 2; 14937 Silchester, 40–50/60.

The fretting of these suits the earlier decades of the first century A.D.: for the dating of the King Harry Lane cemetery, see Appendix 1.

Distribution: HANTS 11 HERTS 11 GLOS 1 CAMBS 1

1.b. These have solid catch-plates or no catch-plate at all. There is a very large number of these and those which are underlined are large brooches which may well have

had a place in 1.a had they been more complete. The division below is based on the material from which they were made.

1.b1. Copper Alloy. Note that 4482*, which has no provenance, has the angular look at the head of the bow and the change in profile at the top of the catch-plate which might show that it was military in origin and from the continent. 9697 is an unfinished forged brooch from Commander Mann's excavations at Caister St. Edmund's (Norwich Castle Museum, 150.962). It has no spring, but only *Drahtfibel*, Nauheim Derivative and Penannular brooches were commonly made this way. 9693 is one of the smallest brooches encountered: 25mm long. 14938, probably about the same length, has three diagonal cross-cuts just above the damaged catch-plate.

4373 4376 4481 4482* 4484 4488 4502 4514–5 4517 4521 4522* 4527–8 4530 4546–7 4550–1 4553 4567 4577 4589 4605 4617 4623 4626–7 4632 4635 4637–8 4643 4659 4698 4716 4719 4721–3 4725 4731–2 4735–6 4762–3 9687 9689 9693 9696–7 11810 12241 12722 14483 14485 14826 14926 14931 14938

Dating: 4488 Canterbury, 20 B.C.–A.D. 20/80; 4502 King Harry Lane, phase 1; 4546 Baldock, 20–150; 4373 Puckeridge, ?c.25–Claudian; 14938 Silchester, 40–50/60; 4723 Verulamium, before c.60; 4527 Hardwick Park, 1st century; 14926 Silchester, 50/60–80; 4719 Maxey, late 1st–late 2nd century?; 4643 Braughing, 150–200.

Possibly late first century B.C.; deciding the cut-off point for survivors in use is not easy, but it is possibly before 75/80 as the initial dates of only two fall later than that.

Distribution: KT 1111111111 SUSS 11 HANTS 11111 SOM 11 ESSEX 111 HERTS 1111111111111111 EA 11 BEDS 11 OXON 1 GLOS 111 CAMBS 111 NHANTS 1111 LEICS 1 WARKS 11 WALES 1 STAFFS 1 NOTTS 1 Lincs 1

There is a poor performance in central southern England, and as might be expected, in the deep South West. The strongest region seems to be from Hertfordshire towards Gloucestershire, although their lack in Oxfordshire is not easy to explain, and up the eastern side into Lincolnshire.

1.b2. *Plate 12.* Iron.

4478 4480 4490–1 4501 4504 4505–9 4511–2 4604 4660* 4661 4662* 4674 4679–80 4683–4 4690 4693 4695 4700–1 4713 4742 4747 4753 4760–1 12260 12264 13721 14825 14942–3

Dating: 4480 2nd /1st century B.C.–A.D. 50/60; 4504 Kelvedon, 1st century B.C.–43; 4508 Swarling, 1st century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.; 14942 14943 Silchester, 15 B.C.–A.D. 40/50; 4679–80 Ower, before 25/50; 4661–2 Puckeridge, ?c.25–Claudian; 4506 Kelvedon, before c.40; 4491 Thetford, c.45–61; 4509 4511–2 King Harry Lane, unphased, but before 50; 12264 London, pre-Flavian; 4742 Gussage All Saints, before 75; 12260 London, 2nd century; 4747 Ower, late Roman.

The dating shows fairly convincingly that none of these was to be seen in use significantly after 75, and it might even be that 60 is a better choice.

Odd 1. Plate 12. The three-coil system. As was the case with those in the Nauheim Derivative group, these are divided into those of copper alloy and those of iron.

Odd 1.a. Copper alloy. 4887* is the only one with decoration and, as such, is excessively rare in the *Drahtfibel* and its family.

4628 4883–6 4887* 4888–92 4893* 4895–6

Dating: 4891 Verulamium, 150–160; 4895 Stonea, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 4890 Baldock, late 3rd century?; 4893* Canterbury, 300/320–350; 4892 Colchester, 350–450; 4886 Canterbury, 375–early 5th century.

All would be regarded as having been residual in their contexts, if it had not been for the exactly similar kind of dating for those taking after the Nauheim (see Nauheim Odd 3.1a).

Distribution: KT 11111 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 111 CAMBS 1 WALES 1

The South East, with very few elsewhere.

Odd 1.b. Iron. 14927 and 14939 have corroded heads which are not really wide enough for four coils. The latter also has the sharp angle in the profile which suits brooches frequently found in military contexts ([77] *etc.*).

4678* 4878–82 4894 4897 12268 13745 14927 14939–40 14944

Dating: 4881 Skeleton Green, c.10 B.C.–A.D. 20; 14944 Silchester, 25–15 B.C.; 14927 14939–40 Silchester, 40–50/60; 4878 N Cerney, Ditches, 50–65; 4882 Great Oakley, late 1st–near the end of the 2nd century.

Distribution: KT 1 NHANTS 1111 WILTS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 EA 1 GLOS 11 NHANTS 11

Not to be found really in the deepest South East. The one from Kent, 13745, would probably with its very thin section have been classified as a potential *Drahtfibel* but for the three coils of its spring.

Odd 2. *Plate 12.* These may be related to the Aucissa, as some obviously are, 4777–8, and are before the first /. The rest have a knob at the foot of the bow, except those where this seems to have been reduced to a simple forward projection, which are after the second /. Strictly speaking, the first few ought to be classified as some form of Nauheim Derivative, but of the rest, the majority, are clearly not. 9690 has the sharp angular profile found on Colchester of military origin.

4777–8 4784* 12271 13697 / 4779–83 4785–9 4790* 4791–3 9690 12273 12275 12827 14487 14489 / 4591 4794* 4795–800 12274 15381

Dating: 4797 Harlow temple, before 80; 4783 Newstead, 80–c.200; 14487 Castleford, 85/90–135/40; 4781 Wroxeter, before 90; 4779 Wroxeter, 75–100?; 4800 Verulamium, 2nd century; 12827 Abergavenny, mid 2nd century; 13697 Dorchester, 150–250; 4787–8 Old Winteringham, before 200.

Distribution: DORS 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 11111 BERKS 1 BUCKS 1 GLOS 1111 NHANTS 11111 LEICS 11 WARKS 1 WALES 1 SALOP 1111 Lincs 11111 YORKS 1 LANCS 1 SCOT 1

Both dating and distribution go together, in the sense that the dating seems consistent. None is certainly mid first century or earlier when the Aucissa was still to be seen in use. The limited evidence points an origin in the later 50s and the 60s when the supposed parent type was passing

out of fashion. The distribution is of great interest being away from the deep South East and Central Southern England. Most of the sites are settlements and towns and it is with the group from Wroxeter that we can see an added dimension. Characteristic of the earliest, military, period, Aucissas out-number Hod Hills. In Chapter 11 it is suggested that the Aucissa was possibly a badge of the Legio XIV Gemina and the relatively large number of the present type here might have been an attempt to replace a style no longer being made. If so, those examples north of the Dee-Humber line may represent actual soldiers rather than natives acquiring what they could lay their hands on: there is no good evidence that the native population of these lands wore bow brooches as a matter of course.

Brooches having more than four coils to their springs. *Plates 12–13.* These are arranged in approximately decreasing numbers

More than four-Coil Springs This is a mixed group with little evidence on the whole that there was a major craftsman involved. They are divided here simply into those which are decorated, and then into either copper alloy or iron. Some have very thin bows and might have been described as *Drahtfibel* Derivatives, but there are so few that such a distinction is largely self-defeating.

7C+.1 Decorated. 4819* is a rare example of a post Nauheim or *Drahtfibel* brooch with a pierced catch-plate. 4823 has eight coils, 4824 a line of dot-and-circle on the upper bow, while 4826 from London may not be British. 4196 4819* 4823* 4824 4826 12277*

Dating: 4819* Werrington, c.50/60–c.100; 4196 Chichester, Flavian; 4823* Chichester, 350–400+.

Almost certainly exclusively first century and very probably before 75, the distribution is meaningless.

7C+.2. Plain copper alloy. 4815* has a pseudo five-coil sprung; the central coil is curled round a tube on which the separately made other coils and pin are mounted. There was no sign that this was a repair, the end of the false coil being neatly rounded. 4817* is another rare example of a pierced catch-plate.

4815* 4817* 4820–1 4825*

Dating: 4825* Fishbourne, c.43–c.75; 4820 Derby, c.55–80/5; 4821 Chichester, late 1st–mid/late 2nd century.

7C+.3. Iron. 4822 and 4827 are the remains of what were undoubtedly substantial brooches in excess of 80mm in length.

2899* 4816 4818 4822 4827–8 4829* 12276

Dating: 4827 King Harry Lane, phase? before 50; 4828 Weekley, mid–late 1st century; 4816 Old Winteringham, before c.75; 4929* Alcester, later 4th century.

Distribution: SUSS 1122 WILTS 3 MSEX 1 HERTS 3 BEDS 2 GLOS 3 CAMBS 11 NHTS 3 LEICS 123 WARKS 3 DERBS 2 Lincs 233

Ten come from the general southern parts of Britain, and nine come from the East Midlands.

Feugère [Feugère] 11a. Plate 13. The type specimens defined by Feugère ([270], fig. 11) have a domed upper part of their bows which themselves can either taper to the foot continuously from the rounded top, or have a domed circle above a narrow lower bow. Those illustrated on his plate 83, 1101–1112, show the range he allowed. It will be seen that while there are some here which are not exact matches, they all conform in principle with his selection.

Hardly any of the first form come from Britain, and the second form is given in roughly descending order of complexity. 3912 is not to scale: it was taken from a sketch sent by Christopher Sparey Green. Those after / have no domed top, but the shape of the front view is retained until, in the case of 3853 and 15379, the bulge has slipped very low. 3894* may not be formally dated, but it came from the same field as the famous Desborough Mirror.

3900* 3901–2 3905–6 3909–10 3911* 3912* 3913 3916 13737–9 13856 14467* 14468* / 2897 3853 3894* 3904 3907–8 3914–5 4173 15379

Dating: 13737–8 Salford, 50–10 B.C.; 3900* Dorchester, Late Iron Age–early Roman; 4173, Canterbury 1st century; 3911* Braughing, 150–200, plus?.

There are enough examples from the second half of the first century B.C. for it to be certain that they were passing out of use in the latter part, and it may be that the beginning of the type could be set as early as 75 B.C., on the principle that few from the early years of production find their way into a datable context very soon after the design had come into being.

Feugère 11c. One possible one from Silchester; one would not really expect many of these lesser varieties to occur in Britain.

14951

Dating: 14951 Silchester, 50/60–80.

Feugère 11d One example has come to my notice.

14964

Dating: 14964 Silchester, 260–5th century.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 DORS 11 WLTS 11111 SOM 111 MSX 1 HRTS 1 GLOS 11 BEDS 11 OX 1 EA 1 CAMBS 11 NHTS 1 NTTS 1 Lincs 11

Generally south-east of the Fosse Way, it is more common in the area of Dorset/Wiltshire/Somerset/ Gloucestershire than elsewhere but spreads out east and north-east from there.

Almgren 16 [Almgren]. Plates 13–14. Defined by Almgren's illustration ([16], *Taf.* 1, 16), the British examples do not have the separately-made foot-knob of the type specimen, but Almgren allowed variants without this. The chief features are the sturdy and curved bow with a step back to a vertical foot which may be wide or narrow. The examples are arranged in order of closeness to the original brooch chosen by Almgren to illustrate the type. First comes the thin flat rectangular-sectioned bow, then after the first / come the chief examples found in Britain which

ought to have been imports from the continent. These have a lozenge-sectioned bow frequently with cross-cuts on the angles, very reminiscent of the Penannular type K5. Both may have come from the same workshop, there being no reason why different types need have come from different *ateliers*. Finally, after the second /, come a few which are almost certainly British but seem to be copying the same basic profile.

4773* / 4768 4769* 4770 4771 4772* 9686 11820 / 4552 4539 4644*

Dating: 4539 Fishbourne, c.75/80; 4552 Braughing, 100–150.

The date would seem to the latter part of the first century A.D. into the second century. Böhme ([77] 15), sees these as being contemporary with Almgren 15, an angular form of *Drahtfibel* Derivative which is dated at Saalburg and Zugmantel to the period Domitian – Hadrian, which fits the very limited British evidence quite well. However, whether it was worn by women open to question.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 1 CAMBS 1 STAFFS 1 DERBS 1 SCOT 11

Feugère 12a Plate 14. The upper bow is straight-sided and broad and narrows suddenly to a foot which tapers to a point. At the top of the foot is a collar. Without the collar, all would all be Feugère's Type 6c. The upper bow is usually decorated with ribbing sometimes articulated and occasionally incorporating beading ([270], pls 85–87, 1148–1170). Two have been recorded by me from definite British sites, 3840* from Colchester in the Hildyard Collection (No 117) and drawn from a sketch, and 2898*.

2898* 3840* 3841

Dating: none.

Feugère's discussion of the dating suggests that the type proper belongs to the last decades of the first century B.C. and should be expected to have remained in use into the earlier second century A.D. The problem of those from St. Bertrand de Comminges may disappear as the site is re-examined: the earlier system of site clearance was not capable of discovering any ephemeral structures or floors. The British evidence does not help, but the two from Canterbury could be copies, either made in France or Britain and belong to the underlying pre-conquest site.

12ax. Close and not so close. Plate 14. Here are those which bear some of the principal features of the 12a proper: an emphasis on the upper bow and some version of the collar. In the case of 3890 and 3892–3* the upper bow has developed a bulge at the bottom and 3893 in particular possibly has no place here as the spring is masked by a double lobed top to the bow.

3842* 3843–4 3887 3890 3892 3893* 3895*

Dating: 3893* Foxholes Farm, c.80–20 B.C.; 3843 Canterbury, 1st–2nd century; 3842* Canterbury, 175–300/320.

The early date of 3893* is almost certainly related to the manner in which the spring is tucked behind the bow and does not grow organically from the top of that. In this, it

would be a member of Feugère's Type 7 ([270], 180, 232–6, pls 67–70, 927–973). The dating runs from the second century to towards the end of the first century B.C. The shape of the present item is close, however, to the early Rosette and in that case it would have been in its correct horizon at Foxholes Farm. No other is so well dated: the two from Canterbury must have been residual, all or in part, in their contexts.

Feugère 5c. Plate 14. Two examples, one with a framed catch-plate, the other a solid one. The only difference this is likely to make is over the date. 14965 from Silchester is perhaps best described as a 5c Variant. The upper rounded end has gone, leaving the lower points, the bow having a border groove and a cross carried out in walked graver ornament.

3889* 14963 /14965

Dating: 14963 Silchester, 80–125.

Feugère 10b. Plate 14. There is one only in the Corpus which might be this. Defined as having a four-coil-internal-chord spring, the bow tapers outwards towards the top of the catch-plate when there is a sudden constriction, a disc and then an upright catch-plate. The present example obeys these rules, but has lost the catch-plate and the disc, which means that there must remain an element of doubt.

4696*

Dating: none.

The range of dates for Feugère Type 5, which includes the classic Nauheim, is extensive, but 5c is seen by him as having come into being in the middling part of the first century B.C. ([270], 226). However, the examples he illustrates, which conform to the present one in terms of the shape of the head of the bow, are each given a separate variant number and so are 5c17–5c21. One might be inclined to think that he had difficulty in deciding where to put such an individual design, as indeed I have. In short, the only reasonable solution is to see this brooch type in terms of the end-date for framed catch-plates and the development in common usage of the solid one, while retaining the essence of the original decorative scheme. In that case, both these brooches are likely to belong to the second half of the first century B.C.

Feugère 7c (Feugère 1985, 180, 232–6, pl. 69, 961–9), Plate 14.

3917*

Dating: 3917* Foxholes Farm, c.80–20 B.C.

Iron Age Odd [IA Odd]. Plates 14–15. Here is gathered the collection of items with hinged pins which ought to have been produced in pre-Roman times or to have derived from items which should belong wholly there. First is something which looks as though it may be continental.

IA Odd 1. Caution: an iron brooch from Baldock is a Feugère Type 7c but for the hinged-pin. It has no home

elsewhere and is given here as a variant in the hopes that it truly is.

14466*

IA Odd 2. Three items from East Anglia and Lincolnshire which share the same characteristics: hinged pin in a very short head, a pronounced bow of circular, or nearly so, section at whose base are mouldings making the top of the foot which is flat and relatively broad. 13852 has ornament which places it basically in the first half of the first century A.D., and the others are assumed to be related.

4122* 4123 13852*

IA Odd 3. The first two must be related to the type of Birdlip which belongs predominantly to Lincolnshire, but here the beak and foot has been replaced by a sweep upwards with a roll at the top. The third can hardly be anything other than Iron Age when its moulded and engraved decoration is looked at.

2957* 13851 4121*

IA Odd 4. Plate 15. Here are those which might have been thought to have been Colchesters, except for the hinged pin behind the wings. The fact that there are so very few apparent Colchesters with this pin-fixing arrangement, and that they all come Norfolk and Lincolnshire, suggests that the basic dating, earlier 1st century A.D., may be right. Only 4125 has the pierced catch-plate with a dog-leg bar which points firmly in this direction, but they all come from sites with attested pre-conquest occupation.

4124* 4125 13853–4

IA Odd x. Not called Feugère's Type 5, the first example is perhaps too individual for close relatives to be expected. The end which once carried the pin resembles the separate spring with knobs mounted on the end of an axis bar found on some brooches from Free Germany (see Chapter 8, Part 3). Perhaps a better relationship would be with those in Part 5 of this chapter. The decoration would fit better there.

The second lacks the pin-fixing arrangement but the signs are better suited to a four-coil-internal-chord spring system than for a hinge. As such, it does not fit in with the series to which the Nauheim belongs: this item has a parallel-sided bow and no point.

13855 14511*

Part 2. The Rosette and Langton Down Group

The Rosette [ROS]. Sometimes called the Thistle, the present term is adopted because it seems that, on the whole, the form is closer to the kind of rosette pinned to prize bulls, pigs *etc.* at agricultural shows, or politicians at election times. Any brooch assigned to this family must have the appearance of having a large plate, which may be

round or lozenge-shaped, even with multiple points in the middle, with a narrow projection below and, except for late ones, a bow rising from the plate to join the spring-fixing arrangement. The standard forms have separately-made springs housed in a cylindrical tube with a slot for the pin and, originally with caps sealing the ends. The earliest ones have springs and wings like the Colchester, the latest have hinged pins mounted on the back of the plate. There are many varieties and the chief ones are given below, beginning with the earliest strand.

1. The CRICIRV and the stages leading to the spring-case. *Plates 15–16.* The brooch known as the CRICIRV occurs on a coin carrying that name and dating to just before the middle of the first century B.C. [15]. What is shown is a single view, the profile, of a brooch which can hardly be any other than an early version of the Rosette. The spring is that of a Colchester (see Part 3) behind the wings to be expected of that type, except that the spring is in effect mounted on the front, but the head is so bent back that it is the back of the wings which is presented to the front: 5757*, the only example of the type from Britain known to me. The bow is, as a result, very highly arched. The disc is cast in the middle and the foot is very long with a catch-plate which is virtually parallel sided, and pierced with a row of holes all in a single file.

There is a suggestion amongst the collection from Britain that there was an earlier stage in which the disc was separately made and then threaded on to the otherwise plain bow (5754, 13749).

The next stage was for the bow to become much closer to a semicircle so that the spring was moved to what was to become its customary position. The rest of the brooch remained the same, with the foot becoming shorter. The disc was decorated with stamps and the first stage of the spring-case was developed by removing the wings and threading the top of the bow through a sheet metal plate which ultimately enclosed the spring and was cast in with the head of the bow. The final stage was when the spring was separately made and then housed in the tube, by which time the first stage of the standard Rosette was born, see Type 2.

1.a CRICIRV and the Colchester system. *Plate 15.*

3667 5753–6 5757* 5758–9 5775–6 5783 5785–8 5808* 11755* 11756* 13748 13749* 13754 14492 14907

Dating: 5787 Baldock, A.D. 1–25; 5754 & 5808* Skeleton Green, A.D. 15–25; 5775 Puckeridge Station Road, before A.D. 25 with no Gallo-Belgic wares.

The roll call of sites is interesting and is given here in alphabetical order: Ariconium (Weston under Penyard), Baldock, Bradwell (Norfolk), Braughing/Puckeridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Dragonby, Easton Maudit, Mildenhall (Suffolk?), Milton Keynes, Peterborough, Piddington, Saham Toney, Sleaford Old Place. Many (those in Bold), if not most, are strongly associated with material which pre-dates the standard Late pre-Roman Iron Age assemblages. Similarly, many, if not most, are not

associated with Roman military activity. Many represent a polity pre-dating the one which the Romans found when they arrived. None comes from the King Harry Lane Cemetery whose dating is discussed (Appendix 1).

Distribution: KT 11 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1111111 BUCKS 1 CAMBS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 11 HERE 11 NHANTS 11 LINCS 111

If one accepts that Dragonby and Ariconium were occupied because of the iron ore there and, because of that, were desirable sites to a dominant political/cultural people, that might also be true of sites in Northamptonshire, the proper heartland of the culture using these brooches is the South East. As these brooches were brought in from the Continent, the area also includes the trading routes. I say this because Kent, when it comes to brooches, stands apart in so many ways from the area north of the Thames that there is a distinct cultural difference in the feel of the assemblages from north and south of the estuary. One might say that the Kentish group extends much further west though Sussex and probably into south Hampshire.

1.b. The beginnings of the case. *Plate 15.* A small group has a much larger disc with deep flutings which fail to run all the way round. In addition, the profile of the disc is stepped with every appearance of the disc being eccentric about its junction with the bow (5789–91). These features should be related to the development of the Tarrant Hinton type: Type 3 below. A further group has a half cylinder cast on the head and bow either plain or with minimal decoration down the middle; the discs also seem to be smaller and plainer than the majority (5760–1 5763–4).

5760–1 5762* 5763–4 5773 5774* 5777–80 5781* 5782 5784 5789* 5790–1 5821* 5831 11757 13750–1 13753 14494

Dating: 13750 Dragonby, Iron Age with Roman contamination; 5763 Colchester, 49–61; 5774* Canterbury, 100/110–125; 5779 Braughing, Skeleton Green, 130–180.

The fact that not one of these brooches occurred in the King Harry Lane Cemetery is sufficient testimony that they belong to the first century B.C. Therefore to describe one as Claudian when the specialist's report makes it clear that such brooches pre-date the normal Rosette is obtuse ([699], 28). There is only one site in Britain which provides any useful information on the typological development of the Rosette, and its close relative the *Léontomorphe*, and that is the King Harry Lane cemetery. Before dealing with the statistics, it is necessary to look at the typology as it is presented in the report ([675], fig. 49, F, G and L1). There is no attempt to arrange the different manufacturing styles in a chronological framework (*ibid.*, 93–4), but the graves listed under each "style" reveal the fairly obvious: those whose central discs are actually separate from the fantail foot are earlier than those which have the bow made from the same piece of plate. Those lacking a proper bow between the disc and the spring-case are later still. This can be used as a rough guide for those in unphased graves. The

dating of the cemetery is not at issue here: all that needs be noted is that the present sub-type belongs to a typological stage earlier than any at St. Albans, which means that it is first century B.C. and probably before c.20 B.C.

Distribution: KENT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 11 WILTS 11 ESSEX 111 HERTS 1 BUCKS 1 GLOS 1 SUFF 11 NORF 11111 CAMBS 1 Lincs 1

The number from Norfolk may well be related to the development of the major Iron Age kingdom there, apart from the natural skew which the collecting policy has introduced. Elsewhere, the spread of sites is what might be expected in the developed Late Iron Age south-eastern parts of Britain. Nothing striking emerges.

1.c. The Kragenfibel. *Plate 16.* The spring is either the Colchester system, or more rarely the four-coil-internal-chord system of the Nauheim family (5772), and the writer has recorded one with a hinged pin (5771); another from Piddington, in iron 14821, may be another. The chief characteristic is that the normal straight-sided bow is replaced by a plate which splays outwards towards the disc before suddenly narrowing to join the disc in the middle. 5765 5766* 5767–71 5772* 14821

Dating: 5766* Alcester, late 2nd–early 3rd century.

There is effectively no British dating: the Alcester example is in iron and it presumably belonged to a soldier. The use of iron for personal ornament is attested by the occurrence of iron finger rings set with *intagliones*. The suggestion currently is that there may well be another military site under the Piddington villa, in which case 14821 may have derived from an appropriate context.

Distribution: HANTS 11 ESSEX 11 BEDS 1 NORF 1 OXON 1 NHANTS 1 WARKS 1

There is little to say as there are so few specimens. More examples may change the picture.

2. The separate plate. *Plate 16.* Here, the spring-case has fully developed. The bow and the fantail are usually in their final reeded form, and the disc is to the casual eye indistinguishable from the commonest group of Rosettes. However, it is here that the brooch shows that it is typologically earlier than those. The disc is a combination of a cast-in feature and a separately made and applied sheet. Occasionally a Rosette is found which seems to have a small but thick disc, one which does not look as though it was really worth marking. If the diameter is scarcely larger than the width of the bow, then almost certainly the separately-made disc is missing. In other instances, the brooch, on being bent into its final form, still retains the slightly open character found on earlier versions; otherwise the foot is usually pressed close to the back of the disc. Sometimes the hole in the centre of the separate piece has a curious V-shaped notch in its periphery (5800). This is to allow the sheet to be slid over the foot where the bottom is wider than the top and the cast-in part of the disc.

2.a. First come all which have lost their separately-made plates:

5792–5 5796* 5797 5799* 5804 11764 13758–9 14495 14893 14902

Dating: 5799* Skeleton Green, 15 B.C.–A.D. 1; 5795 Colchester, 10–43.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1111 BUCKS 1 GLOS 1 NORF 1111 CAMBS 1

2.b. Here are those which still keep all or part of the separately-made disc. 13755 from Leicester had inlaid silver and was gilded, the base metal in this case looking as though it is copper rather than a brass/bronze. Its state of preservation suggests it had recently come from a disturbed burial.

5800–3 5805–6 5807* 5809–16 11762–3 13755* 13756 14845

Dating: 5816 Kelvedon, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 43; King Harry Lane cemetery, Phase 1, 5810 5811 5812 5813 5814 5815 Phase 2, 5809; 13756 Dragonby, mid 1st century, 5802 Colchester, after 43?; 5803 Colchester, not pre-Claudian; 5806 Hengistbury Head, 3rd–4th century.

Here King Harry Lane appears for the first time for the simple reason that complete specimens were buried with the dead. In terms of the typological development explored so far it is not surprising to find that the evidence is heavily weighted towards the earliest stages. The type was fully developed before the cemetery opened. With the reconsideration of the date of the cemetery (see Appendix 1), the dating is remarkably consistent; there is no long tail of residual examples through the later first century into the second. This argues for an early terminal date for manufacture and that should effectively be before Phase 2 of the King Harry Lane cemetery, if not Phase 1.

Distribution: HANTS 1 ESSEX 11111 MSEX 1 HERTS 11111111 BEDS 1 NORF 1 NHANTS 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 1

For the first time we can see part of the known pre-conquest political/cultural entities, the emerging Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian group. The singletons further north reflect other known groups. They are all there in the latter part of the first century B.C.

3. The Hurstbourne Tarrant. *Plate 16.* Named after an example, 5826, published from that site in Hampshire ([793], 305, fig. 31, 1), three features mark out the type. Firstly, the spring-case is usually open at the back, showing that it is typologically earlier than the main type fitted with the complete cylinder, and it can be fitted with an integral Colchester-style spring. Secondly, the disc is completely cast in with the bow and foot and runs up to touch the case housing the spring, seldom being cast in with that. Thirdly, the disc is usually eccentric, the bow running in near the top and the face of the disc is frequently stepped, beading being very sparingly used, even if present.

Note that 5825 has a lozenge-shaped disc, a common feature of later varieties. 5817 is part of the Durden Collection from Hod Hill in the British Museum, but failed to appear in either of the two volumes on the site.

5817–8 5819* 5820 5822* 5823 5825–7 5828* 5829–30 5832 12403–4 13752 14493 14898 14906

Dating: 5826 Hurstbourne Tarrant, 30–40; 5817 Hod Hill, before 50; 5830 Harlow Temple, before 80; 5823 Canterbury, 300/320–350.

Guaranteed to be pre-conquest just from the roll-call of the sites from which the dated examples come, there is a lack of precision as yet.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 11 DORS 1 ESSEX 11 BEDS 1 HERE 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 11 NHANTS 11 LEICS 1 NOTTS 11 LINGS 1

The South East, central southern and the east side of England up to the Humber seems to be the area through which this sub-type is scattered rather thinly. The example from Ariconium may be related to the exploitation of the ironstone there.

Comment The earlier stage may be represented by the group mentioned under sub-type 1.b above.

4. The integral plate with repoussé. Plates 16–17. The complete spring-case almost always has a decorated panel on the front, or, failing that, an empty panel defined by moulding, much depending on the size of the piece. The bow and foot are reeded with the same pattern and can at times have applied beaded red enamel. The most prominent feature, however, is the large disc fitted with a repoussé sheet which is both curved in section and cut with holes usually intended to look like vesicas, *e.g.* 5855, Plate 16. Often, however, this has been so damaged that all that remains are the stubs between the holes on the inner edge. If in doubt, the presence of a plain band between a decorated border and the disc should be a sure sign that the applied plate had once been present. The plate may be circular or in the form of a lozenge. There is no reason as yet to think that there is any real chronological significance between the two. One feature which seldom survives is the copper alloy “bolt” mounted on an iron spring inserted behind the bow. The iron seems to have no other function than to keep the copper alloy in position. The result, when viewed from the front is of a moulded boss sticking out on each side.

4.a The circular plate.

5833–54 5855* 5856–61 5862* 5863–5868 5869* 5870–1 11758 11760–1 12402 13757 13760–1 14496 14897 14899

Dating: 5865 Braughing, 20 B.C.–A.D. 45; King Harry Lane, 5852 Phase 1, 5854 5858 5860 5862 Phase 2, 5855 5856 5861 Phase 3; 13761 Verulamium Folly Lane, before 40; 5840 5858 5350 Colchester, 10–43; 5867 Bancroft, late Iron-Age–late 1st century; 5842 Colchester, 30–50; 5834 Cirencester, 45; 5851 Colchester, 49–60; 5834 Cirencester, 50–60/75; 5847 Chichester, Claudian–Neronian?; 5863 Harlow Temple, before 80

Appendix 1 sets out the arguments for revising the published dating of the King Harry lane cemetery, column a below, and the results of the discussion are given below. Five of the eight dated examples from the cemetery must be pre-conquest with a strong probability that the remaining three were deposited before 45. The asterisk in the table below denotes the normal site dating from elsewhere where there is a survival in use and the determination of where

that would end and plain residuality begins is always a fine one. However, the list given above shows that there is room for refinement.

Phase 1 – 1–40	Phase 1 – 15 B.C.–A.D. 30
Phase 2 – 30–55	Phase 2 – 20–40
Phase 3 – 40–60	Phase 3 – 35–55*
Phase 4 – 60+	Phase 4 – 45+

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 111 ESSEX 1111111111 HERTS 1111111111111111 BUCKS 11 GLOS 111 SUFF 1 NORF 11111111 NORF/SUFF 1 CAMBS 11 LEICS 1 NOTTS 1 YORKS 1

This repeats the distribution of the last in essentials, but here there is a strong showing in the Trinovatan/Catuvellaunian lands, principally because of more intensive excavation. However, it is probably that the same image would appear even if the Verulamium evidence were to be largely discounted.

4.b. The lozenge plate.

5872–5 5876* 5877 5879* 5880–5906 12401 13762

Dating: King Harry Lane, 5884 Phase 1, 5901 Phase 2, 5881–3 5890 5898–900 5902 Phase 3; 5873 Colchester, 43/44–48?; 5872 Colchester, 61–65; 5893 Colchester, 49–61; 5894 Baldock, 50–90; 5887 Verulamium, late 2nd century

Here there is a contrast with sub-type 4.a: one each for Phases 1 and 2 and a minimum of eight for Phase 3. There may be more unphased brooches in this category, but the chances are that, if their dates were to be known, there would still be this shift showing that the lozenge grew in popularity at the expense of the disc.

Distribution: ESSEX 1111 MSEX 1 HERTS 1111111111111111111111111111 GLOS 11 CAMBS 1 NORF 11111 LINGS 1

The area covered is more confined. There is as yet none from Kent or Central Southern England and only a very minor showing in the west, the two coming from Cirencester and arriving almost certainly with the army *c.*45.

5. The Léontomorphe [LEO]. Plates 17–18. The Lion itself. Assuredly of Gallic origin, the full form has two versions. In the first, there is a lion leaping, his back legs on the spring-case and his fore-legs joining the top of a fantail foot ([270], 102, 1334–8). The earliest versions seem not to have had a separately-made disc fitted, and this also applies to an alternative form in which there are two half lions adorsed, the fore-legs of one on the spring-case and those of the other on the foot (*ibid.*, pls 102–3, 1339–45). However, the disc is soon acquired and from that moment the lion begins to devolve, the leaping form giving way to a lion couchant. The double lion form is also known, but only, as it were, in the couchant form; even here, there is a tendency to portray the head closer to the foot in more detail than the other.

5.a. We begin with those forms in Britain which are closer to the leaping lion than any other: there is a clear separation of the limbs, firstly both front and back, and then only of the back legs. In what follows, where the latter

are missing, a pair of relatively well-modelled fore paws is taken as the best sign that the lion should be here. The examples are listed in a rough order of decreasing skill in representing the beast. These also always have a separate foot-plate riveted to the bottom of the bow.

Those examples where the plate survives in a good enough state to tell, those with round discs have “o” appended, those with lozenges have “<” attached, while those with no good trace of shape having nothing. Most have lozenges and if this is an indication of date, as it seems to be when dealing with Type 4, then they are not on the whole as early as those with discs.

5913 5919 5930o* 5934<* 5935< 11757< 12407–8 13773< 13777 14498< 14901 14905

Dating: King Harry Lane, 5935< 5934<* Phase 2; 13773< Dragonby, probably pre 43.

The comments made above about the shape of the plate are probably pertinent here. Not one is certainly post-conquest.

Distribution: KT 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 111 SUFF 11 NORF 11 NHANTS 11 HERE 1 Lincs 1

With these, we are still with the heartland of the basic Trinovantian/Catuveallanian ascendancy. There is little to connect this with Atrebatian lands which, as a cultural province, run from Kent to Dorset.

5.aa. Note: Although never common, the lion is sometimes quite deliberately replaced by a sitting bird. As the bird is recognizably one, and seems not to devolve into another form, it is placed here. The type is so rare that its distribution is meaningless and its date not distinguishable from the rest of sub-type 5.a.

15466

5.b. The lion is now more primitive but still retains good evidence for the head, even if it is reduced to a more or less abstract shape with only the crudest indications of the fore paws.

5907< 5908< 5909<* 5910< 5911< 5912< 5914 5915< 5916<* 5928 5931 5932< 5933< 11769 13772< 13774< 14864

All have lozenge-shaped plates. Even if a greater number had been recorded, this bias should still have been present.

Dating: King Harry Lane, 5932< Phase 2; 5907< 5915< Colchester, early Claudian; 5911< Colchester, 40–61.

The dating runs into post-conquest times, but there is no guarantee that residuality does not play a part here.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 111 HERTS 111 OXON 1 SUFF 11 NORF 111 LEICS 11 Lincs 1

The only odd note is the item from Oxfordshire, but it is very much a matter of chance as to where outliers are going to appear.

5.c. A still recognisable lion. *Plate 17.* The brooch still has a separate foot-plate, the bow being riveted through the top. The lion has been reduced to what could be described

as a bow tie with, sometimes, the merest indication of anything at the head end to set it apart from the spring-case end.

5917<* 5918o 5921 5924–6 5927< 5936 13767–8 13771o* 13775o 14894

Many of these have no trace of the plate, being only the bow and spring-case or the fan-shaped foot-plate. What is noticeable, however, is that there is no marked swing to either lozenge-shaped plates or disc one.

Dating: 5927 Bagendon, 30–45; 5936 Colchester, before 43–60; 5917<* Colchester, 61–65

The second quarter of the first century is, in general terms, indicated.

Distribution: HANTS 1 ESSEX 11 OXON 1 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 11 CAMBS 11 Lincs 11

5.d. Crude reduction to a bow tie. *Plates 17–18.* The brooch form is now a single plate joined to the spring-case, with a fantail foot taking up most of the bow, the original bow having been reduced to some mouldings at the top. In most cases where a lion is still faintly represented, the form being copied is of the single animal (5938 11768 5939–44). However, occasionally the “bow tie” effect is so good that one is left with the impression that the double lion lies somewhere at the root of the variant (5951). The final version has two prominent cross-mouldings and hardly anything else (5937 5945–7*). Those examples which have a plain fantail foot may well have had a repoussé sheet applied to it, see 5941*. There is probably some influence at this level on another brooch type of somewhat eclectic form, Type 6.

5920 5922 5937–40 5941* 5942–6 5947* 5948 5949* 5950–1 11768 13776 13778–9 14499* 14841 14892 14903

Dating: King Harry Lane, 5950 Phase 2; 5937 Bagendon, 43/5–47/52; 5948 Kelvedon, mid-late 1st century; 5938 Hod Hill, before 50; 5939 Longthorpe, before 60/5; 11768 Gorhambury, 62–75; 5941* Chichester, mid 4th century–early 5th.

The same general date as for 5.c might be proposed, with a little extension perhaps beyond 50/60.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 11 DORS 1 ESSEX 11 MSEX 1 HERTS 11 GLOS 11 NORF 11111 CAMBS 111111 NHANTS 11

The distribution is much as before without any area standing out, unless it is Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. However, the collecting policy might account for that.

5.e. Hinged pins. 5952* has the form of a rosette with some mouldings clearly derived from the lion, but has no visual trace of the spring-case.

5952* 14840 14895*

Dating: 5952* King Harry Lane cemetery, likely to be earlier than the terminal date of that (see Appendix 1).

Distribution: HERTS 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1

The one from Hertfordshire is distinctly odd. The other three come from sites with brooches of the same early spectrum.

6. Léontomorphe “Shovel” – foot. Plate 18. The name is to a large measure self-explanatory, once some of the principal examples have been seen, but there are significant variations, therefore, this is somewhat of a catch-all category. All have proper spring-cases. All have one or more cross-mouldings at a constricted waist below either a fairly narrow trumpet expansion (6.a) or a wide plate (6.b). These clearly derive from the *Léontomorphe* varieties 5.c and 5.d. Sometimes the shovel-foot is replaced by a large fantail. Late forms are grouped under 6.c. Decoration is not consistent and there is a group with applied repoussé sheet and these are related by their designs to Type 9.

6.a. Defined above, these are closest to the brooches of Type 5.

5953 5955 5959 5961 5967* 5968

Dating: 5967* Bancroft mausoleum, a pair with 5968 being the sole relic of the other, Late Iron Age–late first century; 5953 Colchester, early Claudian; 5955 Colchester, 44–60; 5959 Bignor, 3rd century; 5961 Chichester, late Roman pit.

For Distribution, see after 6.c.

6.b. Here, the upper bow is wide and flat obviously to make room for a repoussé metal plate.

5956–7 5954 5963–5 5969 14909 12406*

Dating: 5957 Skeleton Green, 14–40; King Harry Lane, 5969 Phase 3, 5963 Verulamium, 35–50; 5965 Colchester, 61–65; 5956 Baldock, 100–220.

For Distribution, see after 6.c.

6.c. These do not really have either the form of 6.a, although 5962 is close, or the surfaces to which a repoussé plate might be applied: 5960* is too small and has a reeded fantail, while 5958* is decorated above and below the waist.

5958* 5960* 5962

Dating: 5958* Skeleton Green, late Roman–post-Roman.

Distribution of all three: SUSS aa ESSEX aab HERTS bbbbc BUCKS aa OXON b GLOS c NORF bbc CAMBS b

6.a is apparently found more in the South East than the other two whose owners had spread their wings as far as Gloucestershire and Norfolk.

Overall Dating: 6.a could be given the range 30–60 without straining the evidence. 6.b might be earlier with a range of 25–60, and 6.c has no evidence at all at the moment.

7. Feugère Type 17. Plate 18. The spring is held in a case formed by forming four flaps imperfectly round it. The bow is short with a fairly marked projection fairly simply moulded and in the case of 6063 derives from the *Léontomorphe*. There is no reason why that should not be allowed to stand for the moment though the other seems to owe more to the Rosette family.

6062* 6063

Dating: none in Britain.

Distribution: two specimens, one from Wiltshire and the other from Lincolnshire: useless.

Back to Rosettes [ROS]:

8. Single plate attached to spring-case. Plate 18.

8.a. The plate is shaped to look like a rosette and is joined by a short bridge to the spring-case which may have a fully decorated panel on the front, but more often than not seems to have only a groove at each end. The front is frequently covered with a repoussé sheet which recreates the disc and fantail appearance of earlier varieties. Occasionally an ornamental stud, usually with an enamel setting, is used in the disc (5984 and 5970 in 8.b), but they are rare enough to suggest that they are strays in a sense from the next group.

5971* 5972–91 5992* 5993 13764–6 13769 14969

Dating: King Harry Lane, 5987 Phase 2; 14969 Silchester, 40–50/60; 5975 Colchester, 43/44–48; 5973 Bagendon, 50/60; 13766 Duntisbourne Grove, before 60?; 5983 5985 Chichester, Flavian–early 2nd century; 5974 Silchester, 3rd century; 5988 Baldock, late 3rd century; 5984 Chichester, after late 3rd century; 5982 Chichester, mid 4th century?

Distribution: KT 1111 SUSS 1111 HANTS 11 ESSEX 11 HERTS 111 OXON 1 GLOS 11 SUFF 11 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 Lincs 111

Generally the whole of the South East more or less almost up to the Fosse Way.

8.b. The same in all respects, except for a stud though the disc. On this version, the repoussé sheet is confined to the disc alone which is often bordered and whose foot is always moulded with recognizable forms of the fantail found earlier. Those with lozenges instead of discs are indicated by <>. 5970 has an overall repoussé plate with the sides forming a continuous ogee curve. Unfortunately, there was no scale with the photograph and nothing to suggest how the pin was mounted: it may have had a hinged pin.

5970 5994<> 5995 5997–9 6000–4 6005–7 6008–11 6012* 6013–4 6015–7 6018<> 6019–24 6025* 12405* 12409 13763 14975

Devolved forms have poorly decorated fantails, showing that the type was no longer popular enough for clients to pay a lot for specimens.

6004 5997–8 6023 14975

Dating: King Harry Lane, 6019 6020 Phase 2; 6011 Bagendon, 20/25–43/45; 6002 Bancroft mausoleum, LPRIA–late 1st century; 6009 South Cadbury, c.45; 6013 Colchester, 44–60; 6003 Colchester, 49–61; 6024 Baldock, 50–70; 6015 Colchester, 54–60; 6012* Colchester, 60–80?; 14975 Silchester, 125–3rd century.

The date-range may run from c.30 to 65.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1111 SOM 1 ESSEX 111111111 HERTS 111111111 BUCKS 1 GLOS 1 WARKS 1 NORF 111 NHANTS 1 CAMBS 11 Lincs 111

The distribution is very much in the South East but the periphery is getting further away if the brooch from

South Cadbury is looked at. However, that apart, there is no significant change except for the dominance of Essex and Hertfordshire and it may be that this was a preferred brooch type in those lands before Boudicca's people fell upon them.

8. Odd. Plates 18–19. Here is a group of brooches which are to all intents and purposes Rosettes, yet none is part of the main sequence. They are copies in essence of the main type and could never have been common enough for each to be given a separate category. There are one or two with Polden Hill spring systems, 6178 and 6179*, and two with hinged pins, 6153 and 6172*. None is dated and the distribution adds nothing significant to our knowledge of brooches. 6173 has what might be the lower part of a trumpet head and 6057 is said to be of iron “silvered”.

6057 6153 6172* 6173 6178 6179* 14896*

9. Plate and hinge. Plate 19.

9.a. The spring-case has been replaced by a rolled-over or under flap at the top of the disc to hold the axis bar of the hinged pin. The ornament on the disc is usually riveted through the plate. Not all of these will have been imports: 6039 and 6151 look very much like British copies.

5996* 6026–7 6030* 6031–4 6039 6151 13770 14891 14904

Dating: 6027 6034 Hod Hill, before 50; 5996* Baldock, 50–70; 6039 Ilchester, late 2nd–early 3rd century

The last is clearly residual, the others point to the early conquest period.

Distribution: DORS 11 SOM 11 HERTS 11 OXON 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 11 LINC 11

The almost complete lack of any from what had been the core area of the Rosette is of note. Those in Dorset and Somerset may be local products and at least one of the Lincolnshire examples has the same appearance: 13770.

9.b. In some instance the hinge is mounted between a pair of lugs which were soldered to the back of the plate. The disc may have projections (2308* 12414) or even be shaped as though a square had been mounted on a lozenge (6040).

6028–9 6038* 6040 2308* 12414 12410–1

Dating: King Harry Lane, 2308* Phase 3; 6040 Bagendon, 43/5–47/52; 12411 Southwark, Neronian–Flavian.

Of these, only the first two are guaranteed imports.

Distribution: KT 11 MSEX 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 1 CAMBS 11 LEICS 1

9.c. The plate sometimes loses the fantail (6035* 6037), the relationship with the Rosette being displayed by the style of the disc which still has repoussé sheet soldered to it: two circles side by side, with arcs above and below thus producing a elongated quatrefoil.

6035* 6037 6041 6042* 6043 6044*

Dating: 6035* Bancroft mausoleum, late Iron Age–late 1st century; 6043 Colchester, 49–61; 6044* Chichester, 50–60; 6041 Fishbourne, 75–80.

Such a high proportion of any brooch type from datable contexts is extremely unusual and leads one to think that the range of *c.*30–60/70 is very likely.

Distribution: SUSS 11 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 BUCKS 1 LEICS 1

9d. Rosette disc with three projections, the fourth side being taken up by an open-work fantail foot. The disc has a stud, and the lugs for the hinged-pin are added to the back of the disk.

6045–7 14744*

Dating: 6047 Colchester, 61; 6045 Cirencester, 60–75?

These belong to the third quarter of the first century, if not just before as well.

Distribution: ESS 11 GLOS 1 SUFF 1

10.a. Oddments. These basically have a Polden Hill spring system (see Chapter 3, part 4), the spring is almost completely enclosed. There is a cast-on loop and pedestal rising from the case. The rest of the brooch is a flat plate shaped like a Rosette and has cells for enamel: one or two rings on the disc and a “celtic” derived design on the foot, much depends on the size of the piece. Originally there would have been applied white metal trim, a trace surviving on 12552*.

6181–3 11877 12552* 14896*

Dating: none, but the enamelling should be later 1st and 2nd century.

Distribution: GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 SALOP 1

Apart from the one from Norfolk, the tendency is decidedly south west and west.

Oddments. 6058–61 6065 6177 6180

Dating: none is dated.

Distribution: DORS 1 ESSEX 1 NORF 1 NHANTS 11 NOTTS 1 LINC 1

There is no link between these: this is truly a miscellaneous clutch of specimens.

The Langton Down [proto LD, LD]. Plates 19–21.

The name needs to be explained. Normally, a place name is given to a type because of the significant numbers found there and because it lies within the manufacturing and immediate marketing area of the type (The Colchester and the Harlow, Chapter 2, Part 3; Chapter 3, Part 2). Occasionally, this convention is flouted for the simple reason that so many of a type came from a site that the collection is itself a *locus classicus* for the designs: Hod Hill fort in Dorset and the Hod Hill Type (Chapter 6, Part 2). However, none of these applies to the Langton Down. Wheeler, when writing the Lydney report [756], came across a type of brooch for which he could find no useful designation. The British Museum provided him with a specimen (*ibid.* 71–4, fig. 10) and he took that as the exemplar and named the rest after its find spot. The type is not British and, at the time Wheeler was writing, was not at all a common find. Being continental, one would

imagine that some simple designation would be available there. Alas, this is not true for each new classification has evolved yet more fancy ways of numbering varieties and sub-varieties and the decision here is to keep Wheeler's instantly memorable, but inaccurate, name in default of any other. The single exception to this is the Nertomarus, Type 8 below, which has an undeniably distinctive name.

The bow is broad often with straight sides, is usually decorated and with a spring-case just like those on the standard Rosettes. The type as defined by Wheeler has a reeded bow, a moulding, often beaded between the bow and the spring-case, and very often some decoration on the front of the case. Some have triangular-sectioned bows and others lack full reeding, but all have the basic T shape and a case, except for very late ones which have hinged pins, but the T shape remains.

Prototypes [proto LD]

1.a. The Nauheim Strand. *Plate 19.* The spring is the four-coil-internal-chord found on the Nauheim and its Derivatives (see this chapter, Part 1). However, the bow is wide at the top and tapers only slightly to a rounded foot behind which is usually a framed catch-plate. The bow bears longitudinal decoration made up of flutes or plain bordering and may also have scorper-graver ornament. Those after / have either lost their springs or, 4171, have what appears to be some sheet over the surviving part of the spring whose habit shows nonetheless that it had an internal chord. It was Hull who suggested that this could be the origin of the Langton Down ([385], 318, Brooch 85).

4114 6312 6313* 6314 6317 11817 12415 14870 / 4170–1 4172*

Dating: 6312 from Wheathampstead, before 10 A.D; 12415 West Stow, c.25 A.D.?

However, the framed catch-plates suggest that they should be first century B.C. and not late at that. This is more or less confirmed by their absence from the large collection recovered from the cemetery at King Harry Lane [675]: it is generally earlier than the initial date of that site (see Appendix 1). Even those with solid catch-plates are likely to be in the third quarter of the first century B.C.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 11 SUFF 111 NORF 1 Lincs 1

The South East is well-favoured. The single example north of East Anglia has a solid catch-plate and comes from South Ferriby.

1.b. The Colchester Strand. *Plate 19.* The spring has the Colchester spring system (see this chapter, Part 3). The decoration is like that of the Nauheim Strand, but also has beading and there are some plain pieces. One is very short (6318), and this is found amongst what seem to be the earlier full-blown Langton Down. The catch-plates seem usually to be solid, but piercings (6313*), including at least one framed one (6320*), also occur. 14976 from Silchester

is a fragment of what may have been a giant version of this: the head is lost so there is no certainty.

6307–10 6313* 6315–6 6318–9 6320* 14886 14970–1 / 14976

Dating: 6307 6308 6318 Braughing, c.20 B.C.–45 A. D.; 6316 Kelvedon, Tiberian-40?; 14970–1 Silchester, 40–50/60; 6309 Silchester, 40–75; 6310 Baldock, 50–70; 14976 Silchester, 80–125.

Distribution: HANTS 111 DORS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 111111 BEDS 1 CAMBS 1

There should be little doubt that the type sold well amongst the Catuvellauni. The three from Hampshire come from Silchester, where the Rosette is greatly outnumbered by Langton Downs, which may point in a different direction.

2. The Langton Down [LD]. The bow is reeded, often incorporating bead-rows. The bow is set off from the same kind of spring-case found on the Rosette (see this chapter Part 2) by a cross moulding. The catch-plates are usually pierced, sometimes with a dog-leg bar, but the tendency is for it to be framed, or nearly so.

Reeded and Beaded. *Plate 20.*

2.a. Rounded top to the bow. The two chosen for illustration show the forms of the head. 6331* is the more common with the additional ridges added to fill out the splayed head, while the other shows that these can be omitted if necessary. 14876 is included here as a precautionary story: there is no beading on the metal, the three main flutes having beaded niello inlay.

6321–30 6331* 6332–44 6345* 6425 6595 12416–8 12430 13780–2 13794–5 13799 14843 14876

Dating: King Harry Lane: *Phase 1*, 6345* g.97.5, 6339 g.287.5, 6338 g.288.7, 6341 g.309.5, *Phase 2*, 6332 g.255.2, 6321 g.361.4, *Phase 3*, 6425 g.47.4, 6342 g.68.6, 6328 g.370.4; 6327 Colchester, 10–43; 6326 Colchester, 35–45; 6324 Colchester, after c.48; 6334 Colchester, 54–60; 6335 Colchester, 61; 6333 Skeleton Green, 130–80

The King Harry Lane cemetery says it all: there in force in Phase 1, and fading away after that. Following the dating given above and in Appendix 1, Phase 1 begins in 15 B.C.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 1111111 HERTS 11111111111111 OXON 1 SUFF 111 NORF 11111 CAMBS 11 LEICS 1 NHANTS 11111 Lincs 1

The chief area remains that of the Catuvellauni, but with a little spread chiefly towards the north and north west.

2.b1. Reeded not Beaded. *Plate 20.*

There is a little doubt about the correct division between 2.a and 2.b whether the illustrator really noticed such small details as beading, especially if it was worn. Therefore, as it is not possible to check every single brooch against its published drawing, a measure of trust has had to be adopted.

There is no beading on the bow. The mouldings on the expanded head are kept the same width and the wider space created on each side is filled with an extra one which

tapers away to nothing as the flute gets narrower. The catch-plates are as for 2.a.

6346–79 6380* 6381–6417 11745 11746* 11748–9 12314 12420–22 13783–93 14501 14505 14844 14868 14871–2 14874 14877 14879–81 14966 14978

Dating: 6405 Braughing, c.20 B.C.–A.D.45; King Harry Lane, Phase 1 6372 6390 g71.3,4, 6400–1 g413.3, Phase 3 6389 g68.5, 6388 g156.4, 6422 g.370.5; 6393 Baldock, 1–25; Colchester, 10–43; 6347 Colchester, c.35–45; 14966 Silchester, 40–50/60; 6356 Hod Hill, before 50; 6349 6350 6365 Colchester, 43/44–61; 6385 Chichester, mid 1st century; 6392 North Cerney, mid-1st century; 6363 Colchester, 49–61; 6354 Camerton, 1st century; 6374 Prestatyn, 70s-160; 6416 Bancroft, late 1st–late 2nd century; 14978 Silchester, c.80–125; 13791 Hacheston, mid 2nd–late 3rd century; 6359 Wilcote, c.150+; 6386 Chichester, probably 2nd century; 6394 Baldock, 3rd century; 6352 Barton Court, late Roman; 6417 Bancroft, mid 4th–early 5th century.

If the King Harry Lane cemetery is an indicator, this is a logical successor to 2.a. One would expect these dates to show that the type lasted into the 50s at least, but the one from Prestatyn seems to give the lie to that. A site in Wales producing such brooches is very unusual. The brooch should however be residual from the preceding pre-Roman occupation and would be matched by the Colchester from the same site and belong to the anomalous later Iron Age occupation [71].

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 111 HANTS 111 DORS 111 WILTS 11 SOM 11 ESSEX 111111111111 HERTS 111111111111 BEDS 1 BUCKS 111 OXON 1111 GLOS 111 HERE 1 WALES 1 SUFF 11111 NORF 1111111111111111111111111111 CAMBS 1111111 NHANTS 111 Lincs 1111 NOTTS 1111 YORKS 111 The homeland is still dominant. However, there is more of a spread to the south west. The apparently high number in Norfolk is entirely the product of the metal detector collections seen: many were but scraps and the total should be reduced by at least a third to compensate for this.

2.b2. As 2.b1, but these are without the extra moulding on the splay of the head. Not every member of this group has a cross-moulding across the head dividing the bow from the spring-case. However, the catch-plates seem to follow the usual lines. Some fragments of bow are included here. These lack the head with the determining feature, but are straight-sided and are just as likely to be from this sub-type as from any other. A feature which one meets is that the head of the bow may seem, outwardly, to be splayed, but the reeding on the outer edges is cut away as the bow narrows to its normal width: 12425*.

6418–24 6426–43 11743* 11744 11751–4 12419 12423* 12424 12425* 12426–9 13796–8 13807–8 14497 14500 14502–3 14867 14869 14878 14887

Dating: 6419 Braughing, c.20 B.C.–A.D. 45; King Harry Lane, Phase 1, 6435 g.355.3, Phase 3, 6426 g.41.3, 6430 6438 g156.2,3, 6429 g184.2.; 6442 6443 Bancroft, LPR1A – late 1st century; 12424 Lincoln, Claudian-Neronian; 6421 Leicester, c.130; 6431 Park St, mid 2nd century; 6432 Dorchester on Thames, 200–230; 6424 Baldock, up to 4th century

Here the King Harry Lane cemetery shows a further shift in that there is greater emphasis on Phase 3. On the other hand, there is a marked cut-off point with the example from Lincoln providing the end of the main use of the sub-type.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 1 WILTS 11 HERTS 11111111111111111111 BUCKS 11 OXON 111 GLOS 111 NORF 1111111111111111 CAMBS 111 WARKS 1 LEICS 11 Lincs 11111

Essex has dropped out and the incidence has moved to Hertfordshire and the Iceni with a hint that those wearing the brooches were interested in the route north across the Humber.

3. Square-topped

3.a. Beaded. *Plate 20.* The bow is parallel-sided with a squared top and bottom, usually with some minor moulding on the step between the bow and the spring-case. The catch-plate is frequently framed. 14883* has in the central hollow remains of a beaded inlay, apart from the beaded metal on the borders. 14842* has a hinged pin with three rows of scorper-graver decoration in the three flutes. It was forged from folded or rolled sheet, a technique found more-especially in the South West.

6476–82 6484* 6485–6 6488–91 6496* 6459 6471 6509 6513 13800–3 13806 14883* 14842*

Dating: King Harry Lane, Phase 1, 6459 g.202.8, Phase 3, 6471 g.117.5; 6509 Canterbury, 20 B.C.–70/80; 6476 Skeleton Green, c.10 B.C.–A.D. 20; 6491 Skeleton Green, 15–25; 13800 Dragonby, late Iron Age ditch; 6482 Colchester, 49–61; 6481 Springhead, Claudian?; 6486 Margidunum, 50–60/70; 6478 Baldock, 70–90.

The balance is in favour of a date from sometime in the late first century B.C. into the middle of the first century A.D.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 111111 GLOS 1 WARKS 1 HERE 1 SUFF 11 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 LEICS 1 NOTTS 1 Lincs 111

It is the eastern side of England from Kent to the Humber which is dominant.

3.b. Not beaded. *Plate 20.* Self-explanatory, but here some of the catch-plates may have circular holes.

6444–8 6450–2 6453* 6454 6456–8 6460–70 6472–5 6483 6487 6492–3 6495 11750 12431–2 13804–5 13809 13810* 13811 13813–4 14884 14973 14977

Dating: King Harry Lane, Phase 2, 6454 g.399.2; Phase 3, 6483 g.37.7; 6460 Skeleton Green, 15–25; 14973 Silchester, 40–50/60; 6465 Colchester, 44–60; 6453* Monument 97, 50–70/80; 14977 Silchester, c.80–125; 6493 Baldock, 150–80.

The impression is, as there is little lead in to the second half of the first century, that c.50 may be a proper terminal date.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 111 ESSEX 111111 HERTS 111111111111 GLOS 11 WARKS 1 HERE 1 NORF 111111 CAMBS 111 NHANTS 11 LEIC 1 Lincs 11111111

The pattern is so close to that of 3.a that there seems to be no real difference.

3.c. Squat. Plate 20. The height of the bow is scarcely twice its width. The bow may be plain, finely fluted with bead-rows included, or simply fluted with bead-rows. Fairly obviously, the catch-plate is not really high enough for it to be pierced.

6498* 6499 6500

Dating: none.

Distribution: Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire.

4. Punched-dot decoration. Plate 20. The all-over reeding is replaced by either one of two patterns, mouldings down the middle separating plain zones in which a simple punch has been used to produce dotted decoration or, where the mouldings keep away from the centre, a single zone for the same kind of work. Variations are few: in one the punch was used to distort cast ridges to make wavy lines (6511); in another a stamp was used to create a line of dot-and-circle motifs in a two zone version (6514).

6501 6502* 6503 6504* 6505–8 6510–2 6514 6580 11747 13815 14972

Dating: King Harry Lane, *Phase 1*, 6512 g.287.6, *Phase 2*, 6505 g.289.3; 6501 Fishbourne, 43–c.75; 6511 Baldock, 50–70; 14972 Silchester, 50/60–80; 6504* 6508 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110.

The two from Canterbury are very probably residual from the pre-conquest occupation on the site. The proper date is best indicated by those from the King Harry Lane cemetery.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 HERTS 111111 NORF 1 Lincs 1111

All come from sites noted for their high pre-conquest status.

5. Scorper-graver spring-case. Plate 21. On the whole, these are related to the reeded square-topped variety, but are noticeably weaker in design and always have a line of scorper-graver decoration along the front of the spring-case which hardly ever has any other ornament. The bows are not well formed and may even lack much in the way of overall longitudinal mouldings: it is the design on the spring-case which holds the group together and the poor bows are in contrast to the other groups. All but 6516* have a single circular hole in their catch-plates.

6515* 6516* 6517–20 6449 6455 13812

Dating: 13812 Wilcote, 40–75; 6517 Wakerley, late 1st–early 2nd century; 6515* Wroxeter, 55/60–85/90; 6516* Canterbury, 270–290.

The dating fits with the devolved appearance of the brooch with its cheap decoration: the type is at the end of the sequence.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 1 HERTS 1 BEDS 1 OXON 1 NHANTS 111 SALOP 1

The occurrence of this type is marginal to the basic areas of the earlier types again suggesting that these are all late.

6. Niello inlay. Plate 21. The bow is thin and has a tendency to have two faces meeting in an aris, although there can be a very narrow central face expanding into a triangular one at the top when the bow widens to meet the spring-case. This is plain apart from vertical grooves at the ends occasionally. However, the chief feature is the use of niello in small cells on the sides of the bow. The commonest design has narrow triangles pointing towards the edges of the bow, but Vitruvian scrolls are known (e.g., 6527*) and shallow arcs (6528). The catch-plates can be solid or framed, or intermediate with a single large hole, but there is a frequently a flange across the top as in the Nertomarus (Type 7).

6521–6 6527* 6528 6591 13818 14875

Dating: King Harry Lane, *Phase 2*, 6591 g.157.4; 6524 Colchester, 49–61; 6521 Leicester, mid/late 1st century, 6528 Chichester, late 4th century.

The example from the King Harry Lane cemetery is an aberrant one: it is large and decorated with scroll motifs. The others point to a life running into the 50s at least.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 NHANTS 1 LEIC 1 NOTTS 1 Lincs 1

This is, in essence, a repeat of the pattern of the last.

7. The Nertomarus. Plate 21. The bow design varies, but all have a highly distinctive decoration in relief in the panel, defined by thin mouldings, on the front of the spring-case. Three, sometimes five, beaded elements radiate from the head of the bow. In the middle is a block of roughly triangular form with three holes in it. On either side of that is a long strip curling away towards the ends and ending in a curl. Those with five parts have a basic repeat of the central motif, sometimes with only one hole. The bows tend to have a ridge down each side and always have a central feature which at its simplest is a single ridge, but is often more, and one can also find beading or scorper-graver work here as well. The pierced catch-plate usually has a single opening, however, occasionally there is a dog-leg and sometimes fretting. If only the catch-plate is found, and it has flanges across the top which at the beginning are as wide as the bow itself, then the type is more likely to be a Nertomarus than anything else. The name comes from the occasional use of a name stamp which is also the most frequently seen.

6529–30 6532* 6533–6544 6545* 6546–7 13816 13819–20 14504 14865–6 14882

Dating: 6529 Bagendon 43/45–47/52; 6530 Fishbourne 43–c.75; 13816 Hacheston, late 1st–mid 2nd century; 6539 Witham mid 4th–early 5th century.

All that can be said about this evidence is that it is weak.

Distribution: KT 1111 SUSS 1 WILTS 1 ESSEX 111 HERTS 111 BUCKS 1 GLOS 11 HERE 1 SUFF 1 NORF 111 CAMBS 111 NHANTS 1 LEIC 1

Compared with the undoubted pattern given by those which belong to 1.a and 1.b, these are peripheral and would suit late comers to the scene. Even so, it may be doubted if many were to be seen as late as 55/60.

8. Plain Bows. *Plate 21.* Self-explanatory, the bows may have median arrises, central facets, or be rounded. The spring-cases are generally plain as well. Catch-plates may be solid or pierced, usually with only a single hole, unless the brooch is large enough when a dog-leg bar can be found. A flange across the top sometimes occurs.

A note of caution is needed: not all illustrators will have noted the remains of small cells now devoid of niello, hence several listed here may, in fact, belong to Type 7.

6548–6555 6556* 6557–64 6566–9 6570* 11899 13821 14967

Dating: 14967 Silchester, 40–50/60; 6554 Bagendon, 43/45–47/52; 6555 Bagendon, 45–52; 11899 Bagendon, 47/52–60; 6548 Colchester, 49–65; 6569 Bancroft, mid-late 1st century; 6566 6570* Verulamium, c.200–250.

Distribution: SUSS 1 HANTS 11 DORS 1 WILTS 1 ESSEX 11111 HERTS 11 BUCKS 11 GLOS 11111 NORF 11111

9. Non-reed moulded bows. *Plate 21.* The commonest bow section has a central set of three mouldings, possibly incorporating beading, with a concave face on each edge often with a bordering ridge as well. Then follow the rounded bow with ridges on the sides and down the middle: some with only the central one may have lost the ones along the edges through corrosion. One has a central arris and bordering ridges (6584) and another has a single sunken ridge down the middle (6581). The spring-case varies from plain to punched dot decoration and amongst these is one which has TA incorporated into the design (6579).

6571–5 6576* 6577–9 6581–2 6584 6593–4 13817* 14863 14885 14974

Dating: 6582 King Harry Lane, *Phase 2*, g.361.5; 6577 Canterbury, 10–20.

The dating is earlier first century A.D., but there are only the two dates available.

Distribution: KT 1111 HANTS 11 ESSEX 11 GLOS 1 BEDS 1 HERTS 11 SUFF 1 NORF 11 CAMBS 1 Lincs 1 NOTTS 1

Only Gloucestershire stands out from this coverage of the eastern side of England from Kent to the Humber.

10. Verulamium. Two highly distinctive brooches from the King Harry Lane cemetery cannot be given to any of the groups defined above and it seems very likely that others will be published in due course. The bow is almost rectangular in section, has fluting down the front, but not enough for it to be called reeding. However, the most marked feature is the sharp bend, almost a right-angle, at the top, and the way in which the flat surface there runs into the top of the plain spring-case.

15467–8

Dating: King Harry Lane, *Phase 1*, 15468 g.272.2, *Phase 2*, 15467 g.218.2

Oddments 6590 6494

Dating: King Harry Lane, *Phase 3*, 6590 g.159.2.

Part 3. The Colchester

The bilateral spring with its external chord held by a forward-facing hook is hidden behind wings which may or may not be decorated. The bow tends to be rounded, part faceted or wholly faceted, and may have decoration down the middle. The catch-plate is usually triangular and, if large enough, is pierced, early ones having fretting, late ones circular holes, and there is frequent scorper-graver decoration. All bows are forged except the latest ones. The profile of the bow is usually a shallow curve from top to bottom. However, the early ones tend to have almost straight bows with, at the top, a very sharp bend, although the latter tends to persist. The hook is frequently decorated. The writer used to feel that this was uniformly a late feature, but the distribution amongst the phases of the King Harry Lane cemetery was enough to show that this was a mistake. Almost the only way in which the hook can be taken as a chronological indicator is by taking its length into account. There is no doubt that early hooks are always short, and that late ones are much longer, frequently turning down the top of the main face of the bow, but the sign that a long hook is late is the appearance on the brooch of other indicators. The illustrations should, with a bit of luck, make this clear.

The division into sub-varieties is entirely on the style of the catch-plate. The matter of whether or not there is decoration on wings or bows is almost a matter of whim, these being on the whole so rare that they are useless for the ordering of the hundreds of plain brooches. The one place on a Colchester where ornament is almost a *sine qua non* is the catch-plate. As a general principle, the piercings in these devolve from careful fretting to careless, then through crude rectangular holes to circular ones and, finally, solid catch-plates. There is a fundamental change in attitude: fine fretting with the openings made to fit into a coherent net-like pattern is replaced by the use of a plain square punch. The circular punch is again a change to an easier manufacturing technique, there being little need to create any impression of the original intricate open-work designs. Therefore, simple seriation of the style of catch-plate offers the most logical way into putting order into this type.

Each of the major groups, including the first, has sub-varieties of catch-plate in the following order:

- a Fretted, this means the use of curvilinear bars or a kind of crude Greek key
- b Squared holes, usually rectangular, frequently in threes
- c Circular holes
- d Solid
- e Not enough evidence

Many catch-plates have just enough left to show that there had been piercings, but unless there is evidence for at least three in a row against the bow, these are ignored: three or four against the bow indicate, as will be seen from the certain examples, fretting. Solid catch-plates are a problem: the smaller a brooch is, the less inclination there may be to pierce such a small area of catch-plate. Yet it will be seen that in Variety 7, the Late Smalls, the

majority are small and most have holes, even if they are small and circular. There is a danger in being too rigid: more than a few of the Colchester Derivative forms have pierced catch-plates, enough to show that there is no simple progression. Moreover, there are enough with two piercings divided by a dog-leg bow to show that fretting continued, in a modified form.

1. The Continental origins and early British copies. *Plates 21–22.* The bow is very thin, but relatively broad with straight, or almost so, sides and ends in a blunt, sometimes squared-off foot. There is seldom any decoration, and the hook, if a rod in section, tends to be only just enough to touch the top of the bow. However, if broad, it tends to end in an expansion which lies on the head and is very short: 13163. The catch-plate is very tall in proportion to its width and the piercings may form fretting, but are frequently square and sometimes round. The profile is normally almost straight with a sharp bend at the head. There is a clutch with a rounded front, almost a very minor arris at times, and sometimes with a bordering ridge. There seems little point in separating these especially from this group. 1–8 4127 37 are broad with arrises and sometimes with bordering grooves: could these be proto-Langton Downs, or those which failed to go anywhere? These are the real brooches for this group: 9–36 39.

13142* may have what is in effect a framed catch-plate.

- a 4* 5 7 8 11 17 21–2 26 28 29* 31 33–5 9716 9726 13142* 14960
- b 3 6 10 14 18 25 37* 282 11900 13163
- c 1 9* 15–6
- d none as yet
- e 2 12 13 19 20 23–4 30 32 36 38–40 278–9 564 765 4127 11902 13126 13822 14851 14952

Dating: 35, King Harry Lane cemetery, *Phase 1*; 28, Baldock, 1–25; 5, Swarling cemetery, a pair from Grave 17, and 40 from grave group 19; 34 King Harry Lane cemetery *Phase 2*; 17, Boxford cemetery, 26 pot 16; 14960 Silchester, 40–50/60.

For the dating of the King Harry Lane cemetery, see Appendix 1.

Distribution: KT aaabceeeee HANTS aab DORS bc ESSEX b HERTS aaaabceeee BDS/BKS ab OX b SUFF aab NORF aeee CAMBS ae NHTS aabbbe LEICS ae WORCS e HERE a LINC S ae

Those with catch-plates of style **a** are, not surprisingly, more frequent in the deeper South East and spread up into East Anglia. Many may have been taken by trade up the rivers draining into the Wash, and this may be reflected by more brooches with **b** catch-plates occurring up the Nene Valley than those from **a** or **e**.

14952 from Silchester, probably continental rather than British brooch, has a broad hook, a thick bow with a basically upright profile to the bow and is undated. It may be an example of a late continental Colchester.

2. The standard British. *Plate 22.* The commonest British

Colchesters are those which are utterly plain with little variation except in size or style of piercing in the catch-plate. The condition of the surface of most is so poor that it is a moot point as to how many should be placed in Type 3, those with faceted bows, and it is possible that it is they which are the really common type. Here is gathered all designated as forming the ruck: definitely rounded bows, those too corroded to be sure. The **a–e** is on style of catch-plate as used for Type 1.

There is little point in closely analysing these, there being little guarantee that the original distinguishing features have not been lost in corrosion. Although soil condition may be the single major factor in how these examples survived, the alloy used in their manufacture may have contributed to their present state. All over 65mm in length are **BOLD**. 561 has two grooves across the foot of the bow, and has a fairly carefully fretted catch-plate; 560 is another, but with one groove and less care taken over the openings. 554 was published in a very poor drawing and is only here by courtesy. 13139 has a step out in the side of the bow just below the wings.

Most of these will not get published in any form, there being little point. But, and it is a big but, almost all of these are taken from published drawings. Comparison of those in the King Harry Lane report [675] against the originals in the British Museum has shown that in almost every case the illustrator has produced a bland rounded form and that most have had to be removed from this section to others. If this is true for that collection, then it must also be true for nearly all illustrators' work.

Those less than 35mm in length 381–5 387–92

Suffix **f** = fretting

aa (point projecting up or down 27 393–402 14851)

a 6986 7277 13142*

b 169 172 173–4f 176 179 181 183–4 188–9 194–5 211* 212 217 221 228 237–8 247 248 249 254 258 262 273 277 280 291–2 305 307 311 313 318–9 325 330 332 335 337 346 354 359f 362 363* 364–5 366–7 371 377 379f 80 560 626* 6986 11913 11917 12904 13123 13133 13163 13832 13840

c 245 289

d 187 275–6 281 283 288 554 625 13126

e 168 170–1 175 177 180 182 186 190 193f 196–7 198 200 203–4f, 206 209–10 213–6 218 222–4 225 226–7 229–32 233 234f 236 239 240–1 242 243–4f 246 250f 52 256–7 259 260–1 263 264 265 266–8 269 270 271–2 274 284–6 290 294 295f 296f 300f 302 303 304 306 308–10 312 314–7 320 321f 4 326–7f 328–9 338–9 342–3 347 349–50 352 355–8 360–1 369–70 372f 374 375–6f 378 387–9 390–2 423 457 486 623–4 7032 7068–70 7071–3f 7074–74 9730 9735 11901 11904 11910f 11911f 11912f 12313 12903 12905f 12906 13139 13824–5 13831 13833–5 13837–8 14506 14954 14959

Note 178 from Boxford, which has lost its head, is a framed catch-plate but matches the **a**? below and 219 from Swarling. Do any of these have a right to be assigned to the last 10 or 20 years of the 1st century B.C.?

Distribution: KT bbbbbb c dd eeeeeeeeeee SUSS bbbbbb ee HANTS dd eeeeeee DORS bb c d eee WILTS b ee ESSEX

Catch-plate **b**: King Harry Lane, Phase 2 631 g.58.3 479 g.13.4; 465 Chichester, 3rd century.

Catch-plate **c**: none.

Catch-plate **d**: none.

Catch-plate **e**: 442 Skeleton Green, c.10 B.C.–A.D. 20; King Harry Lane, Phase 1, 656 g.399.4 Phase 2, 427 g.399.3; 440 Skeleton Green, c.30–40; 14957 14962 Silchester, 40–50/60; 13132 Middle Duntisbourne, mid 1st century; 14956 Silchester, 50/60–80; 420 Baldock, 3rd century 9070 Gorhambury, 300–350.

The chief difference between brooches in this group is that the section of the bow is established, and that it was most likely hand-forged. Whereas, in the previous group would have been many which had more developed manufacturing techniques including casting, which we shall meet progressively as we follow the Colchester to its end. This ensures that there is an earlier bias in the dating here.

Distribution: KT beee SUSS b HANTS aabbbeee SOM bb ESSEX b HERTS aaaaaaaaaa bbbbeeeeee GLOS aaaaee HERE aa BDS/BKS aab SUFF b NORF aabbbeeee CAMBS aabbbeeee NHANTS bbbe LEICS be WALES b LINC aaaaabbbbeee NOTTS ee NORTH b

The overall spread is more restricted than that for Type 2. It is noticeable that it is on the eastern side of England south of the Humber with a fairly poor presence in East Anglia including, surprisingly, Essex. Again there is a weakness in Central Southern England, bearing in mind that most from Hampshire are from the north of that county. One might have expected some penetration into Dorset and Wiltshire, and there may be some, but it is unlikely that the general tenor of the distribution will be seriously disturbed by any new discoveries. Perhaps there is a tendency for catch-plate **b** to be better represented than in variety 2, but that is a catch-all category containing a great many corroded examples which might really have belonged here. Catch-plate **c** is uncommon, one from Somerset and another from Sussex, the latter having a different brooch tradition (see the Nauheim and *Drahtfibel* above and Chapter 11).

3.2. Hexagonal sectioned bows. *Plate 22.*

- a 192 333 394* 396 399 430–1 518 13823 13830
- b 419 444 446 460 463 467 471 484 7245 9714 11918
- c none as yet
- d none as yet
- e 167 351 373 416 417 435 447–8 485 629 7174 9715 9725 9728 11916 13108 13120–1 13148 13836

Dating: Catch-plate **a** King Harry Lane, Phase 1, 518 g.296.3, Phase 2, 399 g.339.5, Phase 3, 333 g.37.5; 13823 Dragonby, Iron Age; 430 Kelvedon, Tiberian–40.

Catch-plates **b–d**: none.

Catch-plate **e**: 417 Canterbury, 10 B.C.–A.D. 70/80; King Harry Lane, Phase 3 351 g.39.4; 435 Puckeridge, c.25–Claudian?; 167 Little Amwell, pre-Roman; 485 Leicester, c.125–175?.

These should be seen as demonstrably pre-conquest.

Distribution: KT eee HANTS be SOM bb ESSEX a

HERTS aaaaee GLOS bee NORF bbe CAMBS abeee NHANTS abbee LEICS be WARKS e HERE e LINC aabe NOTTS ae

What immediately emerges is that those with fretted catch-plates are not only large, but, as the dating shows, also early. The distribution also shows that they are also limited in area: Essex up to the Humber, strictly on the eastern side of England and with little or no penetration into East Anglia.

3.3. Plates 22–23. The section of the bow is rounded on the front and has chamfered back corners. Examples with an arris down the front have been included: 459 462. 561 has two cross-cuts at the foot of the bow. For the first time style **c** in catch-plates makes an appearance: 9717*. However, here it is not necessarily a mark of decadence, as there are eight holes and walked scorper ornament as well. 374 may be the first solid catch-plate.

- a 27* 202 205 331 359* 393 395 401 402 441561 13124
- b 234 320 379 459 489 493* 9722 11912 13115
- c 9717*
- d 374?
- e 180 185 193 204 215 321 327 372 374 244 250 295–7 300 376 423 449 451 457 7073 9736 11910–1 12905–6 13105 13114 13129 13140 13147 13149–50

Dating: Catch-plate **a**: 395 Baldock, 25–50; King Harry Lane, Phase 3, 331 g.15.3, 334 g.39.3; 402 Braughing, 2nd century.

Catch-plate **b**: 489 Canterbury, c.10–20?; 379 Bancroft villa, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

Catch-plate **c–d**: none.

Catch-plate **e**: 376 Bancroft mausoleum, Late pre-Roman Iron Age; 327 Leicester, before 50/60; 457 Verulamium, 85–105;

There are perhaps not enough examples to reinforce the impression that these are basically later than the fully faceted bows.

Distribution: KT aabcee ESSEX a HERTS aaaaee BEDS ae BUCKS be OXON be GLOS e SUFF b NORF abeeeeeee CAMBS aeeeeeee NHANTS aaabbbbeee LEICS d?eeeeee HERE b NOTTS e YORKS e

The fretted catch-plate belongs exclusively on this showing to the eastern side of England south of the Nene. Although **e** means that the catch-plate is largely or completely missing, these show a major extension to the north and west.

3.4. Some have thin bows with facets on the front face, suffix **f** below, but most, have a rounded front and are of a depth sufficient to remove them from the Type 1 Colchesters of demonstrably or presumed continental origin.

- a 403 455 7067 9723f*
- b 433 455
- c none as yet.
- d none as yet.

Dating: Catch-plate **e** only, 235 Bagendon, 30–45; 301 Canterbury, 100/110–125.

Distribution: KT ae DORS e GLOS ee HERE a LINC abbeee

Generally, these are few in number and are mainly peripheral to the heartland of the Colchester. The large number from Lincolnshire are all from South Ferriby.

4. Decorated Colchesters. *Plates 23–25.* The range of decoration allowed here is very limited. It consists of fluting, or even an articulated moulding, on the wings, or of a band of wavy line decoration down the centre of the bow. The two types of ornament are almost totally mutually exclusive, the point being emphasised by the very small group which has both. Almost all examples are forged and the decoration on the bow formed by hand, a punch being used to distort a central sunken ridge.

4.a. Decorated wings and bow. Always rare. 9711 is so distorted and corroded that its length was not noted. 589 has a cross on the upper bow, a mark usually of brooches belonging to the South West, and a groove at the end of the surviving wing with a diagonal groove on the main face. The latter is usually a mark of brooches associated with the Iceni.

- a 41 45 47–9 53 55 57* 581
- b 42–4 54 59 590* 9711 9713 13829
- c 6984*
- d 9698*
- e 52 58 60 585 589 11905 11920 13158 15394

Dating: Catch-plate a: King Harry Lane *Phase 2*, 55 g.231.4, *Phase 3*, 53 g.205.5, 581 g.230.2; 45 South Cadbury c.45; 49 Colchester, 54–60.

Catch-plate b: King Harry Lane *Phase 2* 59 g.42.2, *Phase 3* 54 g.205.3.

Catch-plate c and d: none.

Catch-plate e: 60 Bancroft, mid-late 1st century; 58 Stonea, 2nd century.

Distribution: HANTS a DORS e WILTS bb SOM a ESSEX aa HERTS aaaabbe BEDS a BUCKS e OXON e GLOS ee CAMBS bbbee WALES e LINC abbc

All of 4.a are large and so lend themselves to ostentation, or conversely, it was only really worth applying this style of decoration to a large brooch. Their overall occurrence is that of the Colchester type itself, and it is unlikely that there will ever be enough examples to show any particular bias in distribution. They would have been showy and, because of the metal they contain, more expensive than almost any other type of Colchester. In terms of catch-plate style, the large number of a points to display, most of those given to style b could have been of a, had they been more carefully finished. Many of the chevrons were formed by stamps and, had the condition of the rest allowed, they might all have been.

4.b. Decorated bow. *Plates 23 and 24.* Where the brooches have been examined by the writer, all the chevrons appear to be cast, but where illustrated, the matter is opaque. There is one exception and that is 9713, in 4.a above, where a stamp was used on the casting. As for 13118–9,

the wavy ridge had been formed by a punch. There is at present a strong possibility that all, or “as many as makes no difference”, were essentially cast and this contrasts with the bulk of those in 4.a where only one was identified as having a cast chevron. The implication is that most of these, despite being large, are late, and the large number with catch-plates of style c, also taken to be a late feature, bolsters this conclusion.

Note: 87* has a groove across the foot.

- a 63
- b 46 64 68 76 78* 81 85 87* 91 9732
- c 51 62 65 70 71 73 75 79 84 88–9 90 92* 9710 13138* 14850
- d none as yet
- e 50* 61 66 67 69 72 74 77 80–1 82–3 86 93* 94 95 411 13118 13119

Dating: Catch-plate a: 63 Hod Hill, before 50.

Catch-plate b: 64 Hod Hill, before 50.

Catch-plate c: 65 Hod Hill, before 50; 70 Verulamium, c.45–55; 88 Canterbury, 50–55; 51 Verulamium, sealed by layer of c.50–75; 62 Maiden Castle, 50–75; 89 Braughing, 4th century.

Catch-plate d: none.

Catch-plate e: 95 Weekley, 25–mid 1st century; 66 Bagendon, 20–40; 83 Colchester, 49–61.

Distribution: KT cee SUSS c HANTS bcce DORS abccc WILTS e SOM e ESSEX bbceee HERTS bccce BEDS c BUCKS be GLOS eee NORF c CAMBS e NHANTS bcceee LEICS cee LINC b NOTTS b

4.c. non wavy ridge Bows. *Plate 24.* These consist of what appear to be failed attempts to create a wavy line using a punch, the marks running in a plain series on each side of the ridge, diagonal beading and, 97, of a curious simplified Greek key pattern with a bead in each section, if the drawing can be relied on. Only two are dated, one from Hod Hill being earlier than 50, the other from a second-century context. All should be regarded as late in the overall sequence.

There are several which look like continental forms. These have very thin bows and very short hooks sometimes of sheet form. One from Chichester, 113*, has a solid catch-plate of very upright form, a typical continental feature. Their distribution is basically along the south coast from Colchester to South Cadbury and all smack of having been exclusively used by personnel in the army.

- a 119*
- b 102–3 107* 108 111 112 120 121 123* 124
- c 101 109 114 118 122 125* 13110
- d 113*
- e 97–8 99 100 110 115 116 117*

Dating: Catch-plate a: 119 South Cadbury, c.45.

Catch-plate b: 120 South Cadbury, c.45; 108 Colchester, 49–c.65; 111 Chichester, mid 1st–mid-4th century; 123 Cirencester, 50–85/110.

Catch-plate c: 122 South Cadbury, c.45; 101 Hod Hill, before 50; 114 Needham, 43–61; 125 Bancroft mausoleum, mid–late 1st century; 118 Verulamium, 60–85.

Catch-plate d: none.

Catch-plate e: 98 Hod Hill, before 50; 99 Haddon, Cambs, 2nd century; 117 Hengistbury Head, late 2nd century +; 115 Chichester, 4th century.

None has any sign of having been early or even middle range for the Colchester. The style of bow with beading is a mark of many Colchester Derivatives, especially of the Rearhook. The lack of any recorded solid catch-plates is surely a reflection of their great rarity.

Distribution: KT c SUSS bdd HANTS e DORS ce SOM abbc ESSEX bbbe HERTS c BUCKS c GLOS bce NORF c CAMBS ee NHANTS b LEICS b NOTTS e

The spread is fairly even, and all those from Somerset are from South Cadbury.

4.d. Decorated wings. *Plate 24 and 25.* These are commonly represented in drawings as having a series of equal-sized flutes. Closer acquaintance with the objects themselves suggests that this masks a scheme in which broad flutes alternate with ones so narrow that they are more like grooves. However, there is no doubt that the craftsman was not always careful in his task and brooches with different decoration on each wing are known, *e.g.* 140. Also much depends on the length of the wings and not all Colchesters were made with wings of equal length. This usually leads to a loss of a flute or more, and in those instances (149, 152 *etc.*) where there is a single groove at the end of each wing, the shorter one may not be provided with one at all (*e.g.*, 164).

The only brooches which call for specific comment are 165 608–9 632 and 406, the latter being a very large item with a very finely fretted catch-plate with dot-and-circle stamps, a faceted bow and a profile with only a slight curve below the sharp bend at the head. It is placed here because the wings are decorated with flutes alternating with grooves. However, it is obviously a much earlier brooch than the bulk given here, even if it is not in itself dated. The first four are dated and have the same elaborate and careful fretting in the catch-plate, and 165 and 632 have mouldings on the catch-plate returns. All four come from Phase 1 at King Harry Lane. 608 and 609 both have beading on the wings and ornamental terminals to hooks are generally to be expected. These two have been allocated to catch-plate style a here on the grounds that they are much closer to that than to the common run represented by the rest. 13109* has a few close-set grooves at the ends of the wings.

559 has a series of grooves across the lower part of the bow, but there seems little organisation about them and they may, in terms of the original manufacture of the brooch, be irrelevant. 555 has two grooves across the foot of the bow.

- a 132 133 137 139 141–3 145 146 149–50 153–6 165 166 400 406–7 410 421 491 559 583 584 586* 591 595 597 598 601 602 603 605 606 608–9 611–2 614 616 617 619 621 622 630 632 633–5 636 637 653 7076 7217 9706 9707 11903 13117* 14953 15417
- b 130 131 152 157 161 162 164 424 555 560 582 587 593–4 604 615 618 620 7075 9704 11907 13107
- c 13109*

d 128 588 600 6985

e 96 126–7 129 134 135–6 138 140 144 147–8 151 158 159* 160 425 592 607 610 613 627 7321 9699 15420* 9703 9705 11906 13137 13827

Dating: Catch-plate a: King Harry Lane, Phase 1 165 g.202.9 609 g.202.10, 632 g.397.6, 400 g.312.4, 154 g.206.3, 155 g.312.3, 611 g.346.11, 614 g.410.2, 616 g.424.3, 630 312.15, 612 g.359.3, 606 g.189.3, Phase 2 141 g.259.2, 603 g.143.3, Phase 3 143 g.86.6, 153 g.204.3, 156 g.339.4, 605 g.182.3, 622 g.387.2; 133 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 595 Chichester, Claudian-Neronian; 7217 Gorhambury, before 60/1?; 15417 Portesham, c.50–60; 137 Colchester, 60/1–c.100; 582–3 Old Winteringham, before 75; 602 Harlow temple, c.120–200; 14953 Silchester, 125–3rd century.

Catch-plate b: King Harry Lane, Phase 1 615 g.410.3, Phase 2 424 g.128.3, Phase 3, 152 g.124.3; 131 Colchester, after 60/1?; 582 Old Winteringham, pre 75; 555 Park Street, 130–140; 593 Leicester, before 150/60; 161 Canterbury, 4th century.

Catch-plate c: 13109* Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40.

Catch-plate d: 128 Colchester, 49–61.

Catch-plate e: King Harry Lane, Phase 1, 608, Phase 2, 425 g.360.3, Phase 3, 607 g.196.2, 613 g.398.2; 134 Sholden, c.10 B.C.–A.D. c.50; 129 Bagendon, 20–40; 160 Canterbury, 1st century; 138 Skeleton Green, 15–25; 144 Skeleton Green, 25–40; 592 Watlington, 43+; 13827 Dragonby, before 50?

It should be noted that many of the decorative tricks found on Colchester Derivatives – beading on the wings, mouldings on the return of the catch-plate – occur in Phase 1 at the King Harry Lane cemetery (for the dating, see Appendix 1) and show that what would be thought of as late features were in fact always in the background in the repertoire of decorative tricks. The large number of decorated wings with style a catch-plates from Phase 1 from the King Harry Lane cemetery should be noted.

Distribution: KT aaaabeeee SUSS a HANTS abb DORS abe WILTS a ESSEX aaabdee MSEX b HERTS aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaabbbbbbbbeeee BEDS aae BUCKS eee OXON abee GLOS aaabce HERE e WALES a SUFF d NORF abbddee CAMBS aae NHANTS aaaaaabe LEICS beee LINCS aabe NOTTS b YORKS ae

The large number in Hertfordshire is entirely the result of the relatively good state of the examples found in the King Harry Lane cemetery. They were obviously popular in the heartland of the main type: within a boundary including Kent, Hertfordshire and Essex. The rest of the distribution is peripheral to that area except at first sight for Suffolk and Norfolk, but those examples have a high proportion of style d in contrast with every other part of the distribution which may be a sign that they were only being used there towards the end of the life of the type.

5. Iron Colchesters. *Plate 25.* Although the standard of ironworking was sufficiently high to produce brooches every bit as fine as copper alloy ones, the truth is that iron ones are much more chunky on the whole, sufficiently so for them to have a distinct appearance. The case for quality work is made when 515 is looked at for this is a member of 7.add and its date is a valuable pointer to the true horizon

of this late type. However, caution has to be taken when dealing with many iron items as corrosion can so often lead to a mistaken impression, one not always corrected when the X-rays are looked at. Those illustrated give a fair representation of the different kinds found.

The following brooches with grooves down the middle of the bow (see 6.a below) need only be noted: 494–5 509* 535. Two more have decorated wings and one of these also has a defined foot, 516 and 536 respectively. 533 in **b** may actually be either an **a** too damaged to allocate, or a **d**, also too damaged to be sure. It is not a **c**. 534 also in **b** has a pierced catch-plate, but not enough to be sure that is was a 5.a. 693 from the Harlow temple site has inlaid copper alloy beading.

- a** 503–4 509* 512 519 520 521 522–4 527 528–9 532 536 537 539 13156–7 13161
b 495 533 534
c 531 9718*
d 496–7 514 515 535 692 13113 14849
e 494 498 499–50 501 505–6 508 510–11 513 516–7 525–6 530 538 540–2 543–9 693 9738 13155 13839

Dating: Catch-plate **a**: King Harry Lane, *Phase 1* 527 g.211.2, 519 g.123.3, 528 g.235.2, 529 g.249.2, 532 g.96.4, 737 g.75.4, *Phase 2* 520 g.143.4, 521 g.73.5, 523 g.108.2, 536 g.420.4, *Phase 3* 522 g.106.3, 524 g.135.3; 13161 Wall, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Catch-plate **b**: King Harry Lane, *Phase 2* 495 g.13.5.

Catch-plate **c**: King Harry Lane, *Phase 2* 531 g.183.3.

Catch-plate **d**: King Harry Lane, *Phase 2* g.420.3; 515 Colchester, 44–8.

Catch-plate **e**: 498 Skeleton Green, 15–25; King Harry Lane, *Phase 1* 530 g.256.3, 538 g.84.2, 545 g.268.4, *Phase 2* 543 g.338.2, *Phase 3* 494 g.207.2, 526 g.204.4, 534 g.389.4; 501 Bagendon, 45–55; 546–8 Ditches, N Cerney, 45–55; 516 Thetford, 45–61; 540 Weekley, mid-late 1st century; 549 Alcester, early–mid 4th century.

Not surprisingly, it is modern excavation which has yielded the most information, with the King Harry Lane cemetery taking pride of place.

Distribution: KT **d** HANTS **e** ESSEX **dd** HERTS aaaaaaaaaaaaaabbcdeeeeeeeeeeeeeee OXON **e** GLOS deeeeeee SUFF **aa** NORF **a** CAMBS **cde** NHANTS **dee** WARKS **ee** HERE **e** STAFFS **a** Lincs **e**

6. Non-standard decoration. The items gathered here have been divided into sub-varieties in which what happens on the face of the bow comes first, other oddities being assigned a less important place, unless they are the only oddity. This means that grooves across the feet can be found on some variations with features on the bow, and have already been noted in those types which have been reviewed.

6.a. Bow decoration. *Plate 26.* Bows with two grooves, which may have the occasional punch-mark in them suggesting a poorly finished proper Colchester, but which usually have beading between. This may be plain cross-cuts, or properly cast beading, sometimes with a slant. Although bow sections may occasionally be faceted, even

rounded back and front with an arris on each sides, the commonest section is D-shaped. Sometimes the wings may be fluted, or betray signs of there having been an intention that they should be, but this is held not to be important.

- b** 566* 573
c none so far
d 104 574 577 578* 579–80 695–7 15418
e 563 571 711 2946 13135

Dating: no catch-plates **a** or **c** so far.

Catch-plate **b**: 566* Old Winteringham before 75.

Catch-plate **d**: 15418 Portesham, before c.60/65; 589 Chichester, late Flavian; 579 Chichester, late 3rd century or later; 578* Chichester, late 4th century.

Catch-plate **e**: 563 Verulamium, 70–100.

15418 Portesham, 50–60; 566* Old Winteringham, before 75; 563 Verulamium, 70–100; 580 Chichester, late Flavian; 579 Chichester, late 3rd century or later; 578 Chichester, late 4th century.

Distribution: KT **d** SUSS **ddd** HANTS **ddde** DORS **d** DEV **e** HERTS **de** BUCKS **e** GLOS **d** NHANTS **b** WARKS **e** Lincs **b**

The distribution points, for the first time, to Sussex and Hampshire where there is a distinctive group (578*), with an outlier in Kent, a tail to the west and the rest sporadically scattered. This variety is probably related to the one the writer calls the Kent Group: Type 6.b. The emphasis on style **d** and the generally small regular size of the main group should show that these Colchesters are late in the whole sequence.

6.b. The Kent Group. *Plate 25.* This has a broad bow with a flat back whose section may be hexagonal, but whose chief characteristics are the exceptional bend at the head of the profile, the long, often decorated, hook, and the occurrence usually of ornament on both wings and hook. The foot often has grooves, and a foot-knob moulded in the round might also appear. The variety of decoration and form of the bow show that there was no strict design, it being the proportions and the regular occurrence of the features given above which helps to define the group.

It should be assumed that there was development during the lifetime of the type, if the style of the catch-plate is a guide, the most common having circular holes. The presence of reels and beaded beads is a sign that new things are in the air. Other features which can occur are flanges across the top of the catch-plate and mouldings, or grooves, on the return.

- a** 690
b 684*
c 572 575 596 670 672 674 676 678 686 9700 13127* 13130
d 557 576 668–9 673 675 677 679 680–1 694* 713 13162
e 671 683 685 691 9727 11914

Dating: Catch-plate **a**: none.

Catch-plate **b**: none.

Catch-plate c: 672 Canterbury Flavian-Trajanic; 678 Richborough, not later than 85.

Catch-plate d: 681 Silchester, mid 1st century with early Flavian pottery; 669 Highstead, 50–150; 713 Leicester, mid-late 1st century; 673 Canterbury, Flavian-Trajanic; 677 Canterbury, late 1st–mid/late 4th century; 680 Canterbury, 150–200.

Catch-plate e: 685 Colchester, 54–60.

Distribution: KT cccccccddddddeee HANTS ad MSEX c ESSEX bee HERTS cdd GLOS d NORF c LEICS d As might be expected, the concentration is in Kent itself where Colchesters on the whole are not very common compared with the homelands north of the Thames estuary. The overall proportions in relation to the catch-plate *etc.* show great affinities with the Late Small, Type 7.

With more than half coming from Kent, the reason for the name is obvious. In some senses, this group is directly related to the last in that 6.a continues the distribution across Central Southern England, but should still represent a separate workshop.

6.c. The Sedgford. *Plate 26.* The name comes from an example in Kings Lynn museum (664*) from Sedgford and the distribution shows that it is essentially a type at home in Norfolk and the Fens. Very broad bow at the top tapering to a point, with wavy line decoration down the middle, sometimes two, there is occasionally punched-dot work or even beading. The wings are very thin and seem scant in proportion to the bow, and some decoration may be found on them. Scorper-graver ornament is usual on the catch-plate, which may be pierced, 659–67 7480*. Note: 13104 in 6.e is, in its general proportions, of the same family, and it comes from Norfolk.

The two examples of style c catch-plate have piercings shaped more like those to be found on the Harlow type than on Colchesters. In addition, 663* has no hook but a hollow on the head which may once have had a separate one brazed into position.

- a none as yet
- b 663* 665*
- c 13841
- d 660–2 664* 666 7480*
- e 667 659 9712 13104 14507

Dating: Catch-plate c: 13841 Dragonby LPRIA–?mid 1st century.

Catch-plate e: 667 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Distribution: MSEX d BUCKS d NORF ddddeee CAMBS bde LINC c

The distribution says it all. With this type we stand on the threshold of the Colchester Derivatives, even if it does not point at the Rearhook, the natural first form of the Derivatives in Norfolk.

6.d. Bow decoration. *Plate 26.* Here, there is a central groove and, while the majority are obviously related, 106* betrays signs of being earlier with its decorated wings and the annular groove of the ring round the holes in the catch-plate being a relatively unusual feature, but one found on copper alloy fittings on *loricae segmentatae*.

- a none as yet
- b 565 567 569 13160*
- c 106*
- d none as yet
- e 105 562 568 570 13143

Dating: Catch-plate b: 569 Springhead, before 90.

Catch-plate e: King Harry Lane, 570 unphased; 562 Colchester, c.49–50/55.

Distribution: KT b WILTS b ESSEX ee HERTS ce OX b NORF be LINC e

Nothing distinctive emerges from the distribution and this suggests that the presence of a groove down the bow is largely irrelevant.

6.e. Dot-and-Circle ornament. *Plate 26.* The name says it all: the common form is to have three of these on the head of the bow, but they can also occur on the sides as well as catch-plates (644*), and also be singletons. The bows are more often faceted than not and there is fairly often decoration on the wings of a not very developed kind, and there may be grooves across the foot. The only ones gathered here have the ornament placed prominently on the bow: where brooches have it on the catch-plate, they are assigned to the general group to which the whole brooch belongs.

- a 638* 639 641 647* 649 651–2 658
- b 640* 642–3 645 650 654 657 13131 13828
- c none as yet
- d none as yet
- e 644* 646 648 655

Dating: Catch-plate a: King Harry Lane, *Phase 2*, 652 g.152.2, *Phase 3* 651 g.23.2.; 649 Neatham, early-mid 3rd century.

Catch-plate b: King Harry Lane, *Phase 2*, 650 g.53.4; 13131 Middle Duntisbourne, mid 1st century; 643 Hengistbury Head, late 2nd century and later; 642 Baldock, 3rd century.

Catch-plate c: none.

Catch-plate d: none.

Catch-plate e: Colchester, c.49–50/55.

Distribution: KT e HANTS ab WILTS aab ESSEX ab HERTS aabbbbee NORF e CAMBS a NHANTS ab LINC b

The far west and the Severn Valley are missing. Whether this is a true picture will depend upon a quadrupling of the number of examples.

7. Late-Small. *Plates 26–27.* With these, we stand on the threshold of the Colchester Derivative family. To some extent, the amount of decoration depends on the size of the brooch. All here are small, when compared with the ruck of the main run of Colchesters, Types 1–6.d, and there are signs that brooches were being deliberately sized. This is partly a product of their being cast rather than worked up from a blank. Hardly any reach 50mm in length and many are smaller than 35mm. The proportions are recognizably those of the Derivative forms of all kinds (see Chapter 3) and decoration on wings, hook, bow and

catch-plate is common, although the latter usually only has small circles as piercings. Although flutings and some simple groupings of grooves on wings are to be found, the most characteristic form of decoration is a series of fine and closely set grooves. The catch-plates are short, often stubby, and frequently have scorper-graver decoration.

The division here has been on size and the brooches are presented in five groups in ascending height: less than 20mm, less than 25mm, less than 30mm, less than 35mm, and less than 45mm. Although divided on the basis of size, each is subdivided by the style of catch-plate piercings as defined in the Colchester Type 1 and used subsequently. Although it might be objected that the divisions are arbitrary, there is no doubt that these brooches are sized, even if "quality control" is not up to the best of modern standards: there is no even graph from one end of the spectrum to the other.

7.aa <20 **d** 741 744 754 788 11922* 14955

It is not surprising that, in such diminutive brooches, there should be no piercings in the catch-plates. Three have the close-set grooves on their wings prevalent in the type. 788 is a fragment only of the head of a Colchester whose maximum span across the wings is 5mm, and so qualifies for inclusion.

Dating: 14955 Silchester, 50/60–80; 744 Colchester, 61–c.65; 741 Richborough, before 80?

7.ab <25 **b** 712*
c 742 756 11923*
d 386 703 727* 755 9708 9720 9729

Here we have the first appearance of piercings and they are the common circular ones. However there is one with style **b** and, not unexpectedly, it has the earliest features with its faceted bow, fluted wings; it also has a decorative end to the hook, but the overall proportions and profile are those of the generality gathered here. 727 has cross cuts down the bow and its spring is separate, the axis bar held by a hook under the main one. 703 has an almost trumpet head to its bow, if the drawing is to be trusted.

Dating: 742 Hod Hill; before 50; 703 Colchester, 61–c.65; 755 Weekley, late 1st century–c.175.

7.ac <30 **c** 709 721 743 746 747* 748 750 752–3 11924 13159
d 383–4 689 698 704–5 714–5 739 745 757 7553

The balance between those with pierced catch-plates and those without is adjusted to about 50/50, ignoring those lacking the catch-plate. 704 has grooves across the foot of the bow and 747* has a whole series of mouldings on the lower part. Otherwise ornament is confined to the wings and catch-plates save for 11924 which betrays signs of being the earliest here. The general effect of those with Type **d** catch-plate is plainer than those in the smaller sizes.

Dating: King Harry Lane, *Phase 4*, 757 g.28.5; 743 Skeleton Green, sealed by the pre-Roman flood, 384, possibly co-aeval with the last; 698 Verulamium, 44–58; 721 Verulamium,

c.49; 750 Braughing, 55–100; 752 Canterbury, Neronian; 748 Braughing, 100–150; 383 Hardwick Park, before c.135; 7553 Gorhambury, late Antonine–c.325; 753 Canterbury, 4th century.

7.ad <35 **b** none as yet
c 687* 699 700 722 723–4 726 729 736 738 7527 7554 14961
d 381–2 385 682 688 717 719–20 725 728 735 740 749* 7505* 9702 9739 11921 11925 13152–3 14852*

Again the balance is about 50/50. The larger size does not, however, mean that more are decorated, and in fact there are more which resemble the main type than occur in the previous groups. The tendency towards a diminutive size was a developing trend arising from the appearance of small brooches in the first place. If this were not true, one would have to show that there was a gradual falling off in numbers in each size category beginning at, say 65mm, followed by 55mm and then through the next group, those represented here by 7.ae. Yet the number of brooches which are recognizably of the whole of this group which can be assigned to that is actually smaller, suggesting that the manufacturers designed the basic sizes to lie between 30mm and 45mm. 7505 is an oddity. It is here because its proportions are those of the rest, but it has a bow section like that of many Rearhooks; it came from Norfolk, but the spring is that of a Colchester save for the detail that the hook did not survive. 14852* has a separately-made foot-knob of the type found in Aucissas.

Dating: 700 Baldock, 25–50; 14961 Silchester, 40–50/60; 723 Colchester, c.45 and later; 724 725 Longthorpe, before 65; 699 Baldock, mid-late 1st century; 688 Verulamium, 160–90; 720 Bancroft villa, late 3rd–mid 4th century; 7554 Gorhambury, 300–350.

7.ae <45 **a** 776
b 599
c 550 716 731–4 737 751 9731
d 233 628 702 730 13151

Here, the larger size may well have ensured that more have pierced catch-plates than not. The point about sizing in this particular category of Colchesters is amply borne out by the brooches assembled here: none is more than 43mm long and the average is about 40 mm. 599 is crumpled and its size not easily ascertainable. However it is not one of the smaller examples.

Dating: King Harry Lane, *Phase 4*, 737 758 g431.2,3; 716 Kelvedon, mid-1st century; 731 Colchester, 43–61; 732 Longthorpe, before 65; 730 Wroxeter, Flavian; 628 Ewhurst, before 120.

Distribution: KT aa ab ac ac ad ad ae SURR ae HANTS aa ac ad ae DORS ab ESSEX aa ab ab ab ad ad ae ae ae HERTS aa aa ab ac ac ac ac ac ac ac ad ad ad ad ad ad ad ae ae BEDS/BUCKS ac ad ad ad ad ad ad ae GLOS ac ae HERE aa NORF ae ad CAMBS ad ad ae ae NHANTS aa aa ab ab ac ac ac ac ac ac ac ac ad ad ad ad

ad ad ad ad ae LINC ab ab ad ae NOTTS aa CUMB
ac ad ae

What is interesting about the distribution of these is that there is a clear homeland: Essex, Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire. There is a cluster in Kent, but Norfolk and Suffolk are omitted, save for one, and there are so few in Central Southern England that they can effectively be ignored and join those in Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and Wroxeter as outliers. Here, then, is a distinct, and late, sub-group of the Colchester. The distribution compares well with the Harlow early form assumed for present purposes to be 1.a1 in Part 1 of Chapter 3. The difference between the two is mainly that the market for brooches had expanded in the early Roman period. The other connection between the two is that the earliest Harlow has a Colchester spring system and is a miniature form like the ones just looked at: 787 in the Odd Colchesters at the end.

7.b. Bead and Reel wings. All are small, less than 38mm long. They have the bead and reel wings, the reels sometimes beaded, more often associated with Rearhooks and the hinged brooches made on the western edges of that distribution. However, the bow designs vary from plain to vertical mouldings, one tricked out with scorper-graver decoration, 761*. This particular specimen bears some resemblance to one of the varieties of Harlow (see Chapter 3), especially in the application of the ornament to the concave sides of the bow. In 718 we see more traits of the Colchester Derivative family: the style of the wings, the elaborate hook with an X incised on the top, and the overall proportions

- b 718 761* 762 764
- c none is known
- d 708 710* 759–60 763

Dating: King Harry Lane, Phase 3, 718 g.450.5; 762 Colchester, 49–61.

Distribution: KT 7b 7b ESSEX 7b 7b 7b HERTS 7b 7b NORF 7b NHANTS 7b 7b

Although so very few are known, it should be significant that there is a pale reflection of the distribution of Type 7.a, all the outliers having gone. The probable foreshadowing of the Harlow (see Chapter 3) represented here is significant. The extension into Norfolk may be important as it is amongst the Rearhooks centred there that the bead and reel wings have their greatest influence. It is also noticeable that it is also amongst the Rearhooks that the greatest variety of moulded bow sections occurs (see Chapter 3).

8. The Military Colchester. *Plate 27.* Utterly plain, with a very short hook curled round the chord, which should point to manufacture on the continent, the section of the bow may be squared, usually deeper from back to front than side to side, or have rounded corners, but always has a right-angled bend at the head of the profile with the head tilted down, unlike the basic Colchester which,

if anything has a reversed tilt. 450 is added here because of the square section of the bow.

The best indication that this variety should not be associated with the ordinary British sequence is the appearance of the type at Zugmantel ([77], *Taf.* 1,15). This fort, along with Saalburg (dealt with by Böhme in the same volume), is accepted as dating from the 80s to c.260 (*ibid.*, 9), but there is some undoubted earlier material (*ibid.*, *Taf.* 1, 17–21) and this might be seen as a problem, but the Colchester's bow profile is matched by that of a whole group of Nauheim and *Drahtfibel* Derivatives (*ibid.*, *Taf.* 3–4, *passim*) and there are too many of these to be laughed off as survivors from an unlocated earlier site. The example from Wilcote, Oxon. (11919), has a tinned or silvered finish which is unknown to the writer on all the examples of the overall type which have been looked at.

450 551–3 558* 6291 11919 all have solid catch-plates and 11919 is tinned or silvered.

Dating: none directly; the two from forts associated with Hadrian's Wall should be no earlier than the later first century. Uniformly, it seems, later than the end of the British series of Colchesters which rather emphasises the isolated nature of this type. At the moment, it may be best to think of the variety being in use in the last few decades of the 1st century.

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 1 OXON 1 CAMBS 1 STAFFS 1 HAD W 11

Its presence very probably indicates the presence of a soldier, as this is one of the very few types of brooch which seems to be specifically military.

Oddments [C Odd] 1. 706* is truly odd: framed catch-plate with flanges, hexagonal-sectioned bow, save for reserved areas cross-cut, lots of fine grooves on the wings. 786* is a Colchester, but the wire for the hook and the spring was inserted into the mould and the body then cast round them. 787* is important: it is a Colchester in spring habit, but a Harlow Colchester Derivative in form, a true bridge. 789* is a Colchester with a half-round platform behind the head from which rises a backward-facing hook. 11915* is a Colchester in form, but seems to have had the wings riveted on which makes the creation of the spring a little problematical: it comes from Kingsholm in the area where the Type 1 Polden Hills of Type 1 developed.

701 706* 786* 787* 789* 11915*

Dating: 789* Skeleton Green, 30–40; 706* Alton, early Flavian.

Oddments [C Odd] 2. These are all in iron save for 785* which means that because of their condition there is seldom any guarantee that they are, finally Colchesters. 785, however, is an oddity in that the spring is completely separate, but the form is that of a Colchester. There is nothing odd in their distribution, apart from the item from Scotland: 502.

502 785* 1346 6868 14990

Dating: none.

Part 4. The Aesica [AESICA]

British in development, the origins are possibly complex, but all are from the same horizon of continental imports: the bow forms owe more to the Rosette fitted with a spring-case than to any other chief type. They have been divided here into the styles of mounting the pin (see the order as listed in the Colchester Derivatives in Chapter 3). Thereafter, the letters of the alphabet have been used to define the recognizable variants, until the ruck is reached at which point it is useless to hand out further divisions.

1. Harlow Spring. *Plates 27–28.* For details on how the separately-made spring was mounted, see Chapter 3, Part 2.

Unlike the Harlow spring system which is at home in the eastern parts of England generally south of Norfolk and west of the Midlands, the Aesicas with this system are almost exclusively in Wiltshire, Dorset and southern Gloucestershire.

1.a Cast in one, the object is relatively complex. The wings are very short, because of the width of the head of the bow, and may have some grooving. The bow widens towards the bottom, has a boss on the outer corners and then the lower edge on each side swings in to sit on the junction between the two parts of the back plate. This may reflect the upper bow attached to a fantail foot, although at least one circular upper part is known. The upper bow joins the under side of the wings, has a prominent ridge down the middle and usually has moulded decoration on each side generally of a “celtic” nature. The fantail foot tends to have bosses on the lower corners, cross-cut or beaded borders and often, but not always, more “celtic” ornament in relief on the main face. The variation in detail is because none of the standard mass-production systems known can cope with complex forms like this.

6075* 6078 6083 6129*

1.b At present the writer only has three. They are much easier to make, the bow on the upper part being the only connection between the wings and the fantail foot. The decoration is simple, but there is a set of cross-mouldings at the top of the foot.

6130 6143* 12392

Dating: for 1.a and 1.b, 6078 Petersfinger, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Distribution: DORS b WILTS aab GLOS aab

All are grouped in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, with one outlier.

2. Rearhook. *Plates 28–29.* The separately-made spring is held like those of Colchester Derivatives with the same spring system (see Chapter 3, part 3).

Dating: see the discussion on the dating of the Rearhook, (Chapter 3, part 3) which applies to all here.

2.a1. One-piece casting like that of 1.a, the wings bear all the ornament to be expected on the Rearhook proper. The

bow has a narrow top and sweeps out to a point on each side before returning to a narrow base seated in the middle of the disc of a rosette-shaped back-plate. Occasionally, the points droop like the bosses of Type 1 and sometimes the upper bow is almost straight-sided without bosses *etc.* The upper bow usually has a prominent central feature. However, the constant feature is the use of a separately-cast ring, usually with beading or incised chevrons, or a beaded edge pure and simple on the disc of the back-plate. The objective is, in the first instance, to copy in some form the repoussé sheet found on main run of Rosettes (see Part 2, Type 4 above). The fantail foot commonly has a moulding down each edge and something a little more complex in the middle, even full moulding. Any single catch-plates with this style of decoration can be assigned with some certainty to this group.

6080–1 6084–7 6089–91 6092* 13935 13938 13939* 14539* 14540–1

2.a2. As 2.a1, but the impression of the repoussé ring is only indicated. 14546 from Castleford is enamelled and this Rearhook, *may* indicate the direction from which at least one craftsman made his way north.

6097 6094 6131 11879 12393* 12397 13936* 13837

Dating of both: none so far.

Distribution: SURR 1 GLOS 2 SUFF 1 NORF 111111111122222222 CAMBS 1111 Lincs 2

As might be expected, the centre of distribution is overwhelmingly in Norfolk and immediately adjoining lands.

2.b. The casting is simple, the bow having a flat back under a curved top.

2.b1. A conscious attempt to copy the look of a Rosette complete with rosette or lozenge and a fantail. All have a bow at the top. 6156 from Carleton Rode, Norfolk, is an unfinished casting.

6138–9 6140* 6141–2 6152 6154* 6156* 9771 9773 13390 14544

2.b2. These lack the bow at the top, but retain the disc or lozenge. 10001 is an extraordinary item: it has the disc and fantail but there is a raised cross, with ribbed arms and a circular setting in the middle, over the disc.

10001* 12945 13934* 14546

2.b3. These have the disc or lozenge replaced by the bow placed directly over the fantail.

974 6135–6 6148* 9996 13868 14525*

Dating of all: 6139 Thetford Fison Way, before 61; 14546 Castleford, 71/4–86.

Distribution: WILTS 3 SUFF 2 NORF 1111111111122333 Lincs 33 STAFFS 3 YKS 2

2.c. Again, a simple casting whose wings tend to have a helical groove. The wings often have at least one diagonal

groove, usually with a vertical one at the ends. The bow is straight-sided with a marked arrangement of chevron mouldings, sometimes involving diagonal crosses. Frequently there is a cross-moulding, even a bulbous boss, at the top of the lower bow. However, the chief feature is the marked horizontal axis running out to a point or a boss on each side, the sides of the lower bow sweeping top and bottom to join the bow in the first instance and a foot-knob in the other.

6157–68 11878* 12394* 12396 13556–7 13941–3 14542–3

2.d. Here, the bow runs straight into the fantail foot.

978* 13940

Dating: none so far for both 2.c and 2.d.

Distribution of 2.c and 2.d: ESS c WILTS d SUFF cc NORF cccccccccccccc

3. Polden Hill. *Plate 29.* All have the Polden Hill spring system (see Chapter 3, part 4).

3.a. Two-part castings, the upper part with the wings being fastened to the lower by means of a projection at the base of the bow passing through the upper part of the back-plate. The wings are very short because the upper bow is so wide, its sides sweeping out to a knob on either side, and then back to the narrow base near the top of what is in fact a large fantail foot. On either side there is a projection just below the level of the bow. Both the bow and the fantail are either covered with repoussé sheet whose design incorporates “celtic” elements, or these are less frequently cast in relief on the body of the brooch itself. The enamelling and white metal trim of 6146* serves as a reminder that not all is plain sailing, especially when the decorative techniques appear to be so much later than one would suppose by looking at the general type, and the cast-in relief decoration of 11880* again shows that a simple view can be mistaken: many examples of one kind do not necessarily displace the small numbers of another kind. 6066–8 6069* 6070–74 6077 6100 6104 6106 6146* 9997 9999 10000 11880* 13947–8 14547–9

Dating: 6077 Nettleton, early 2nd century; 14547 Castleford, 100–250; 6667 Aesica, later 2nd century.

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 1 BUCKS 1 OXON 11 GLOS 1 CAMBS 1 LEICS 1 WARKS 11 LINC 11 NOTTS 1111 YORKS 1 HAD W 11

The general tendency is for the distribution to emphasise the eastern side of England from north Cambridgeshire to Hadrian's Wall. The deep South East and South West seem to lack any examples, likewise the Marches.

3.b. Apparently of the same form as the last, the whole is cast in one, which is why there are not multiple examples of a single design, this type being much more difficult to make in the first place.

6076* 6079 6093 6095 6099* 6128 6101 6217 12399–400

Dating: 6076* Waddon Hill, 50–60; 6101 Alcester, early-mid 4th century.

Distribution: HANTS 1 DORS 1 SOM 1 WILTS 11 SWALES 11 OXON 1 NORF 1 LEICS 1 WARKS 11 SALOP 1

No really clear pattern, just a hint that it was the west side of England which was favoured. The one from Leicester is clearly a copy of one of the Rearhook types belonging to 2.a1.

3.c. Here there is no complex casing, and repeats of the same design occur. These can be grouped and are divided by /. First is a simplified form with generally two dot-and-circle motifs on the plain fantail foot. The next one has thin sections with an exaggerated fantail with projections on the top corners. The fourth group is made up of singletons in the main and it may be doubted whether any will prove to be more common than those which hold sway at the moment. The last group has no fantail and would be classified as Colchester Derivatives, if they did not have the Aesica bow form at the top.

a 6107* 6108 6110–2 13423 / b 6113 6118–20 6121* 6122–3 / c 6103 6169 13654* 13946 / d 6098 6102 6105 13944* 13945 / e 6170 6171* 13513

Dating: 6118 Chichester, late 1st century; 13513 Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40.

Distribution: SUSS b HANTS c WILTS a OXON dee GLOS bbbde NORF acd CAMBS aaa NHANTS c WARKS bc LINC b DERBS d SALOP b

Of these, those of 3.ca might favour the east, while those of 3.cb are basically from the western side of England. There is a less clear cut picture for the other varieties except perhaps for 3.ce which is again western.

4. Hinged Pin. *Plate 29.* Self-explanatory.

4.a. Here the bow joins the foot without any extra pieces. The wings may be plain, have grooves or helical grooves. The bow is essentially uncomplicated, merely widening to a pendant boss on each side before narrowing to the top of the foot. It also has a prominent central ridge, shaped to look like a pseudo-hook, with a flute on each side and extra mouldings. The foot may have grooves down the sides, forming a V or have dot-and-circle motifs.

6109* 6115–7, 6124 6125* 6126 14550

Dating: 6124 Camelon, 140–160/5.

Distribution: GLOS 1 NORF 11 NHANTS 1 LINC 111 SCOT 1

Essentially Norfolk and the East Midlands, one in Scotland and one in Gloucestershire need not disturb the image unduly.

4.b. Although stylistically earlier than 4.a, this is the only specimen known to the writer where the bow is well-arched and the rosette joins the bottom of the spring-case. For this reason, this is given a secondary position in this group. 4654

No dating available.

4.x. Others. *Plate 30.* These are arranged in rough order. The first has a high-arched bow joining a disc attached to the wings. The next group has bows and fantails, then follows a group with reminiscences of the disc with a weak bow.

The only brooch of real interest is 9995* from the temple at Thornborough and is one of the very few brooches with an unequivocal religious subject: the head of Cernunus is above two facing deer whose necks are grasped by the hands of the god. It is unclear how the pin was mounted. There is a very wide single lug which might have lain between the two parts of a Polden Hill spring, but there is no sign of a hole or hook to hold the chord. The chances are that this had a hinged pin mounted between blocks secured by the bent-over ends of the axis bar.

6096 / 994 6088 6144 6145* / 9993 9998 10002 11896 / 9995*

Dating: 6088 King Harry Lane cemetery; 6145* St Mawgan in Pyder, 25–50/70.

Aesica Dreg: All that is left is the fantail foot of a brooch which could be from other types of brooch sporting such a foot. However, the way in which the outer borders turn out at the bottom to end in bosses suits the Aesica better than these others.

13945

Part 5. The South Western La Tène Series [SW]. *Plate 30*

1.a. usually has more than four coils and an external chord; these brooches belong effectively to La Tène II tradition. 10070 10079–80 10082* 10083 10085–7 10092–4 10104

Dating: 10081 Maiden Castle, 2nd–1st century B.C.; 10082* Maiden Castle, 5 B.C.–A.D. 20; 10083 Hod Hill, pre-Roman.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 1111 SOM 11 GLOS 1

The dating is effectively pre-Roman and possibly not really later than the middle of the first century B.C. The distribution does not favour the deep South West, but is the main origin of Type 1.b.

1.b. These are directly related to the preceding; there is a reflection of the returned foot of the La Tène II, but interestingly seldom with an actual collar. It might be argued that the original form was actually a La Tène I in those cases where there is no hint of a collar, *e.g.* 10077. Here the spring is not a functioning item. There is a hinged pin mounted on an axis bar, the ring being disguised as a coil, *e.g.* 10090. This arrangement is not only not always clear, but may in one or two instances actually have been part of a proper spring.

2883–4 3723 10074–7 10084 10088–9 10090* 10092–4 10095* 10096–99 10101–3 10105–8 10108* 10109–11 10122–4 11805 11872

Dating: 11805 11872 Danebury, 300–100 B.C.; 10074

Chilcomb, 3rd to 1st century B.C.; 10109 Maiden Castle, 2nd–1st century B.C.; 10102 10105–7 Meare, 3723 10088 10091 10093–4 10099 10101 10122–3 Glastonbury; 10111 Maiden Castle, *c.* 50 B.C.–A.D. 20; 10092 10098 Hod Hill, before 50 at the latest.

The dating is so strongly B.C. that the items from Meare and Glastonbury should be definitely well and truly pre-conquest. In fact the two from Hod Hill should under no circumstances have derived from the latest Iron Age occupation. There is a strong possibility that the type was disseminated to the east and to the north as a result of water-borne trade.

Distribution: HANTS 1111 DORS 11111111 WILTS 1 SOM 11111111111111 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 11 WARKS 1 SCOT 111

The area is very much like that for 1.a, but extends much further with a real presence in the east and in Scotland.

1.c. A clutch of brooches with Colchester spring systems, but having elements of the collar of the La Tène II or the turned up foot of that type. 10072–10073* have the foot reversed in that it bends back, passes through the collar and ends under the head of the bow. 10069* is more orthodox while 556 has the turned up foot which is ribbed, and no collar. Not strictly from the South West, the aberrant form is better placed here as there is nowhere else for it without creating a completely new section with only four brooches in it.

556 10069* 10072 10073*

Dating: 10072 Colchester, 10–43; 10073* Wroxeter, not earlier than 55/60.

Distribution: KT 1 ESSEX 11 SALOP 1

1.d. These are not to be confused with the type of La Tène II associated with the Roman army which composes Part 6 of this Chapter. The brooches gathered here belong to Central Southern England rather than to the South West, but their very old-fashioned appearance places them with the same traits found in 1.a and 1.b and their distributions overlap. They have four-coil-internal-chord spring systems. The returned foot ends in a collar which is set much closer to the foot than those in the Military La Tène II type discussed next.

10065–6 10067* 10068 10071

Dating: 10065 Hod Hill, before 50.

Distribution: HANTS 111 DORS 1

Part 6. The Military La Tène II [Mil La T II]. *Plate 30*

The La Tène II belongs firmly to the period before 100 B.C., except for those which belong to 1.d in Part 5 of this chapter, and there the dating is not well established, and for those gathered here which belong firmly to the 1st century A.D. It is a fact that these brooches are a chronological anachronism, in typological terms. There

is a brief discussion in Chapter 11 about brooches and the Roman army. In essence, there is evidence that some parts of the army used brooches as badges of association, very much as the XIV GEMINA seem to have hung on to the Aucissa past its sell-by date and the IX HISPANA used a later version of the Augenfibel.

The brooches here are almost exclusively from Roman sites, frequently with proven military associations. I cannot prove that these brooches *must* represent soldiers, but I can say that they arrive with the army and belong exclusively to the earliest period of the Roman occupation.

Definition: They all have four-coil-internal-chord springs of the standard Nauheim/*Drahtfibel* type and of their derivative forms. However, they all have feet which are formed from the lower end of the catch-plate, beaten thin, and returned to be united with the bow near its top by bending flaps round the bow. There are frequently mouldings across this simulated collar as though the craftsman was intent on crimping the wrapped round part on to the bow, but the bows underneath seem not to have any marks deriving from this.

They are divided into three groups:

6.a. Decoration on the pseudo-collar.

2885 10143 10145* 10147 10152 10156 10158 10161 15378

Dating: none.

Distribution: SOM 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 MSEX 1 HERE 11 GLOS 1 SUFF 1

6.b. No decoration on the pseudo collar

10148–50 10153–4 10159* 10160 10162–4

Dating: 10159* Wroxeter, c.55/60–90; 10160 Wroxeter, after 55/60; 10149 Richborough, with Flavian and pre-Flavian pottery.

Distribution: KT 1 WILTS 1 MSEX 11 GLOS 1 NORF 1 SALOP 11 CHESH 1

6.c. Those too damaged to assign to the previous divisions. 10157 is dubious.

10144* 10146 10151 10155 10157 12826

Dating: 10155 Richborough, before 85; 12826 Caernarvon, Hadrianic–late 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 11 ESSEX 1 SUFF 1 WALES

6.a. shows a tendency for the south coast and the Severn estuary; **6.b** swings over to the north west and with Chester included, might mark part of the LEGIO XX; and the rest tend to follow **6.b**. However, all three occur also in the South East, but **6.c** has a tendency at the moment to avoid East Anglia and Hertfordshire. The dating is very weak but it was certainly in use in the years around the initial conquest period.

Iron Age Dregs. *Plate 31.* There are some items which refuse to conform to general categories, or even specialised ones, and they find their home here.

2931 has a triple bow joined at the foot by an Alesia like bar with knobs and at the head by an axis bar through the bilateral spring with internal chord trapped between the heads of the outer bow.

2943 from Tre'r Ceiri is famous as an example of applied plastic celtic art. It is called a brooch although, as drawn, it could never have worked.

3885 has all the aspect of being a variant Nauheim Derivative only with not enough evidence of the spring: pre-Flavian.

3888 had a four-coil spring with either an external or internal chord. The moulded upper bow is like the next but with a central ridge. There are four cross mouldings above a parallel-side foot and a pierced catch-plate with a curved cross-bar.

4126* has a rolled-under head, an upper bow with two bordering ridges, then a trio of cross-mouldings and a narrow foot.

6583 looks as though it ought to be a Langton Down.

14857 has a hinged pin housed in the rolled-over head of a brooch of which only the triangular bow survives. On the face of things, the raised triangular central section recalls the Nauheim. If the head had been rolled-under, it would have been given as a Durotrigan brooch.

Chapter 3. The Colchester Derivative

Plates 31–68

Part 1. The Harlow Spring System [CD Ha].

The bilateral spring is fastened to the body of the brooch by means of an axis bar through the coils of the spring and by the chord: both pass through a plate behind the head of the bow which has two holes, the lower for the axis bar, the upper for the chord. The name derives from the commonest type first seen in numbers by the writer when dealing with the brooches from the Holbrooks site, Harlow, amongst other material recovered by Stewart Eglington-Meade; the collection remains unpublished. The name is also applied to the spring system. The Harlow brooch itself is Type 1 and its sub-varieties are sub-types 1.a *etc.*, even though they have no particular chronological significance, at least as far as present evidence allows.

1.a The Harlow Brooch The Harlow is a major family and was made in tens of thousands. It was the successor of the Colchester in the home territory of that type, although outliers are fairly numerous. Just as the Rearhook seems to have been the mark of the Iceni, the present type was commonly worn by the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes. Unlike the Rearhook, which has a great number of decorative varieties, the present family has few and there is some evidence that it was produced in standard sizes and the reader is given the sizes of examples so that a judgment may be formed.

Ironically, the only evidence for manufacture of any Harlow is of the 1.a1 and comes from the homeland of the Rearhook at Caister St Edmunds. The relics of the workshop discovered by Commander Surgeon Mann in 1938 are now housed in Norwich Castle Museum (150.961). The remains consist of fragments of burnt mould preserving some of the shapes and failed castings with pieces of mould attached: 9780–4. The workshop was making other cast copper alloy objects so only the burnt clay identified as having part of brooch moulds was recorded.

The plain wings are curved to seat the spring. The plate behind the head is carried over the top as a formal, useless, visual recreation of the hook on a Colchester. The fake hook dies out in a flat face which runs to the foot of the bow and is relieved on each side by a concave surface ending at the squared sides of the bow which has a flat back. The flat face usually has a line of walked-graver decoration down it, frequently missed by unobservant

illustrators, but sometimes worn away. The catch-plate has a variety of features the chief of which is a pierced circle over a modified pierced triangle, and a pin-groove. Sometimes there is a flange across the top of the catch-plate interrupted by a cut-out for the pin.

Most Harlows have solid catch-plates and, being the dominant form, should come first. However, as the type derives from the Colchester, those with pierced catch-plates were very probably the earlier ones. As these also tend to be those with a flange across the top, another early feature possibly taken from Langton Down types such as the Nertomarus, they will be treated first.

The dating of each sub-type is given at the end of the relevant section, and there is a combined summary of the dating after sub-type 1.d.

1.a1. Plate 31. Pierced catch-plates, divided into three basic styles:

- a those which betray some sign of the pre-circular hole fashions of the Colchester
- b those with the usual combination of circle and triangle
- c those with a circle only

When working from published examples, one cannot always be sure that the illustrator noticed a pure circle as opposed to an open one over a triangle still filled with flash, and there is no way, short of examining the original brooch, of being certain. Flanges are indicated by the suffix *f*. When it comes to style *a*, this includes large single holes and those which have dog-legs. In style *b* allowance has been made for large brooches whose catch-plates are commensurately greater and so may have a triangle above the circle giving the impression of an annulus bridging a single opening. When handling these brooches in large numbers it becomes clear that the flash in the mould which tends to obscure the openings was not always efficiently cleaned out, or not at all, but the moulds still had the wherewithal to create piercings as opposed to those with solid catch-plates where there never was any intention of having any.

Although brooches with rudimentary mouldings on their wings have been allocated a separate sub-type, 1.a3, there are several which would have found their way here on the basis of their catch-plate. But the decision is to retain those with plain wings as the primary marks of the type.

When it comes to the matter of size of the brooches, most were apparently made according to a planned range

of sizes. However, as is common in transmitting designs by using a previous casting to make new moulds, there is a reduction because metal shrinks on cooling. This will tend to blur what had probably once been clear distinctions.

c.70mm	1033f
c.55–65mm	1017–8 1020 1025–7 1029 1031 1035f 1152–4 9811 11495
c.50mm	1141
c.45mm	1016* 1109 1113 1116–8 1142 1147 1149 8072 11929f 12907
c.42.5mm	1121–2 1124–5 1127–31 1133–5 1137–8 1143 1146 1159 3766 9791 12910 13170
<c.40mm	255 1114–5 1119 1123 1126–8 1132 1136 1139f–40 1148 1190 9941 11486
<35mm	1144
<30mm	9793f
unsized	1120 1145 1150 9778 13171 13348

Looking at the numbers occurring in these sizes, it would be easy to say that progressive reduction because of the effect of copying from castings as opposed to patterns accounts for the close divisions centring around 42.5mm. That may be the case, but there is no absolute proof. However, allowing for this, then one would see the chief sizes being 40–45mm and 55–65mm. The singletons at less than 35mm and 50mm represent less popular segments of the production. The former is a little surprising considering its popularity in the late Colchesters, sub-type 7.a.

As the style of the catch-plate is only partly affected by its size, and as the distribution of the products of the craftsmen is based upon their circuits, and not by the size of what was offered, only the distribution of the styles is looked at. For the suffix w, see 1.a3 below.

- a 1016* 1018 1025–7 1029* 1033f 1136–8 1140–1f 1143 1146 1148–9 1152 9778 9793f 11495 13171 13418f
 - b 255 1017 1020 1031 1035f* 1109 1113–7 1119–28 1123 1127* 1130–2 1134–5 1142 1145 1147 1150 1153w–4 3766 8072 9791 9811 9941 11929f 12907 13170
 - c 1118* 1129 1133 1139f 1144 1190 11486 12910
- catch-plate missing: 1045 1072 1095–1102 1104–7 1110–2 1399 2468 10113 11930 12908 13348 13352 13411 13417 13419

Dating: 1119 Bromham, 5–35; 1129 Colchester, 49–61; 1131 Verulamium, 44–61; 1118* Derby, c.55–85/5; 255 Colchester, 61–65; 1147 Verulamium, redeposited Boudiccan fire debris; 1143 Chichester, Flavian; 12910 Broxtowe, before 70/5; 1102, 2468 Baginton, The Lunt, 70–80; 1125 Harlow temple, before 80; 1148 Fishbourne, 75–80; 1097 Silchester, before 80/85; 11486 Gorhambury, late 1st century–early 2nd century; 1133 Chelmsford, 90–120/130; 11495 Gorhambury, 1st century; 1026 Wilcote, 100–150; 1124 Canterbury, 125–300; 3766 Lullingstone, late 2nd century; 9778 Catterick, 200/20 plus; 1116 Chichester, 3rd century plus; 1033 Bancroft villa, late 3rd century–mid 4th century; 1095 Canterbury, 290–320.

The item from Bromham can be safely ignored: it may have been early, but not that early.

Distribution: KT bb1111 SUSS ab11 HANTS aabbb1111 WILTS b1 SOM 1 ESSEX abbbcc11111111 MSEX bb11 HERTS bbbbbbcc11111 OXON a11

GLOS bb BEDS/BUCKS aabb SUFF xxxxxb111 NORF bbbcc1111111111111111111111111111 CAMBS abbbbbc1111111111111111111111111111 NHANTS 1111 LEICS 111 WARKS 11 WALES 11 NOTTS b11 STAFFS 1 SALOP 1111 CHESH 1 LINCS 111 LANCS 1 YORKS 111

The “x” under Suffolk represents five other Harlows from Hacheston which were unillustrated and which cannot confidently be placed in any particular sub-group.

Not surprisingly, the basic distribution covers the old homeland of the Colchester. What is pleasing is that, despite the difficult decision here and there as to which group a piercing should be given, L-shaped ones were assigned to 1.b, and those assigned to 1.a really do belong to the inner core of the old distribution.

1.a2. Plate 31. These have solid catch-plates generally with pin-grooves. Some examples taken from publications lack this feature and this may be because the illustrator, not knowing it was something to be expected, did not look for it. The brooches are again divided on the basis of size. 1081 has grooves across its foot. One flange on a brooch without the pin-groove, 1189f; flange and pin-groove 13487; groove at end of each wing, 1015*.

>65mm	1021 1030 1034
c. 45mm	1046 1053 1067–8 1086 1092 1094* 8008 10118 11934
c. 43.5mm	1235 14526
c. 42.5mm	1039 1051 1064 1159 12909 13178
c. 40mm	1036–8 1041* 1042–4 1047 1048 1050 1052 1055–8 1063 1065–6 1069–71 1073–6 1080 1083 1085 1088 1090–1 1228 10142 11926 11928
c. 38mm	9792 13167
c. 36mm	1059 1062* 1077 1082 1084 1093 12913
<35mm	1054
unsized	1078 1089 9754 9800 13164 13173–4 13350

This time there are clear indications of sizes: the very large greater than 65mm, a peak at 45mm and the major one at 40mm. Those at 36mm should also form a distinct group just as those which are less than 35mm surely do.

The following are heads only of the 1.a group and are assumed to have had solid catch-plates.

9787–8 9802

Dating: 1055 Colchester, 43–?61; 1064 Canterbury, Claudian–mid Flavian; 1071 Kelvedon, ?mid–late 1st century; 1159 Verulamium, 60–61; 1228 Baldock, 70–90; 1085 Nettleton, Flavian–early 2nd century; 1048 Harlow temple, before 80; 1092 Richborough, 80–100; 1091 Snettisham, late 1st century–early 2nd century; 1082 Baldock, 90–120; 1069 Chelmsford, 90–120/30; 1062* Canterbury, 100/110–125; 1065 Baldock, before 125; 11928 Leicester, early–mid 3rd century; 1086 Colchester, 3rd century–4th century?; 1083 Baldock, before 300; 1056 Wilcote, 4th century plus.

Distribution: KT aaaaaa SUSS a HANTS aa WILTS aaa ESSEX aaaaaaaaaa MSEX a HRTS aaaaaaaaaa BEDS/BUCKS aa OXON a GLOS a SUFF aaaa NORF aaaaaaaaa CAMBS aaaaaaa NHANTS aaaaaaa LEICS aaa NOTTS a LINCS aaa SALOP a NORTH aa

There are no surprises here. The type dominates the South East, but is not common at all outside the outer limits of Hampshire swinging in to the boundary of the western Fen edge represented by the Lower Nene Valley, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. It is possible that it was this form which was being made at Caister St. Edmund's, see the head of the Harlow.

1.a3. Plate 31. This is divided into two parts. The first, 1.a3a, deals with brooches which are recognizably of the same form as those which have passed in review. The second concerns those brooches of sub-type, 1.a3b. There are no grounds for thinking that either one followed the other, only that the first was the more popular. The exercise in dividing the two is really to see how much parallelism there may be in the dates of the catch-plate styles.

The wings bear some decoration, often with only the simplest of grooving, but there are some which have more elaborate schemes which may or may not be related to date. The catch-plates have been divided basically as for 1.a1, with **d** standing for those with solid catch-plates.

1.a3a

- a 1015* 1108f 1151 1156 1157f* 1158f* 1183–4
 - b 1022
 - c 1161f
 - d 1040 1061 1079 1081 1087 1187 1189f 1191 5423
- no catch-plate 1060 1103 9789 11499 11932

Comment: when the dating is looked at (below), the divisions between the style of catch-plate fall pat with divisions in the date. This is too good to be true, but it may be that further dated examples will emphasise that catch-plate style **a** is indeed the earliest and the solid catch-plate later. We can see from the examples above which have been dated that the solid catch-plate is very early. The other distinction which comes out is that the elaborately moulded wings are early, as is indeed the plainer style (1015*), but at the moment none of those with solid catch-plates has much chance of having any elaborate mouldings to rival the others.

c.68mm	1022
c.62mm	1015*
c.60mm	1151
c.55mm	1156
c.48mm	1158* 1184
c.45mm	1079 1081
c.42mm	1108
c.40mm	1187 5423
c.38mm	1157f*
c.36mm	1061
<35mm	1040 1060 1087 1089 1161f 1191
unsized	1103 1183 1233 11499 11932

The bias seems to be towards the smaller sizes which can be read two ways, either because they are earlier than the main series and reflect the sizes of the latest Colchesters, those of Type 7, or they are early and should therefore be read with the moulded wings left in the Harlow sub-type 1.a1 above. Unfortunately, the only dated one came from a probable late third-century context. 1233 has lost

its catch-plate along with most of its bow and one wing, but the indicated width across the wings is 42mm, and this should mean that the whole brooch had been more than 65mm long.

Dating: 1157f* King Harry Lane, Phase 3; 1015* Skeleton Green, before 43?; 1022 Richborough, 80–120; 1161 Verulamium, 150–170; 1156 Lullingstone, late 2nd century; 1087, Chichester, late 3rd century?

Probably the most important item is 1157f*. It has fully moulded bead and reel wings, herringbone incisions on the hook and a properly fretted catch-plate replete with flange. It comes from a Phase 3 burial in the King Harry Lane cemetery ([675], fig.154.316.4) and is the only Colchester Derivative in the cemetery.

1.a3b. Plate 32.

1024 has the semblance of a cross under the hook while 13175 has definite one. 1219 has diagonal grooves on the wings, a feature taken from the Rearhook possibly where it occurs fairly frequently.

- a 1019f 1163f* 1166f 1169 1176f* 1197 1219f 1224 1230f 1231 11931 13165f 13175f
 - b 1028f* 1215f
 - c none as yet
 - d 1164–5 1168 1170–1 1177f 1178 1220 5426 11933f 13487f
- missing 1024 1160 1233 13412

What is striking here is just how many in style groups 1.a3c and 1.a3b have flanges along the top of the catch-plate. The argument has been put forward that this may be an early feature. There is not enough dating to show any particular trend. From that point of view, the brooches in 1.a3a are more useful.

74mm	1230f
71mm	1219f
67mm	1019f
60mm	1028f* 13165f 13175f
56mm	1215f
47mm	1163f*
45mm	1170 5426
39mm	11931
37mm	1164–5 1169 11933f
35mm	1171 1176f* 1177f 1178 1197 1231
33mm	1166f 1168 1224 13487f
unsized	1024 1160 1220 1233 13412

Dating: 1230 Baldock, 50–70; 1178 Colchester, 61–65; 1177 Verulamium, 60–75; 1224 Harlow temple, before 80; 1219 Chichester, 2nd century?

Distribution: KT aaa SUSS a HANTS a ESS aaaaaaa MSEX aa HERTS aaa WILTS a SUFF a NORF aaaaa CAMBS aaaa NHANTS a Lincs aa WALES a

The results of the analysis are inconclusive.

1.b. Plate 32. The walked-graver decoration down the middle is replaced by one or two grooves, usually the former and there is a tendency for there to be extra moulded elements as well. **z** refers to walked-graver work on the concave faces on each side of the bow. The analysis

proceeds by style of catch-plate and by size as before: **a** = early style; **b** = standard circle and triangle; **c** = circles only; **d** = solid; **e** = no catch-plates. The presence of a flange on the catch-plate is, again, marked with the suffix **f**. Occasionally, the central face has a chevron laid over the groove or there may be cross-cutting. Those with two grooves have the suffix **g** and may also be cross-cut.

The X under the pseudo-hook on 1032* recalls the use of the same motif on the only Colchester Derivative from Skeleton Green, see 1.a3 above.

a	1032* 1155 1175 1214 1227 1229 1232 9777fz 9801 11498f* 11927f* 13172
b	1023* 1217* 13169
c	1179*
d	1162 1167 1173-4 1221-3 1225-6 9804 12911
>65mm	1023* 1024 1214
c.62	1032*
c.58	1155 1217 1229 9801 11498*
c.48mm	1179*
c.45mm	1225
c.42.5mm	12911 13169
c.40mm	1167 1226-7
c.36mm	1174-5
<35mm	1162 1173 1232 9777fz 9804 11927*
unsized	1221

The range of sizes is much greater and what stands out is the dominance of those measuring 35mm or less. There is, in fact a clear step up from those to those at c.36mm, and the catch-plates show that the small size was no deterrent to a careful and detailed treatment. It is here that the only real parallels for the single Colchester Derivative in the King Harry Lane cemetery lie, showing that that was not an exceptional piece which could be safely ignored.

Dating: 12911 Broxtowe, before 70-75; 1173 Fishbourne, 75-80; 1229 Chichester, 1st century?; 1217* Canterbury, 70/80-100/110; 1226 Harlow temple, c.120-200.

Distribution: KT aaaabdd SUSS ad HANTS ad ESSEX aaaabddde HERTS aadde BEDS/BUCKS a GLOS d SUFF b NORF adde NHANTS aadd CAMBS aaadd WARKS d LEICS c NOTTS ad LINC a CUMB ad NORTH d

The distribution favours the eastern side of England south of the Wash. The large number in Essex includes many of those of the overall type from the site at Holbrooks, Old Harlow, which led the writer to choose that place as the patronymic.

1.c. Plate 32. The central face has a single ridge running to the foot, and the wings are usually moulded. The one-time existence of the hook on the parent type is here suggested by a small depression on the top which gives more the impression of a very short hook than of a very long one running to the foot. The bow may have the concave faces on each side of the central feature (1180*), but could have convex ones instead (1212). The wings are often moulded, including diagonal marks. Flanges on the catch-plates and mouldings on the wings are shown by the suffixes **f** and **w**.

A sub-group is included here as it is not really sufficiently different for it to be given a complete section to itself. It has lost the concave surfaces and acquired a small flat face on each side of the median ridge on which there is usually a line of walked-graver decoration. Its members are underlined below.

a	1180fw*-1w 1185w 1236f 1239fw* 1242 1248f 1460 9805f 11943
b	1182w 1469
c	none as yet
d	1186w* 1200w 1213 1234 1237 1240w-1 1243w-4 1245-6 1247 1249w 1430w 1445 1459 9790 9812-3 9815 11942w 13166w 13176 13523
e	1212w 1218w 1475 9786 12912w 13168 13177

One characteristic catch-plate design, the circle and triangle (**b** in the above), of the Harlow 1.a brooches is poorly represented.

>66mm	1185 1186* 1218 1239fw 1242 1248f 1445 9805f 12912
c.55	1180f* 1182 11942-3
c.48mm	1212-3 1459
c.45mm	1200 1234 1240w 1430w 9812-3
c.42.5mm	1241 1243w 1244-5 13176 13523
c.40mm	1237 1246 1247
38mm	9815 13166w
<35mm	1181 1249
unsized	1475 9786 13168 13177

There is little evidence for any proper system in the sizing of these brooches and this may also be a reflection of a different workshop tradition.

Dating: 1181 Colchester, 43-50/55; 1186 Bancroft, mausoleum, mid 1st century-late 1st century; 1180* Colchester, c.50/55; 1242 Springhead, ?70-100; 1243, 1245 Canterbury, 100/111-125; 13168 Hacheston, early 2nd-late 3rd century; 1246 Canterbury, after 270; 1241 Canterbury, late 3rd century? plus.

Distribution: KT aaaaaddddddde SUSS d ESSEX aab BEDS d BUCKS d GLOS d SUFF de NORF aabe CAMBS addee NHANTS de LEICS d LINC d

This is almost exclusively a Kentish brooch, almost 50% coming from that county. The rest argue for sea borne trade: none from Hertfordshire. There is good evidence for penetration by way of the Wash and its rivers.

1.d. Plate 33. The concave face on each side is now a slope. There is usually a groove, often more like a hollow, down the centre and the walked-graver decoration has usually been replaced by cross-cuts. The bow often has a ridge on each side. The fossil hook is now minor or can rise as a crest. The wings are usually decorated, sometimes with vertical mouldings of some form, but also with a diagonal. These are indicated by \ and those with plain wings are provided with **p** as a suffix. All the catch-plates noted so far are solid and the pin-groove makes a fitful appearance. This may be the last time that looking at the sizes in which the brooches occur will be profitable.

11946* has a saw cut up the middle of the bow at the bottom, very probably for the insertion of a replacement

catch-plate. The technique is rare, but has been recorded in enough instances, even with the replacement in position, for it to be generally certain that that is what the cut was for.

All who have their catch-plates well enough preserved to tell have solid ones. This may be a reflection on date as well as workshop. 15395, lacking its head, is placed here on likelihood and nothing else.

70mm	11946*
55mm	1204\ 1209* 11945
52.5mm	1194\ 11493* 11944\
46mm	1199 1201-2p 1207 1211 13179\
42.5mm	1192p-3 1203p 1206\ 1208\ 1210 11492\
38-40mm	1195-6\ 1198\ 1205p 1216p
36mm	11956p
unsized	1188 9762 9746-7 13302\ 15395

11956 is unusual, and possibly should not be here, as it has the buried way ridge down the bow, last seen on the Colchester itself. This is the only reason why 1192 is included, this having a proper skeuomorph of the Colchester's hook found on the Harlow 1 designs. There is no gentle elision between these ranges. The figures can be taken to indicate that the small brooches were popular, or that, being small, they went missing more easily than big ones.

Dating: 1201, 1205 Weekley, mid-late 1st century; 1207 Wall, before 120?; 1192 Verulamium, 130-50; 1203 Canterbury, late Roman.

There are sufficient examples for the absence of a definite Claudian-Neronian element to be noticeable. On these grounds, it seems that none of these should date before 60/5, and this would suit the perceived dating of the general use of solid catch-plates. This, coupled with the general lack of examples from Essex and Hertfordshire, suggests that these are peripheral to the main production.

Distribution: KT aaa HANTS \a SOM a ESSEX a HERTS a SUFF aa NORF \\\\\a CAMBS \\\aa NHANTS aaa STAFFS a NOTTS a Lincs a

The distribution is fairly tight: those in Essex and Kent probably arrived along the coast, otherwise one in Staffordshire and another in the old peripheral territory now called Lincolnshire should cause no problems. The distribution is distorted because of the local bias towards Norfolk, but it looks as though the southern area of the Harlow proper is absent. The use of the diagonal marking on the wings comes out clearly here as being from Norfolk and the immediately surrounding areas. One might suspect that this is some expression of particularism there: the brooches in Norfolk probably post-date the debacle following the defeat of Boudicca which resulted in the disappearance of the Rearhook. If so, then those items which have this mark were made there.

Overall Dating: 1119 Bromham, 5-35; 1157* King Harry Lane, Phase 3; 1015* Skeleton Green, before 43?; 1055 Colchester, 43-?61; 1181 Colchester, 43-50/55; 1186* Bancroft, mausoleum, mid 1st century-late 1st century; 1131 Verulamium, 44-61; 1129 Colchester, 49-61; 1064

Canterbury, Claudian-mid Flavian; 1071 Kelvedon, ?mid-late 1st century; 1201, 1205 Weekley, mid-late 1st century; 1180* Colchester, c.50/55; 1230 Baldock, 50-70; 1118* Derby, c.55-85/5; 255 Colchester, 61-65; 1159 Verulamium, 60-61; 1147 Verulamium, redeposited Boudiccan fire debris; 1177 Verulamium, 60-75; 1178 Colchester, 61-65; 12910-11 Broxtowe, before 70/5; 1143 Chichester, Flavian; 1228 Baldock, 70-90; 1242 Springhead, ?70-100; 1102 Baginton, The Lunt, 70-80; 1048, 1124-5 Harlow temple, before 80; 1148, 1173 Fishbourne, 75-80; 1097 Silchester, before 80/85; 1217* Canterbury, 70/80-100/110; 1092 Richborough, 80-100; 1022 Richborough, 80-120; 1085 Nettleton, Flavian-early 2nd century; 1091 Snettisham, late 1st century-early 2nd century; 11486 Gorhambury, late 1st century-early 2nd century; 1082 Baldock, 90-120; 1069, 1133 Chelmsford, 90-120/130; 11495 Gorhambury, 1st century; 1229 Chichester, 1st century?; 1062*, 1243, 1245 Canterbury, 100/110-125; 1226 Harlow temple, c.120-200; 1065 Baldock, before 125; 1026 Wilcote, 100-150; 1207 Wall, before 120?; 1124 Canterbury, 125-300; 1192 Verulamium, 130-50; 1161 Verulamium, 150-170; 1156, 3766 Lullingstone, late 2nd century; 1219 Chichester, 2nd century?; 11928 Leicester, early-mid 3rd century; 1086 Colchester, 3rd century-4th century?; 1116 Chichester, ?3rd century plus; 1087, Chichester, late 3rd century?; 1095 Canterbury, 290-320; 1033 Bancroft villa; late 3rd century-mid 4th century; 1083 Baldock, before 300; 1246 Canterbury, after 270; 1241 Canterbury, late 3rd century? plus; 1203 Canterbury, late Roman; 1056 Wilcote, 4th century plus.

2. The Springhead. The wings are plain and curved to seat the spring. The catch-plate often has the circle and triangle piercing of the standard Harlow, but the decoration is of a particular kind: the pseudo-hook is small and wide and has a groove down its front which runs down on to the upper part of the bow. Across the groove is laid a line of walked-graver work. Sometimes this can be hard to see and occasionally it seems that a small chisel had been used to make straight-forward cuts across the groove. There should be a pin-groove in the catch-plate, but much depends on the cleanliness of the pattern and mould, as well as the powers of observation of the illustrators of those published. 1294 1299 1312 13288 13291 13298 have grooves across the foot. 10550 has hooks which were closed round both axis bar and chord. 14848* has relief ornament on both sides of the catch-plate.

The group is divided into two: 2.a is the standard, 2.b represents those which have the cleft on the upper part of the bow, but with additional features which preclude the examples from being members of 2.a.

Other sub-groups appear which get progressively distant, but for which there is some justification: 2.c and 2.d. After the latter, there is sufficient of a break for there to be other varieties.

I work as before on catch-plate styles to see what emerges, and then on the sizings to be expected. One feature of the piercing of the catch-plate is that the classification is not as precise as it has been when dealing with Rearhooks or with Harlows of sub-type 1. The framed catch-plates include a few with dog-leg bars (1299) across the opening. This is allowable as they belong to the earliest

2.a. *Plate 33.*

- The most favoured sizes seem to be obvious. However, not all are so precise in length and those measurements with c. in front give some idea of the spread. That is, between 40 and 46mm there is much more of a elision, with these points being as it were aggregations. The true common range is probably *c.*42–45.5mm. What is noticeable is that the few with d-type catch-plates tend to be small.

There is no strong mid-first century content; in fact an earliest date of 55/60 would suit, with the main run going on to the middle only of the second century. As the main style of the catch-plate is b, this may mean that that can be dated to after Claudius, but that may only apply here and not be a general rule: the same sort of date-range needs to emerge from other brooches exhibiting this trait.

The distribution is unbalanced because of the large number from one site: Walsingham-Wighton, Norfolk. This has had the effect of playing down the very large number from Kent and Middlesex which should represent the primary manufacturing and marketing area. It was because of the examples first noted by the writer from Springhead that the place name was applied to the type. As it happens, the distribution shows that, unlike the name Langton Down, the site is within the heartland of this version of Colchester Derivative. However, there was certainly trade up the east coast as it would be hard to see the extension of the distribution through Essex and Suffolk into Norfolk. There is no need at present to think that there was a secondary manufacturing centre, but the representation in Norfolk might give rise to the suspicion that that might have been the case.

a 1405 1447 1510 1543–4 1555 13318
b none as yet
c none as yet
d 1302 1431 1465 1509* 11941
e 1316 1443 1470 1491

The absence of any brooches so far with styles **b** and **c** shows that classification on apparent similarities may be a danger. The problem is that there are not really enough examples to show which is the more likely: some development, or that there are two groups. However, it seems that here we have a distinct difference when this group is compared with the previous one.

- | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| >65mm | 1405 1447 1543 |
| 63.5mm | 1510 |
| 60mm | 1509* |
| 57mm | 1555 13318 |
| 55mm | 1465 |
| c.45mm | 11941 |
| c.42mm | 1431 |
| 40mm | 1302 |
| c.30mm | 11496 |
| Unsize | 1316 1443 1470 1491 1544 9807 |

Most are large, especially when all those which cannot be measured had been fairly obviously in excess of 60mm long. There is no strong presence in East Anglia.

Dating: 1555 Verulamium, c.100–175; 11941 London, early 2nd century; 1302 Springhead, Antonine or later; 1543 Scole, late 3rd–4th century.

The one from Verulamium has a foot-knob, a dog-leg bar across the piercing and a flange along the top of the catch-plate: the latter two point to a date in the middle of the first century.

Distribution: KT dd ESSEX ad MSEX ddee HERTS a BEDS a SUFF a NORF aee

2.c. *Plate 33.* The relationship with what has gone before is more tenuous. There is no groove. There is the frequent use of walked-graver decoration and there is also the skeuomorph of the hook of the Colchester. In all of these the latter runs down the upper bow. 1562 has cross-cuts or walked-graver on each side of the pseudo-hook and reflects some of the decoration on sub-type 1.b. The chief feature, however, which brings most of these together is the use of a foot-knob. There are a few which have cuts across the foot of the bow rather than a proper foot-knob, and 13328 has the knob and further up the cross-cuts. These tend to have the older style of catch-plate, but the transition is not precise and it is the general trend within the group which puts them together here. Decorated wings are also found and these are marked with the suffix w.

13346 is assigned to catch-plate c: the report merely says it has a perforated catch-plate and that is not shown. 14528 might have been classified as a c catch-plate, but for the triangle between the two circular holes.

- a 1378 1400 1406–7 1428w 1441w-2w 1550 1552–3 1549 1561 9592* 9814 11480w 13328
- b 1416* 1562 1564 11494 13415 14528
- c 1558w 11488 13346
- d 1307 1401–4w 1411 1417 1551w* 1554 1560w 9794w 10114 11951 11953 12013 12916 13315 14979–80
- e 1412–5 1425–6 1433 2903 9809–10

>65mm	1412
c.60mm	1441w 1549 1550* 1553
58mm	1406
c.55mm	1428w 1552 9794w 9814 13328 13415
c.50mm	9592* 1404w
c.47mm	1416* 14528
c.44mm	1400 1407 11488 11953 12916
c.42.5mm	1402–3 1551w* 1558w 11951 12013
c.41mm	1307 1411 1554 10114 11480w 13315 14980
c.37mm	1378 1401 1417 14979
34mm	1442w
<30mm	1560w
unsized	1425–6 1433 9809–10 11494

While most belong to the range c.41–44mm, the next concentration is at c.55 and there appears to be another at 60mm.

Dating: 12013 Wilcote, Claudian; 1442 Verulamium, c.50–70; 11488 Gorhambury, 62–75; 1404 Milton Keynes, 1st–3rd century; 1378 Baldock, 70–90; 14979–80 Silchester, 80–125;

1560 Chichester, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1558 Silchester, 120–160/70; 13346 Castleford, 140–180; 13328 Folly Lane Verulamium, mid 2nd–early 3rd century; 1307 Gadebridge, c.150–325; 1412 Amersham, 160–175; 1425 Amersham, 225–250; 1401 Canterbury, late 3rd century plus.

Distribution KT ddee SUSS d SURR a HANTS cdd ESSEX aaaaabdee MSEX e HERTS aaaabccddd BEDS/BUCKS adeee OXON d SUFF ad NORF aaabbbdd CAMBS abdde NHANTS de RUT d LINDS d YORKS c 27 come from East Anglia and Hertfordshire and 14 from everywhere else. The earliest style of catch-plate is significantly only really in extended East Anglia and this suggests that there was a diffusion of products later on in the overall production.

2.d. *Plates 33–34.* These are plain. The crest behind the head hardly makes an impact, if it can be seen. 1337 has a flange across the top of its catch-plate and many have cross-cuts at the foot of the bow. One obvious characteristic is the number which have had the heads pulled forward with some force, and the large number which have had to be assigned to catch-plate style e, because they had no lower bows.

- a 949 1337f 1340 1351 1379–80 1383 1389–90 2914 12058* 13301
- b 1349
- c none as yet June 2001
- d 1331 1352–3 1355–7 1375 1381 3891 13329*
- e 1332 1339 1341–5 1397 2062 3950 10374 11952 11955 13317 13342

c.70mm	1379 13329*
63mm	12058*
55mm	1352
c.50mm	1353 1357 3891
c.46mm	949 1349 1380–1
c.43mm	1375 1389–90
c.38mm	1355–6
34mm	2914 13301
32mm	1337 1351
25mm	13317

Dating: 1375 Quinton, before 70/80?; 1389 Verulamium, 75–125/509; 1381 Verulamium, 2nd century; 2062 Little Amwell, 2nd–4th century; 1349 Weldon, before 200; 949 Baldock, 3rd century.

Distribution KT e SUSS e HANTS ad WILTS ddae ESSEX aaeee MSEX ee HERTS aadee GLOS add SUFF ee NORF aaaddeeee CAMBS ae NHANTS abd There is still a core in Hertfordshire, Essex, East Anglia and across the Fens to the west, but there is now a spread into Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.

2.e. **The Nene Group.** *Plate 34.* The bow is always plain and thin, so much so that the differential between the width of that and the plate behind the head can be reduced to nothing, admittedly by making the latter thicker than normal. The wings are plain and set markedly below the level of the head. The catch-plates are solid with a slight step down from the bow along the junction. However, a prominent feature is the use of walked-scorper work

along the junction and usually the upper edge of the catch-plate, but, like all ornament added by hand, there will be times when it was not done. In that case, it is the overall proportions which will count, therefore extra items are illustrated beyond the call of absolute duty so that the reader will have a better idea of the range. A persistent feature is the way in which the upper hole in the plate behind the head of the bow is either almost over the wings, is directly so or set forwards of those (1259). It is this which helps decide whether marginal cases belong here or not.

There is one version in which the plate is actually set entirely in front of wings so that whole head has had to be bent back to achieve the normal relationship (1261*, and with the suffix x below).

53–54mm	1258 1270 1273
48–50mm	1251 1253 1255* 1264* 1265–6x 1268 9799 11487
44–5mm	777 1250 1252 1260 1262 1267 1269 1275 1348 9796
41–42mm	1605 14829
38–40mm	1254 1261x* 1263 1271 1274 1354 13323
<35mm	1259 4455*
unsized	1256–7

The steps of between 3 and 4mm between each of these groups suggests that there was something significant in that size, but what precisely is lost to us.

Dating: 1269 Bancroft mausoleum 1/25–50; 1265 Quinton, 50–60; 1258 Wall, before 120?; 777 Verulamium, 270–5; 1271 Bancroft villa, late 3rd–early/mid-4th century.

No clear image comes out of this, except that the first cannot really be so early.

Distribution: WILTS a HERTS aaa BEDS/BUCKS aaaaaaaa NORF a CAMBS aaa NHANTS aaaaaaaaaa GLOS aa WARKS a STAFFS a SALOP a

The distribution is interesting: there is a large group lying in the southern end of Northamptonshire and the adjacent part of Bedfordshire, but there is an extension down the Nene which would account for those in Norfolk. There is also a spread to the west possibly pointing to a route towards Mancetter and then on to Staffordshire and Shropshire.

The group is centred overwhelmingly at the junction of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, with trade down the Nene. The outliers do not seriously disturb the pattern.

3. The West of England Group

3.a. At first sight there is little reason to separate these brooches from the members of the overall family, but the distribution says it all and the first group selected usually has decorated wings, which have not been a feature of those reviewed so far. The group has been divided into two, the presence or absence of a proper pseudo-hook on the upper part of the bow being the determining factor.

3.a1. Plate 34. These have the appearance of the Colchester's hook. Only one so far has a pierced catch-plate and it is of

style a, but whether the catch-plate was completely a frame or there had been one or more bars across is unknown. The main style is d, solid, and e is reserved for those without any catch-plates surviving. 1423* has grooves forming a saltire on each wing. The close-set grooves on the wings of 1420* recall a sub-type of Polden Hill (see Part 3, Type 2.a). The bead and reel wings of 1418 recall the similar treatment found on Rearhooks (see Part 2).

a	1423*
d	293 1391 1393–4 1398 1418 1420* 1421 1436 10188* 10242 10382 11947 11950 13316 13319 13324 15396
e	1272 1408 1410 1448 1451 1474 11497
c.65mm	1420*
60mm	1391
c.57mm	1421 10382 15396
c.53mm	1393
c.50mm	1394
c.47mm	293 1418
c.41mm	1398 11947 11950 13319
c.39mm	10242 13316
36mm	1436
32mm	13324
27mm	10188*
unsized	1272 1408 1410 1448 1451 1474 11497 13420

The most popular sizes stand out and are generally 40–7mm long.

Dating: 1418 Exeter, 60–65.

The chances that the date-range of these is indicated by a single specimen seems a little unlikely.

Distribution: KT e SUSS a WILTS d d d d d d d e DEVON d ESSEX e HERTS e BEDS d BUCKS d GLOS d d d SUFF d d NORF e e e NHANTS d d d e LEICS d

There is some ambiguity about what is happening in the east, but there should be little doubt that the spring system was now being made in the west.

3.a2. Plate 34. These lack the imitation hook. 1374 from Mancetter is almost identical with 1369 from Nettleton and 1362 from Wiltshire, apart from size, the latter two being the same, *etc.* See the exercise in sizing.

a	1365*
d	<u>1358</u> <u>1359*</u> <u>1360</u> 1361 <u>1362–3</u> 1364 <u>1366</u> 1367 <u>1369–70</u> <u>1372</u> <u>1374</u> 1376* <u>1377</u> 1382 9798 <u>10247</u> <u>12917</u>
e	1368 1371 1373 1419 1424 3949 11209 11948 11954
62mm	1365*
c.57mm	<u>1359*</u>
55mm	<u>1374</u>
c.51mm	<u>1358</u> 1361 <u>1362–3</u> 1369 <u>1377</u> <u>12917</u>
48mm	1367
45mm	1363 <u>1370</u>
41mm	<u>1360</u> 1364 <u>1366</u> <u>1372</u> <u>10247</u> 1376*
c.34mm	1382 9798
unsized	1368 1371 1373 1419 1424 3949 11209 11948 11954

The ones which are underlined are as near identical as one has a right to expect of archaeological material both seen in the flesh, so to speak, and in publications. It is interesting to see that they are mainly the two commonest sizes.

a 1438 1466 1472 1481* 1483 1489 1556f 1563 1333d 13863
c 1507* 1557

d 1434 1440 1446 1456 1464 1473 1476 1478 1559 12016
13343 13413* 13416*
e 1439 1455 1477 1485 1487 13313* 13321 13325 13327
13344 13347

>65mm 1466 1481* 1507* 12016 13863
58mm 1556
c.54mm 1476 1483
c.51mm 1438 1455 1563 13413*
46mm 1440 13416*
c.43mm 1446 1478 1557 1559
c.41mm 1456 13343
38mm 1434 1464
36mm 1473
unsized 1439 1472 1477 1485 1487 1489 13313* 13321
13325 13327 13334 13344 13347

Dating: 1481* Verulamium, 43–75; 1466 Nettleton, 1st–2nd century; 1559 Lullingstone, before 80; 1446 Richborough, before 90; 1478 Verulamium, 150–60; 1483 Dover, 190–210; 1455 Old Winteringham, before 200; 1456 Old Winteringham, 3rd century; 1439 Brancaster, late 3rd century–early 4th century; 1477 Northampton, Thorplands, 4th century ? plus.

There is no pattern amongst the sizes, and the dating yields no clear image either.

Distribution: KT addde HANTS c WILTS a ESSEX ad MSEX a HERTS aade BEDS/BUCKS e GLOS a SUFF de NORF aaaddee CAMBS ddd NHANTS eee LEICS d LINCS cde DUR e

12 from East Anglia and the immediately adjoining areas, and 15 from elsewhere of which five came from the south, nine from the Midlands generally, and one from north of the Humber. No clear picture emerges which suggests that this is not so much a real distinction but a holding category.

5. Fantail Foot. These are related to the Rearhook Type 7.d and the Hinged Pin Type 7, they all develop from the same milieu at very much the same time. That means that, as the Rearhook passes out of manufacture 60/65, it was before then. On this basis, the following examples are divided into two. First are those which form a coherent developed group. Second come those which are more closely related to the Rearhook's designs, and which are much more varied.

5.a. Plate 35. Plain wings chamfered top and bottom on either side of a short bow, reeded with two or three grooves, ending in a fantail foot. This has a groove around the edge with a punched dot border inside that.

32–3mm 2844 2846 11489
30mm 2845*
unsized 2847 2848 2852 11548 13554

Dating: 2845* Lullingstone, 1st century; 2847 Maxey, late 1st century to late 2nd century; 11489 Gorhambury, 2nd century.

5.b. Plate 36. Varied in design, some may have derived influence from varieties of the Aesica Type (see Chapter 2, Part 4).

36mm 11958* 13303*
34mm 14545
unsized 11957

Dating: None is dated.

Distribution: KT aa WILTS b SUFF aaa HERTS a NORF aabb CAMBS b NHANTS a

The bias is firmly in favour of East Anglia, but the number from Suffolk, especially when Suffolk is very poorly represented in the writer's index, is a very strong sign that this sub-type developed in the northern territory of the Harlow spring system quite probably contemporaneously with the Hinged-pin 8.a, which should have been largely after the demise of the Rearhook in 60/65.

5.a belongs firmly to the east side of Britain, south of the Humber. When it comes to 5.b, the position is less clear, but there seems to be a westward spread from East Anglia.

Dating: 12013 Wilcote, Claudian; 11488 Gorhambury, 62–75; 1560 Chichester, late 1st century–early 2nd; 1555 Verulamium, 100–175; 1558 Silchester, 120–160/70; 13346 Castleford, 140–180; 1401 Snettisham, late 3rd century

Distribution: KT cc HANTS b WILTS a ESS aaabccc MSEX c HERTS aaabc OXON c NHANTS c SUFF aac NORF aabbcc CAMBS b LINCS c YORKS x

If the location of those with catch-plates of type a is an indication of where the whole originated, then it has to be the lands of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni. If the dating is reliable, then the earliest forms should be Claudian and the full form represented by 11488 had come into being by 60.

X. The Rest. All prefixed with X, they have lower case letters of the alphabet to mark separate groups. There is no particular order; they start with the moulds from Old Buckenham which were producing a brooch which is not yet known to the writer from elsewhere.

X.a. Plate 36. The Old Buckenham moulds have been published [46] and only a few of the items are illustrated here, **Plate 36**, principally the elements which show what the form of the brooch was.

13304–7 13308* 13309* 13310 13311* 13312*

X.a.1. Brooches with a marked step down from a decorated zone to a plain lower bow are not common, the following has a type c catch-plate.

1506

Dating: 1506 Baldock, 60–85.

X.b. Plate 37. These have a wave effect on the sides of the upper bow, or projections. All the preserved catch-plates are solid.

1499 1500* 1502 1546* 1547–8 10542 13341

Dating: 1499 Nettleton, 1st century–2nd century; 1548 Nettleton, late 1st century?; 1502 Camerton, 3rd century; 1547 Shakenoak Farm, 3rd–4th century

Distribution: Wiltshire, Somerset, Gloucestershire: a tight group surely located here.

X.c. Plate 37. All have cross-mouldings or markings which fail to fit conveniently into any of the previous groups. The catch-plates are commonly solid, only 1505 and 1514 having piercings.

1496* 1497–8 1505* 1508 1514

Dating: 1505* Verulamium, 75–125/50.

Distribution: no clear central location, but perhaps tending to the same area as the last.

X.d. Plate 37. These are oddments, whose characteristics can be picked up from the illustrations either here or in the original publications. Some of the following come from unpublished excavations and it is expected that the reports will ultimately appear. 1511, which has a triple bow, is 9882 from the Hull Corpus. 1512 from Winchester has an extraordinary fretted catch-plate which runs all the way up to the wings. The only catch-plate style not represented is **b**.

782 1429 1432* 1435* 1452 1479 1501 1503* 1504* 1511–3 1516 2887 9779 9785 9795 9806 9808 12918 13320 13330 13331* 14529

Dating: 1479 South Cadbury, c.45; 1429, 1452 Hod Hill, before 50; 1512 Winchester, 43–140.

Distribution: There are no concentrations; they are spread evenly over southern England from the Humber to the Lower Severn Valley.

Hybrid. Plate 37. These are crosses between the Harlow and the Polden Hill, or have only one loop, and they are arranged in that order.

H.1. Of the only two with catch-plates, one has a large piercing, the other is solid.

779 780* 781* 1238 13642

Dating: 13642 Wilcote, 150–75; 779 Witham, late 3rd–early 4th century.

Three come from East Anglia, one from Kent and one from Oxfordshire.

H.2 These have single loops, 13652 having a hollow in the top for the chord.

791 7560* 13652

No centre suggests itself.

Part 2. The Rearhook Spring System [CD RH]

The spring is held, ostensibly, by a hook behind the head of the bow. In practical terms, a blob of some kind of solder was usually applied behind the left-hand wing to secure the coils there. Although corrosion has usually removed the direct evidence for this, it is true that there tends to be slightly more in the way of corrosion accretions there than elsewhere behind the wings, and this should be a product of the practice. Occasionally, and usually on large brooches, an extra blob was placed behind the right-hand wing. In cases where the hook is missing or it is not certain whether

the spring could have been mounted in another way, the presence of moulded wings and bows like those illustrated should make the matter clear: the Harlow spring system is almost uniformly, and that may not be too inaccurate a word in this context, plainer than the Rearhook, and the types of moulded decoration are not to be expected on Polden hills. However, there is a danger of being too strict, as a discussion of some Colchester Derivatives with hinged or wound wire pins will show.

Norfolk has produced the only metal moulds known for casting brooches and a find in 1999 from Felmingham (9765*, Plate 38, [47]) is the back part of a mould for a Rearhook. The gate is on the top and connects directly with the hook, unlike the other moulds from Old Buckenham where the gate feeds into the foot of the brooch.

General Note There are several varieties of Rearhook, but most have two things in common, their distribution and their dating. Of all the brooches dealt with in this volume, the Rearhook has the curious distinction of being the only one which has a life governed by recorded political events: its distribution shows that it was exclusively an Icenian brooch type, even if found to a limited extent beyond the formal boundaries of the tribe, and its dating shows that it is exclusively pre-Boudicca in its homeland, and may well have been something by which members of the tribe could have been recognized.

There is seemingly a great variety of designs which suggests that the craftsmen making it were resourceful. However, there is one way in which the general homogeneity of the workshops for most of these brooches can be tested. The particular method used here is to divide the bulk of Rearhooks up according to the style of their wings, and then subdivide the bow designs according to what appear to be their main characteristics. Each subdivision is then analysed according to its catch-plate design and the sizes in which the items were made. If there is essentially only one workshop tradition governing the whole, then the design of bow, within certain limitations, will be irrespective of type of wing, and the whole assemblage should break down to a reasonably uniform treatment of catch-plate and range of sizes.

The reader is asked to bear with the procedure for doing this as the end-product should be of interest: this is virtually the only major type, because of its limited life and distribution, for which this kind of exercise is likely to be worthwhile. There will be a final review of dating at the end of the review of all Rearhooks, and there will be a review of styles and sizes before the fantail varieties are dealt with.

The overall dating of the type is to be found at the end, although the individual dates are given along the way.

1 The wings are completely moulded with bead and reel, the beads themselves usually beaded. Such wings are usually combined with bows which are moulded from top to bottom. Several sub-varieties occur and the chief ones are given below. The catch-plates are divided according to their style:

- a single openings or a large one divided in ways other than in 2
- b two openings consisting of a circle over a triangle
- c small circular holes
- d solid
- e no catch-plate, or not enough, to tell

Several have the wavy-line ridge produced by punching, either as a singleton or as a pair, and these are indicated below by the suffix w. 13368 has no border, but too definite a triple element to fit conveniently into another sub-type.

1.a. *Plate 38*. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. The distribution is given after 1.i.

- a 792*
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 796 799? 837 840 942w 8401* 13368
- e 794 797–8 814 838 886 9021w 12931 13364 13388

Dating: 792* Longthorpe, Claudian-Neronian.

65mm	792*
60mm	837
48mm	13364
45–6mm	838 13368
42.5mm	840
c.38mm	8401*
35mm	799
<30mm	942w
unknown	794 796–8 814 886 9021w 12931 13388

No sense of deliberate sizing emerges from these, but much depends on cumulative evidence from a series of varieties and sub-varieties.

1.b. *Plate 38*. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded or elaborately moulded – 806. 11985 has a hollow lenticular boss on each side of the hook. The holes in the catch-plate of 795* were made by using a circular punch within an annulus which has left its own mark around the openings. 8580* is only 25mm high. 9879* has a wavy ridge down the middle and curious appendages on each side of the bow. The distribution is given after 1.i.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c 795* 939w*
- d 824* 828 891 896 938w 8580w* 11965 11971 12000–1 12923 12935 13361
- e 793 806 809 830 836 863 874 2893 8489 9879* 11985 12925

Dating: None.

75mm	939w*
60mm	12001
c.57mm	795*
45mm	863 938w
42.5mm	824* 828 830 11965 12935
38mm	11971 12923
33mm	12000
30mm or <	891 896 8489 8580w* 13361

unknown 793 806 809 836 874 9879* 11985 12925

Only one new size and that is one which is commonly found amongst those using the Harlow spring system of Varieties 1 and 2.

1.c. *Plate 38*. There is now a single ridge only down the middle either sunken or raised. 11988 has grooves across its foot and there are the first occurrences of curved lines which give the impression of a concave lozenge lying across the head of the bow, indicated here and elsewhere below by the suffix x. The distribution is given after 1.i.

- a 812*
- b none as yet
- c 13860
- d 808 811 818 819 820 855 906 952 8504 9748 11959 11963 11988x
- e 810 848 857 859 900 905? 2866 2890–1 8778x 11967 11970 11986 11998x 13379 13387 13408

Dating: 819 Thetford, Fison Way, 45–61; 857 Colchester, 49–61.

65mm or >	11959 11963
c.47.5mm	811 818 855 856 905 13860
45mm	820
42mm	812* 906 8778x
40mm	808 952 11988x
35mm	819 8504
c.32.5mm	857 859
unknown	810 848 900 11967 11970 11986 11998x 13379 13387 13408

The sizes combined with those of the two previous sub-types begin to look like a definite range.

1.d. *Plates 38–39*. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. 12926w* has two mouldings across the foot. The distribution is given after 1.i.

- a 11969w* 12928w* 13401
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 817 11999 12921w 12926w* 13356 13375
- e 807w 813 816 8140 8479 12919 12934

Dating: 11969 Wilcote, Claudian; 813 Colchester, c.49–60/1.

75mm	12928w* 13401
53mm	813 12926w*
50mm	11969*
47mm	13375
45mm	8140
42.5mm	12921w 13356
40mm	11999
38mm	816–7
unknown	807w 8479 12919 12934

1.e. *Plate 39*. Several, *i.e.*, four or more, vertical ridges some of which may be beaded. 901 has a separately-made foot-knob.

- a 876 14519
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 865* 901*
- e 861 9757

Dating: None.

42.5mm	901*
40mm	14519
35mm	865*
unknown	861 876 9757

1.f. *Plate 39*. A central flute usually with two mouldings on each side, one sometimes beaded, occasionally three. The distribution is given after 1.i.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	802* 803*
d	953 13358 13406
e	801 805 871 13357 13370 13373

Dating: 801 Goltho, 50–100.

c.60mm	801
56mm	802*
50mm	803* 13370
45mm	13358 13373
42.5mm	953
41mm	13357
36mm	13406
unknown	805 871

1.g. *Plate 39*. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings. Both have lost the foot of the bow. The distribution is given after 1.i.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	none as yet
e	804* 815

Dating: None.

1.h. *Plate 39*. Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. One example has also lost the lower bow, but the other has a catch-plate with a large piercing. The distribution is given after 1.i.

a	903
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	7717*
e	898 11978
38mm	903

Dating: 903 Colchester, 49–61.

1.i. *Plate 39*. The final designated pattern has a broad rounded front with a border on each side. 13402 has a dog-leg pierced catch-plate.

11984 11989* 13384 13402

Dating: 13402 Wilcote, 1st century?

Distribution: ESSEXabcdho DORS e OXONadi GLOS ab
SUFFbbcc NORF aaaaaaaaaaaaaa bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb
cccccccccccccccccccc dddddddddddd ee fffffff g hhh iii
ooo CAMBS abbccccccdeefg NHANTS ab WARKS ac
LINCS bbcefoo STAFFS c WALES c

There are 43 examples from England outside Norfolk and

84 from the county itself. 23 of the rest belong to the wider marketing area of the overall type.

1. **Odd: Oddments** Three are too damaged to define to which sub-type they might belong. 7638 and 7659 have plain bows. 907 935w 7638 7659 11966 897

Dating: 935 Colchester, 61–65.

2. **Wavy Mouldings on the Wings.** The bow or wings, or both, have wavy lines made by hand. On the wings, they replace the beading on the reels of bead-and-reel wings. The bow always has one or two wavy lines down the middle or a single plain ridge, which means that there is no room for sub-type 1.f. The catch-plates are divided as before. The designs of the bows are divided as for Type 1.

2.a. *Plate 39*. The bow has a triple element down the middle, either a sunken ridge or a triple ridge, the middle one frequently beaded. The suffix w indicates that there is wavy line decoration on the bow as well as the wing. The distribution is given after 2.i. < indicates a measurement less than the last.

a	934w 12922w*
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	none as yet
e	13385w<

Dating: None.

55mm	934w
47mm	12922w*
unknown	13385w<

2.b. *Plate 39*. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded, a wavy line or elaborately moulded (806). The distribution is given after 2.i.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	none as yet
e	944*

Dating: None.

unknown 944*

2.c. *Plate 39*. There is now a single ridge only down the middle either sunken or raised. The distribution is given after 2.i.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	856 937w*

Dating: 937* Colchester, 49–61

60mm	937w*
58mm	856

2.d. *Plate 39*. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. 940 has a moulded foot. The distribution is given after 2.i.

a 945?

- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 940w 7678w* 7683w 8508w
- e 936w 11962w 13395w

Dating: 945 South Cadbury, c.45; 940 Stonea, 2nd /3rd century.

53–5mm	8508w
49–50mm	11962w 13395w
40mm	7683w
<30mm	7678w*
unknown	

2.e. Plate 39. Several, *i.e.*, four or more, vertical ridges some of which may be beaded. 901 has a separately-made foot-knob. The distribution is given after 2.i.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 941w 11961w*
- e 11968w

Dating: 941 Snettisham, ?late 1st–early 2nd century.

60mm	941w
50mm	11961w*
38mm	11968w

2.g. Plate 39. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings. The distribution is given after 2.i.

- a 943*
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d none as yet
- e none as yet

Dating: None.

46mm	943*
------	------

2.h Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester.
No example has come my way.

2.i. Plate 40. The final designated pattern has a broad rounded front with a border on each side.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 7668*
- e none as yet

Dating: None.

68mm	7668*
------	-------

Distribution: SOM d ESSEX cc SUFF de NORF aaabddddeegi CAMBS d LINC d

Six from the rest of England and 13 from Norfolk, plus three from immediately neighbouring counties.

3. Partly moulded wings. Here are those which have more than just a plain ridge at the far end (Type 4), and also those few which are completely moulded without bead and reel.

3.a. Plate 40. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. 866 is odd and the published drawing ([371], 44, fig.16,775) should be looked at. Distribution after 3.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 866 895* 8772
- e 9760 9770

Dating: None.

42.5mm	866
<30mm	895*

3.b. Plate 40. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. Most have what is a single bead and reel at the end, but beaded ridges can occur next to the bow or half way along, as well as continuous equal-sized ridges. 860 has a groove across its foot. 13378 and 13399 almost certainly came from the same mould. Distribution after 3.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 829 889 892 948 13397 13405* 14520
- e 826 860 11964 11972 11975 11991 13378 13394 13396? 13399

Dating: 892 Bagendon, c.43–50; 889 Braughing, 45–55; 829 Colchester, c.50/55–60/1

77mm	13405*
c.57mm	11975
42.5mm	829 13378 13397 13399 14520
40mm	826 948 11964
37–8mm	860 13394
30mm or <	889 892 13396
unknown	11972 11991

3.c. Plate 40. There is now a single ridge only, down the middle either sunken or raised. 11988 has grooves across its foot and there are the first occurrences of curved lines which give the impression of a concave lozenge lying across the head of the bow, indicated here and elsewhere below by the suffix x. 849 and 879 have a beaded moulding along the join between the bow and the wings, diagonally in the first case. Distribution after 3.k.

It is here that the first really strong indication occurs that the solid catch-plate was preferred and that there might be a correlation between the bow design, those marked x in this case, and that of the wing.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 850 879 946x 947x* 951x 9776 13376 13389* 13400
- e 849 950x 7690–1 8730x 9768 9753 11993w

Dating: None.

c.47.5mm	850
45–6mm	7690 7691 13389* 13400
42mm	9776
40mm	946x 947x* 13376
38mm	879

30mm and < 849 950x 951x
unknown 8730x

3.d. Plate 40. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. 862 has a groove across its foot. Distribution after 3.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 872 893*
- e 862 880 7686 13365 13407

Dating: 872 Braughing, 3rd century.

50mm 872
45mm 7686
37mm 862 880
<30mm 893*
unknown 13365 13407

3.e. Several, *i.e.*, four or more, vertical ridges, some of which may be beaded. Distribution after 3.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d none as yet
- e none as yet

Dating: None.

3.f. Plate 40. A wide central flute usually with two mouldings on each side, one sometimes beaded, occasionally three. 12920 is peculiar in that it has a framed catch-plate complete with pin-groove and the flange across the top, and there is a fully moulded foot-knob depending from the foot. The way in which the groove runs up the lower part of what is in effect a continuation of the hook strongly suggests some influence from the Harlow Type 2, the Springhead (see Part 1). Distribution after 3.k.

- a 12920
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 885 8973* 9775
- e 7657 12927

Dating: None.

52mm 7657 12927
40mm 8973*
36mm 885 12920

3.g. Plate 40. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings. The single example here has a proper foot-knob. Distribution after 3.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 844*

Dating: None.

40mm 844*

3.h. Plate 40. Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. 904 is peculiar in

that the hook has become disjointed. 902* 1971 12932–3 have mouldings masking the junction of the bow with the wings very much like what is a common feature amongst the Polden Hills (see below). Distribution after 3.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c 902*
- d 1971 11982 12932
- e 800 904 11987 12933

Dating: None.

78mm 1971
46mm 904 11982 12932
43mm 902*
unknown 800 11987 12933

3.i. Plate 40. The bow has a broad rounded front with a border on each side. Distribution after 3.k.

- a 9759 12930*
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 890
- e none as yet

Dating: 890 Puckeridge, 40–65.

50mm 12930*
<30mm 890

3.k. Plate 40. The bow is completely plain, as far as mouldings or edgings are concerned. 12939 once had the concave-sided lozenge laid across the top of the bow. Those underlined belong in the area of the Cirencester sub-type of those brooches using the Harlow spring system (sub-type 4.a).

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c 996–7 993 989–91
- d 954x 1012 12939x 13354*

Dating: None.

46mm 1012*
41mm 997 991
38mm 990
34mm 993 989
30mm 996
<30mm 954x 12939x 13354*
missing

It is perhaps not surprising that most of these plain brooches are also very small.

Distribution: HANTS di DORS c ESSEX bc MSEX b HERTS bd OXON cfhik GLOS bkklkkk SUFF abbb NORF abbbbbb ccccccccc dddd ffff hhhhh kkk CAMBS cccddghhk NHANTS cgF LEICS a NOTTS abi WALES b

The interesting detail here is not so much that the basic distribution has altered, but that 3.k shows so very strongly in Gloucestershire.

There are 40 examples from England outside Norfolk and 38 from the county itself. For the first time a clear grouping outside Norfolk can be seen: well beyond the

normal peripheral areas which received material from Norfolk, there is a distinct group around Cirencester.

4. Each wing has a single moulding at its end, a feature which is found frequently on other Colchester Derivatives. 13403, in 4.f, is ambiguous as it has two mouldings on one wing and one on the other. Diagonal markings on the wings are indicated by \ below.

4.a. *Plate 40*. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Distribution after 4.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 913*
- e 13369\

Dating: None.

51mm 913*
unknown 13369

4.b. *Plate 40*. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. Distribution after 4.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 821* 832 834 835 2988 8486x 919 9756 9758\ 13374
- e 823 929wx 11976 11980 12938x

Dating: 834 Lockleys, before 60/70

c.57mm 823
50mm 835 919\ 13374
45mm 821* 832 834 11976
42.5mm 2988 8486x
unknown 929wx 11980 12938x

4.c. *Plate 40*. There is now a single ridge only, down the middle either sunken or raised. 11988 has grooves across its foot and there are the first occurrences of curved lines which give the impression of a concave lozenge lying across the head of the bow, indicated here and elsewhere below by the suffix x. 955 and 8028 have a small foot. 11992 has a moulding running along the junction of the wings with the bow and a half lobe on each side of the head, and 11995 has two lobe-like ornaments there. 901 has a separately-made foot-knob. 851 has a slot for a separately-made catch-plate. Distribution after 4.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c 13861\
- d 851 887-8 894 909x 910* 915\ 917\ 918\ 922\ 924\ 955x 8028x 9303x 9497\ 9588\ 11974x\ 11983* 11995 11997
- e 875 914\ 920\ 7711 9769 11992*

Dating: 894 Harlow, temple, 80-100?

58mm 13861\
50-2mm 915\ 9303x 11974x\ 11997
45mm 887 955x
42mm 917\ 9497\
40mm 851 8028x 9588\

38mm 910* 924\
35mm 918\ 920\
c.32.5mm 909x
<30mm 922\ 11983*
unknown 875 888 894 914\ 7711 11992* 11995

4.d. *Plate 41*. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. On 883 the hook has been brought over the head and given the appearance of the Colchester's hook, except for the elaborate bead and reel profile. The rest is, however, safely within the definition.

- a 882*
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 883 13393*
- e

Dating: 882 N Cerney, Ditches, 55/60-70.

50mm 13393*
48mm 882* 883

4.e. *Plate 41*. Several, *i.e.*, four or more, vertical ridges, some of which may be beaded. Almost all have the diagonal marking on the wing.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d none as yet
- e

4.f. *Plate 41*. A wide central flute usually with two mouldings on each side, one sometimes beaded, occasionally three. Almost gone are the very pronounced hollows in 1.f, most being much more restrained. Distribution after 4.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c 912\
- d 881 911\ 921\ 926\ 928\ 930* 13398\ 13403
- e 864 923\ 13391\

Dating: 912 Thetford, Fison Way, 45-61

54mm 881 926\ 13403
50 911\
46mm 912\
44mm 930*
35mm 921\
<30mm 928\
unknown 864 923\

The diagonal feature on the wings is now almost *de rigueur*.

4.g. *Plate 41*. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings. Distribution after 4.k.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 841* 845-6
- e

Dating: None.

45mm	845
42mm	846
39mm	841*

4.h. *Plate 41*. Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. Distribution after 4.k.

925 927, latter with a type d catch-plate

Dating: 925 Braughing, Late Roman.

4.i. *Plate 41*. The bow has a broad rounded front with a border on each side. On 13380 there is an arris down the middle. Distribution after 4.k.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	868* 869 916\ 13380\ 13392\

Dating: 868 Colchester, 50/55–60/1; 916 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110

71mm	868*
41mm	13392
33mm	916
26mm	13380
unknown	869

4.k. *Plate 41*. The bow is completely plain, as far as mouldings or edgings are concerned. The underlined ones belong to the Cirencester area or immediate environs.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	1002 13864*
d	992 <u>994</u> <u>995</u> 1003 <u>1004</u>
e	998 <u>1009</u> <u>12057</u>

Dating: 994 Bagendon, 43–50; 995 Bagendon, 50–60; 992 Goltho, 50–100; 1009 Alcester, late 4th century.

42.5mm	<u>994</u> <u>995</u>
40mm	1002–3
36mm	13864*
34mm	998
<30mm	<u>1004</u>
unknown	992 <u>1009</u>

Distribution: KT i HANTS c DORS k WILTS k ESSEX bccci MSEX b HERTS bh GLOS abcccdkk SUFF bc NORF a bbbbbb cccccccccc dd fffffff gg h iii CAMBS bbbccfgk NHANTS bbcff WARKS kk LINC acckkk YORKS c

There are 46 examples from England outside Norfolk and 36 from the county itself. This is the first time that it looks as though some Rearhooks travelled fairly extensively without leaving a vast representation in the homeland, at least as far as 4.a and 4.b are concerned. The balance begins to adjust in Norfolk's favour with 4.c and continues with 4.f which shows a clear correlation between the diagonal markings on the wings and the bow section. The next group with enough specimens for comment is 4.k: none is in Norfolk and the area out to the west is again to the fore although, as will be seen in the next type, Lincolnshire is not to be ignored.

5. The wings are plain apart from those which have diagonal markings indicated below by \.

5.a. *Plate 41*. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Distribution after 5.k.

d	7586* 9751
e	7716\ 8505

Dating: None.

45mm	8505
58mm	7586*
unknown	7716 9751

5.b. *Plate 41*. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. Distribution after 5.k.

d	11960 11977* 14527
e	12937 13332 13386

Dating: None.

52mm	11960
50mm	14527
42mm	12937
<30mm	11977*
unknown	13332 13386

5.c. *Plate 41*. There is now a single ridge only, down the middle, either sunken or raised. There are the first occurrences of curved lines which give the impression of a concave lozenge lying across the head of the bow, indicated here and elsewhere below by x. 982* has additional ornament on each side of the bow. Distribution after 5.k.

d	842–3 852 982* 11990 11994 12940x-1 13383
e	847? 853–4 11973 13377\ 13382\

Dating: 854 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

46mm	11994
45mm	1941\ 13383
42mm	842–3 852
40mm	982* 11990 12940\
37mm	854
unknown	847 853 11973 13377\ 13382\

5.d. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. Distribution after 5.k.

873 without a catch-plate.

5.e. Several, *i.e.*, four or more, vertical ridges some of which may be beaded.

None as yet.

5.f. *Plate 41*. A central flute which, unlike those in Type 1, is now a narrow groove, except for 987*. Distribution after 5.k.

d	908 7715\ 11996\
e	987* 9766

Dating: None.

38mm	908
48mm	7715\
unknown	987* 11996\

5.g. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other

two curve away towards the wings.

None as yet.

5.h. Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester.

d 1005*

Dating: None.

21mm 1005*

5.i. Plate 41. This pattern has a broad rounded front with a border on each side. The only example has a pin-groove, an unusual feature on Rearhooks. Distribution after 5.k.

d 867*

Dating: 867 Canterbury, 70/80–125.

38mm 867*

5.k. Plate 41. The bow is completely plain. Note 1007 is said to be made of silver ([371], 92, fig.33,883) and this may affect the size in relation to its more lowly copper alloy companions. 13359 has a flat central face.

d 999 1000 1007 1010* 13333 13359

e 884 1001 1006 1011 1013–4 11979 12944 13366

Dating: 1000 Hod Hill, before 50.

68mm 884

58mm 13359

52mm 1000

48mm 1007

46mm 999

32mm 1010* 1014

30mm 1006

unknown 1001 1011 1013 11979 12944 13333 13366

Distribution: KT i DORS k WILTS k OX k CAMBS c NORF aaa bbbbbb cccccccccccc d fffff kkkkkkkk LEICS k LINC abkkk NOTTS k

There are 12 examples from England outside Norfolk and 35 from the county itself. Again it is **5.k** which stands out, but it is also the most widespread of all elsewhere in the country. The truth is that the people living in the northern parts of East Anglia, and the western edge of the fen facing them, preferred more decorative items than most of those elsewhere. This should not really have been just because of a limited choice elsewhere, but would have reflected something more deeply rooted.

6. Without surviving wings. For this reason, few are worth illustrating, save for the extraordinary catch-plate of 878*.

6.a. Plate 41. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Distributions are after 6.k.

a 878*

d 858 9755

Dating: None.

47mm 858

unknown 878*

6.b. Plate 41. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. 12053 has a simple blob foot.

a 12053*

d 825 839 11981

e 822 827 831 833 1657 3000 8666 12924 12936

Dating: 825 Snettisham; late 1st–early 2nd century; 8666 Haddon, early 2nd century and later; 833 1657 Exeter, mid-4th century.

75mm 12053*

68mm 11981

52mm 825

35mm 839

unknown 822 827 831 833 12924 12936

6.c. There is now a single ridge only, down the middle, either sunken or raised.

e 12942–3

Dating: None.

6.d. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle.

a 12929w

e 13362

Dating: None.

55mm 12929w

6.e. Several, *i.e.*, four or more, vertical ridges some of which may be beaded.

None as yet.

6.f. A central flute or groove.

d 9774

e 877 956

Dating: None.

6.g. Plate 41. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings.

d 985*

e 8278

Dating: 985* Stonea, 220–400.

6.h. Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester.

None as yet.

6.i. The final designated pattern has a broad rounded front with a border on each side.

d 870

Dating: None.

6.k. Completely plain bow.

d 1008

Dating: None.

45mm 1008

Distribution: DEV bb NORF aa bbbbbbbbbbb cc dd fff g i k CAMBS abg LINC a

There are six examples from England outside Norfolk and

22 from the county itself. But allowing Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire to be on the fringe of production, then the two from Devon are indeed far-flung.

7. The Fantail Foot. The entire bow is either a fantail, 7.a–7.c below, or has some form of excrescence at the top which, in profile suggests the bow of the Rosette: 7.d. In this instance, the style of the wing should be irrelevant, the distinctive bow being the prime determinant of the type. The distributions are after 7.d.

7.a. Plate 41. Here are those bows which are flat, no matter how decorated.

34mm	957 960* 966
32mm	961
unsized	967 12006

Dating: None.

7.b. Plate 42. The fantail has a strip of parallel-sided raised mouldings running down the front.

39mm	7728*
35mm	963
33mm	958 964 980
30mm	975
25.5mm	962 965 969
unsized	970 13355

Dating: None.

7.c. Plate 42. The raised mouldings here taper inwards towards the bottom. 14524 has a circular hole in its catch-plate.

40mm	14524
36mm	971
33mm	14522
29mm	959 972*

Dating: 971 Colchester, 50–65.

7.d. Plate 42. The profile suggests strong influence from the Rosette, there being a definite, strongly projecting upper section. Only in 12007 and 13866 do the profiles suggest an actual bow although the actual arch is very slight. It is from this group that the Colchester Derivative Harlow 5.a and Type 7 in Part 3 here derive.

46mm	13867
42mm	6149*
36mm	12007
35mm	12002*
34mm	968 12003 12005
33mm	976–7 979 13870 13865
30mm	9749
28mm	13869 14521
24mm	973
23mm	14523
unsized	6137 6147 6082 12004 13381 13404 13866 14490*

Dating: None.

Distribution: HANTSbd ESSEXc BEDS/BUCKSbcSUFF aaabbcdd NORF aaa bbbbbb cc ddddddddddddddd CAMBS dd LINC bcd CUMB b

The distribution shows that the factory making 7.d was located somewhere in southern Norfolk or northern Suffolk. The small number from Suffolk reflects the generally poor coverage the writer has of that county. Allowing that neighbouring areas acquired brooches, only three came from outside the marketing area.

8 Complete Bastards. No attempt is made to divide these as strictly as in those varieties which have passed in review already.

8.a. Plate 42. Bead and reel on wings and bow. See Part 4, The Hinged Pin, varieties 8 and 9, the first being virtually a repeat of these placed here, but the relationship with 9 might be held to be a little tenuous, had it not been for 2665* which is a Rearhook as far as the pin-fixing arrangement is concerned, but is completely of the Hinged Pin sub-type 9.a, and is so listed there and shown on Plate 60.

d 9752* 981 1515*

52mm	9752*
38mm	981
30mm	1515*

Dating: None.

Odd. Plate 42. Marked so in the Database, these form the rest and are merely grouped.

Multiple diagonals on the wings: 931 932*. The first is dated to the mid first century.

Dating: 931 Leicester, mid 1st century.

Repeated decoration running sideways along the edges of the bow: 983* 984.

Upper half of the bow carrying most of the decoration: 899 986 12946*. The last and first are closely related. However, 986 must be related to the Bagendon, Chapter 6, Part 2, Type 12.

Dating: None.

Moulded wings: 13363* looks as though it ought to be bead and reel, but is not. It had been seen in antiquity to have a replacement catch-plate fitted. 13367 in very poor condition has “celtic” decoration in relief and should have come from the same milieu as 8075*.

Odd. Plates 42–43. 13360* is one of the very few multiple bow brooches which seem to be concentrated in East Anglia. 13421* is very finely finished and only 24mm high. 9750* and 986 are related to the Hod Hill if anything and as such are rarities; the latter is perhaps particularly a version of the Bagendon (Chapter 6, part 2, Type 12).

933* 988 8075* 9750* 13360* 13363* 13367 13372* 13421*

Dating: None.

Triple Hook. As the name implies, these have or had three rearward-facing hooks. As the spring was soldered in position behind the left-hand wing, there would seem

not to have been much need to provide extra security. However, it might have been thought that the right hand end could move unduly when the pin was depressed and so an extra hook was made at the right-hand end, and one at the left-hand end was created to maintain symmetry. Whatever the case, there were never very many and those recorded are arranged in the same basic order as the main series above. There is little need to sub-divide for there are so very few.

1/3. *Plate 43*. As it happens, those with enough catch-plate to tell all had solid ones. 13653* has a special place as it also incorporates the pierced plates at the ends of the wings in the Polden Hill (see Part 3). In this one instance we must have a pure experiment, an attempt to provide belt, braces, and something more. All come from Norfolk.

768 7579 13643* 13653*

Dating: None.

2/3. *Plate 43*. The only catch-plate, 766, is of style a, if one allows that a full celtic pattern on the back, with holes to emphasise it, counts as such. One is from Norfolk, the other from Hertfordshire.

766* 13648

Dating: 766 Baldock, 120–150.

3/3. *Plate 43*. The two preserved catch-plates are solid. 9940* is a true oddity in that it has the three hooks, the pierced end-plates of a Polden Hill but was fitted *ab initio* with a hinged pin. 9938 is very much as the last, except it once had the s-shaped wire appliqué of 9861 in 1.a in the Polden Hill classification below and which occurs as fully moulded on 8065, classified as odd (Plate 39). Three are from Norfolk and there is one each from the Counties of Hertford, Lincoln and Nottingham.

767* 770 771 9938 9940* 12017

Dating: 771 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

4/3. *Plate 43*. The only complete catch-plate, 769*, is solid. Two are from Lincolnshire and the other from Norfolk.

769* 13645 13649

Dating: None.

5/3. Both have solid catch-plates. The one with a provenance comes from Norfolk.

772–3

Dating: 773 Snettisham, mid 1st century.

The Rest (X in the database). Here are those very few which owe something to the Rearhook. Two from Norfolk, one from Suffolk and the last comes from Gloucestershire.

13650 has three things devices to hold the chord, but the outer ones are actually rather like cotter pins: a loop behind is formed by pushing a piece of wire through two holes in the wing and then bending the ends up and down the front of that.

13646–7 have a false spring behind, significantly, the left-

hand wing: the wing has a pierced circular section, the back being ridged to simulate a spring. 2008, a brooch from Norfolk (information from Andrew Rogerson) was recovered which had the simulated spring behind both wings with a gap in which a pin with a short unilateral spring could be fitted. This has more than a little in common with the occasional occurrence of the same kind of pin on Type 6, the Nene Group, amongst the Hinged-pin types in Part 4, and is discussed further there.

12015 This a hybrid; there are three hooks but there is also a loop under the middle one formed by bending a prong cast with the body. In effect this is a Harlow arrangement. The catch-plate is solid. It is undated.

12015 13646–7 13650

Dating: None.

Part 3. The Polden Hill Spring System [CD PH]

The name comes from the Polden Hills in Somerset; brooches from there in the British Museum were used to define a spring-fixing arrangement which, hitherto, had remained undescribed. Dr Grace Simpson tells me that the late Mr Hull also had no good idea of who it was who first used this designation. The separately-made bilateral spring is mounted on an axis bar whose ends are housed in pierced plates at the ends of the wings, the chord being secured either by a rearward-facing hook or by a pierced crest on the head.

1. Multiple-piece brooches. Made in more parts than just the body and the sprung pin, the wings are usually riveted to the head of the bow and form a case which holds the spring tightly enough for there to be no need for a hook to hold the chord: 1757*. Occasionally the rearward-facing hook or pierced crest is a separate item trapped between the bow and the wings: 1758, 1763. Corrosion can sometimes hide the fact that there are several parts present.

The designs of some of these recall varieties of hinge-pin brooches, and it is just possible that the fact some of these are made from more pieces than the basic two could be adventitious.

1.a. Plate 44. The bow has a flute down the front recalling the Hinged-Pin sub-type 18.b2. There are two catch-plate styles: c and d. 13930 is represented by the bow only. 9861* from Weston under Penyard, Ariconium, has a spring-case and no need for a hook, the front of each wing having two rivets round which a length of beaded wire is wound round their shanks in an S-shape. 1755* is shown in italics: the published drawing is poor and ostensibly shows a brooch in only two pieces. However, the third piece forming the hook may have been missed by the illustrator.

a 9861*

c 1754* 13930

d 1747* 1750 1755?

Dating: 1755 Watercreek, 90–110.

77mm	9861*
72mm	1754*
54mm	1747* 1750
48mm	1755

1.b. Plate 44. The bow has moulded decoration down the bow. There are two styles of catch-plate: **a** and **d**. That of 1748* recalls the detail found on brooches belonging to the middle of the first century, and earlier, 1749* has bead and reel moulding on the wings and a bow design, vertical mouldings on the upper bow stopped by a geometric figure laid across the bow, which must recall in some way Hinged-pin sub-type 11.d2. 1757* has a separately-made foot-knob.

a	1748* 1749* 1784 12949*
d	1624 1757*

Dating: 12949* Broxtowe, before 70/75.

c.83mm	1748*
80mm	1784
75mm	1749*
60mm	12949*
52mm	1757*

1.c. Plate 44. Plain wings and a ridge down the upper part of the bow which more closely resembles sub-type 2.a than any of the others here. The only one with enough catch-plate left to see its style shows that it is **a**, also the trait of sub-type 2.a.

58–60mm	1751 1758
unknown	1753 1760*

Dating: None.

1.d. Plate 44. Plain bows and wings.

a	1763
d	1756 12018* 13445
missing	1752 1759 1761

Dating: 13445 Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40; 1759 Metchley, earlier 50–65.70; 1756 Alcester, late 3rd century?

80mm	1763
48mm	12018*
46mm	13445
36mm	1756
unknown	1752 1759 1761

Distribution: WILTS d GLOS aabbcd HERE a LEICS ab WARKS cdd NOTTS ab STAFFS d SALOP ccdo WALES b HUM-HAD W a

It is worth pointing out that most come from military sites, and it may be that those from Leicester actually derived from another. As for dating, the four from Kingsholm should date to before 60/65.

1.X. Plate 45. Here are those which are in more than one piece, not counting the spring, and those which are not but have forward-facing hooks, with plates formed by bending the ends of the wings back. There is a general family appearance to all these, with the immediate impression that 7555 does not belong here. That brooch has a double bow riveted to the and with a separately-made foot-knob, but the plates at the ends of the wings are formed as are

those of the rest and the overall proportions are also not dissimilar. 9939 may belong here: it was recorded from a drawing which showed no trace of plates at the ends of the wings, but the remains may not have been noticed.

784 790* 7555* 9939 13432 13636 13637

Dating: 13636 Dorchester, 75–120

Distribution: HANTS x DORS xx NORF x GLOS xx

2. Transitional Type 2/3. In general terms, a linear development from 1.c through to the first stages of 3 can be seen in 2.a here. The essence is the development of a set of decorative traits which start as a short ridge on the head of the bow and the beaded bands on the wings. The main change in form is the development of a plate rising on each side of the head of the bow from the wings, possibly reflecting the need to define the groove on 2.a when the castings become robust enough to have the Polden Hill head completely formed in the mould.

On 1749* it occurs as a version of the concave lozenge found on a group of Rearhooks (see this Chapter, Part 3, Type 7).

2.a. Plate 45. The cast sections of the brooch are very thin. The bow is very narrow tapering to a pointed foot and usually sports a beaded sunken ridge on the head. The wings were cast almost flat, the ends being pierced and bent round to have the axis bar in the spring fitted. The front of the wings has three, sometimes two, vertical sunken ridges, usually beaded. The rearward-facing hook is very wide and is also bent by hand. Commonly, there is a groove up each side of the wings next to the bow and up the front of the hook. The catch-plate is very thin and seems always to have a style **a** piercing, although that could either have been the usual half heart, or the piercing with a dog-leg bar (**d** below); one has a circular hole (**o** below). None seen by the writer has a demonstrably solid catch-plate. Occasionally the return is decorated, and sometimes stamped circles occur under the skeuomorph of the Colchester's hook, rather like Type 6.e, **Plate 26** (suffix **o** below).

80mm	1773
76mm	1783
70–2mm	1765* 1770 12022 13446 13529d
68mm	1781d
65–6mm	1768 12021 12948d 13449 12442
62mm	1766 1779–80 1787d
58–9mm	1764 1772 13428 13444o
54mm	15393
unknown	1767o 1771 1774 1769 1775–8 1782d 1786 6064d 12019–20 13441 13443

The dating is sparse and, perversely, refuses to confirm an early date in the observable typological sequence. So much so, that this may be an example of a type which had a particular market. The sites which yield examples show no bias towards any particular type of site, whether it be rural, town or military, which rather begs the question. On the whole, there is a problem here in that so many examples come from sites with occupation dating back to 55–60

at least, as at Wroxeter, or earlier, yet the assured earliest dated example comes from a military site in Yorkshire, well outside the indicated core area.

Dating: 13441, 13342, 13343 Kingscote, 1st century B.C. – A.D. 130/40; 13529 Castleford, 71/4–86; 1769 Little Chester, 1st–2nd century; 12022 Wilcote, ?Claudian–2nd century, probably the latter; 1775 Whitton, before 135; 1773 Whitton, early 3rd century–300/340?; 1778 Alcester, 3rd century; 1781 Worcester, 240–400; 13428 Wilcote, 300–60.

2.b. Plate 45. The brooch now looks like a normal casting and there is usually a plate masking each side of the head of the bow and rising from the wings, those without being indicated by x. The wings have ridges like those on Type 1 and are also frequently beaded. The bow often has the same small ridge at the top and the catch-plate styles of 2.a are repeated here, along with more elaborate fretting. The dog-leg is indicated by d again and more elaborate fretting by f. There is only one solid catch-plate so far: 1802. The following are divided into those which have the pseudo-hook, 2.b1, and those which do not, 2.b2. The circular stamp also appears (o). 1801 has an incised lozenge on the bow reminiscent of the Hinged-Pin sub-type 11.d2. 13439 has a reel and double bead design.

Only 1642 calls for extra comment: it has lost its wings and it is only its general proportions, the very thin stubs of wings and the piercing in the catch-plate, almost certainly a dog-leg, which places it here.

2.b1

76mm	1801d
72mm	1800d 12103*
69mm	1795d
64mm	9866
60mm	1791 1798o*
55mm	1797 11087f*
52mm	1642
51mm	15392dx
50mm	1793
48mm	1802
unknown	1785d* 1788xo 1789–90 1794 9860 13439 13447

Dating: 1794 Metchley, later 40s into 50s; 1642 Worcester, 50–120; 1789 Baginton, before 75; 1793 Camerton, after 90; 1800 Nettleton, 1st century; 1801 Nettleton, 2nd century; 1802 Shakenoak Farm, 3rd century.

2.b2

73mm	1792*
60mm	1799
unknown	1616

Dating: 1799 Bagendon, 50–60.

Distribution: HANTS a WILTS aabbbbbb SOM abbb BDS/BCKS b OXON aaaabb GLOS aaaaaaaaaa bbbbbb WORCS aaa HERE bb WARKS aaabb LEICS aa STAFFS b DERBS a SALOP aabb WALES aaaaaa YORKS a
The homeland of 2.a is fairly obviously the Lower Severn Valley, and one might assume the Avon as well. On the other hand, 2.b may actually have a more limited homeland

based on the adjoining parts of Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. The three brooches from Wroxeter very probably belong entirely to the military phases there.

3. Plate 46.

It is from this group that the main series, Type 4, emerges. Those that have the general proportions of that family are underlined. The whole series is divided according to the style of the catch-plate: a = dog-leg or fretting; b = basically triangular opening; c = circular holes; d = solid. 1865, found with the Polden Hill Hoard, is almost certainly the very brooch which gave rise to the term Polden Hill. 1675 has the diagonal moulding on the wing characteristic of East Anglia.

a	1675* 1804–5 1844 1847 1860 1865 1868* 13433
b	1806* 1807 1809 1856 1859 1861 1869 1872 1877 1879 12026 13448
c	1848 1880 12023*
d	1588* 1726 1743 1812 1845 1878 13449*
e	1604 1808 1843 1845–6 1850–1 1854* 1857–8 1862 1864 1867 1870 1881 1895 1902 12024 12059 13450
92mm	1868*
86mm	13433
78mm	1879
c.73mm	1675* 1844 1855 12448
67mm	1847 1878
64mm	1806*
60–2mm	1588 1804 1859 1868–9 12026
53mm	1812 1848 1856 1872 1877 12023*
50mm	1809 1861
48mm	1805
44mm	1726 1743 1807
40mm	13449
38mm	1860
unknown	1854* 1880 13450

Dating: 1858, 1862 Baginton, before c.75; 1857 Metchley, before 75?; 1855 Carlisle, late 120s – 150/180; 1860 Whitton, before 135; 1859 Wroxeter, up to 2nd half of 2nd century; 1881 Worcester, c.150–200; 13448 Kingscote, 150–200; 1807 Alcester, late 2nd–early 3rd; 13449* Kingscote, late 3rd–early 4th century.

Of importance here is 1865 (British Museum, 46.3–22.120). Found with the Polden Hill Hoard, it would be tempting to take the art historian's evaluation of the date of that and apply it to the brooch. However, it is the writer's view that it is the brooches from the hoard, and there are two others as well, which should actually provide the date of deposition.

Distribution: SOM aabdd ESSEX a OXON cddo NORF o NHANTS c GLOS aabbbddoo LEICS b WARKS bbbboooooooooo WORCS ooo STAFFS oo LINC o SALOP bbc WALES abdo CHESH oo HAD W ao

Taking those with identifiable catch-plates, it seems certain that the area of manufacture had moved further north to the middle Severn Valley.

4. The Dolphin

The term coined by Collingwood is a useful one, so much

so that it has generally been applied in the blanket way he intended, believing that artistic principles had more to say about brooches than anything else. The chief characteristic does, indeed, recall the bulbous head of the dolphin, but it will be appreciated by what follows that the name should be restricted so that, when used, the name recalls a specific brooch type.

The head of the bow is dominant. The wings become short, usually with one or two thin mouldings at the end; the plate on either side of the head is also marked and the whole tapers to a foot-knob usually with a small cross-moulding above, except for sub-type 4.a.

4.a. Plate 46. There is no decoration on the bow at all, and this is without the fully formed foot to be found on subsequent sub varieties. Catch-plates tend to be solid, where they survive, but 1876 and 1886–7 have the triangular hole of style **b** in Type 3, and 1891 has two circular holes which places it amongst those with style **c** catch-plates. 1891 is fitted with the loose loop and collar sometimes found on the type, but more usually on the Headstud and Trumpet which, by virtue of the fact that there are varieties of those with cast-on loops, can be shown to have been commonly worn with a loop of some kind. Of note here are those with hinged pins (with the suffix **h** below). There is a group which is centred on the Southern Pennines which produces brooches indisputably of Type 4 designs but fitted with a hinged pin. In this instance the *appearance* of the brooch over-rides the functional aspect. All three brooches here come from the northern limits of the distribution of 4.a.

1891, 1913 and 1920 have a circular hole in their catch-plates, otherwise the standard is to have a solid one.

89mm	9825
77mm	1893*
73mm	1876
65mm	1889 1972h
62mm	1891 1894
59mm	1886 1887
c.55mm	12322
50mm	1853 1884
45mm	1882* 1892 15398
42mm	1968h
40mm	1918
unknown	1883 1890 1904 1973h 6240 12043 12044 12958 13452

Dating: 1882* Baginton, before 75; 1887 Croft Ambrey, 75–160; 1892 Derby late 1st into early 2nd century; 1884 Manchester, late 2nd century to 225/250?; 1876 Alcester, early 3rd century?; 1918 Alcester, later 3rd century plus; 1968 Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century.

There is a clear break in the second century, otherwise one might wonder for how long brooches were actually worn.

4.b. Plate 46. Like the last, utterly plain, except for the foot which is now of the type which defines the main series. 9830 and 13480, with two cross-mouldings, are exceptions.

9825, from Donington, Salop, is a lead pattern with a cylinder attached to the bottom of the main part of the bow which was clearly to meant form the gate. Because of this, its length can only be assessed as being greater than 60mm and it cannot be assumed that it would not have been finished with some form of foot-knob.

1913 and 1920 have a circular hole in their catch-plates.

83mm	1907
78mm	1915
75mm	13480
70mm	1911*
66mm	1909 1914
c.62mm	1900 1916 9840
60mm	1912
58mm	15397
56–7mm	1910 1921 5061
52mm	9864
50mm	1905
48mm	1899* 1908 1919
45–6mm	1896 1906 12950
44mm	1920
42mm	1913
40mm	1918
35mm	1897* 1898
<30mm	1901*
unknown	1904 1923 9825 9848–9

Dating: 1905 Derby, late 1st into early 2nd century; 12950 Wroxeter, c.90–130; 1913 Verulamium, 115–130; 1912 Wall, Hadrianic-early Antonine; 1907 Derby, 150–175; 1901* Shakenoak Farm, before 180; 1909 Tewkesbury, 200–250; 1923 Worcester, residual in earliest 3rd century dumps; 1918 is later 3rd century and late; 1920 Gloucester, 4th century.

4.c. Plates 46–7. Still plain, but with either a direct echo of the hook on the Colchester, or simple ornament in its place. Where that is quite specific to a group of brooches, then they have been made a separate sub-group: see 4.d *etc.* As this is a group defined by what happens on the head, there is variation in the foot-knob ranging from none, 1885, to one with a double cross-moulding above, 12040, to a more elaborate version of the last, 1930. All recorded catch-plates are solid. 1863 is unusual in having a sunken wavy ridge. 12951 has incised lines on the head which create a concave-sided lozenge, last seen in numbers on the Rearhook.

1888 from Corbridge has, as illustrated, a flange across the top of the catch-plate, a feature not usually seen after 50/60.

64mm	1925
58–60mm	1863 1927 1933 1939* 12951 13451 13454
54mm	1885 1926 12040 12041*
52mm	1888
50mm	1917 1928
48mm	1924
45mm	1942
43mm	13526
40mm	1930
unknown	2042 9862

Dating: 13526 Wall, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1863 Leicester, early-mid 2nd century; 13451 Kingscote, 130/40–200; 1928 Little Chester, mid-Antonine.

4.d. Plate 47. The ridge on the head has become more elaborate, often a triple moulding, or sometimes a binary divided by a groove, 1935, or flute, 1946. There is 2063 recalling the V form in sub-types of Type 5; 2035 has a lattice between grooves; and finally 2066 which has an exaggerated version of the central flute which has triple beaded mouldings on each side. Although simple feet occur (1936 1940) the common form is as defined and there are one or two with elaborate cross-mouldings, 1934. All catch-plates are solid where they survive in a state to be examined. 2065* (British Museum 46.3–22.125) was found with the Polden Hill Hoard. There is one from Obfeldon, Switzerland ([253], 109, *Taf.*12,7). Those with hinged pins have the suffix h below.

All the catch-plates which survive are solid.

77mm	1940 1941*
62mm	1936
60mm	1929h 1946h
58mm	1935 1944* 2066
55mm	1931 1950 2037
53mm	1934 2064 2065*
50mm	1937 2063
48mm	6184
44mm	2035
42mm	6185 6210
39mm	12032
unknown	1938 1970 9847

Dating: 2065* Polden Hill Hoard; 1938 possibly before 75; 1929 Little Chester, later 1st into early 2nd century; 1950 Little Chester, c.120–50; 1935 Wavendon Gate, 4th century, 2066 Rocester, 4th century ?plus.

4.e. Plate 47. The simulation of a hook has given way to a definitely more ornamental feature varying from a triple moulded feature ending in a boss, through a V with or without the same, to the sparse use of lenticular bosses. Those which have hinged pins have the suffix h, and those with catch-plates piercings separated by a dog-leg have d; 1951* probably had at least two circular holes; one from Saalburg ([76], 5, *Abb.*1,5) had a complex piercing reminiscent of one from Polnaise (1961); the rest had solid catch-plates, where they were preserved. 2046 has a Vitruvian scroll on either side of the other decoration on the head: see 4.g.

1947 has a piercing in the catch-plate divided by a dog-leg and no foot-knob, while 1954 has both and 1955 and 1963 are like the last but with a less well-defined dog-leg. An example from Saalburg has a fretted catch-plate with five openings (*ibid.* 5, *Abb.* 1,5) which may mean that it also had an engraved design like 1961. The previous sub-varieties generally lacked any piercings.

87mm	1961h
77mm	2047*
75mm	1955d

68mm	1951* 1959
60mm	1957h 1968–9
57–8mm	1952h 2046
52mm	1947dh? 1948
48mm	1945 1953–4d
45mm	1963dh 2067
42mm	6221
38–9mm	1956 1962 9846
37mm	13525
unknown	1949 9900

Dating: 1953 Croft Ambrey, 75–160; 1963 Wroxeter, 80–120; 1949 Newstead, 80–c.200; 1947 Worcester, probably before 120; 1945 Caerleon, Hadrianic-Antonine; 1948 Worcester, residual in deposits of 130–170; 2046 Baldock, 150–180; 9900 Wroxeter, 3rd century and later; 1956 Rocester, 4th century, ?plus.

4.f. Plate 47. One of the very few standard designs in this sub-type: there is a sunken ridge, sometimes beaded, down the upper part of the bow which ends between two lenticular bosses which form a shallow V across the bow. The lower bow has a slight recurve. Some of the catch-plates have a small circular hole tucked almost into the return (suffix o below).

69mm	1991
67mm	1984
63–4mm	1975* 1976 1980o-1 1985 1987 1989 1992
	13472
60mm	1977o-8 1983 1986
55mm	1990
unknown	1979 1982 1988 11504 11508 12035 12046

Dating: 1977 Shakenoak Farm, mid-2nd–mid 3rd century; 1991, Little Chester late 2nd–early 3rd century; 1984 Cirencester, 375–410/20

4.g. Plate 47. A small but select group, the simplest of which has a groove down the centre and recess in the form of a Vitruvian scroll on each side for inlay which might be either a white metal or niello. A more elaborate version has a bead-row down the middle, and the most elaborate recorded by the writer, 6247*, has a reserved wavy line down the middle set in niello with a cusped cell on each side; the wings and the foot have a white metal wire set into niello.

77mm	1993
60mm	6247*
54mm	1994*
52mm	1995
45mm	1996

Dating: 6247* Wroxeter, 160; 1995 Tewkesbury, 160–200; 1994* Canterbury, 175–300/320.

4.h. Plate 47. The front of the bow has a border on each side and a ridge down the middle, and in the middle of each side is a row of bosses, sometimes rising from an annular groove. The feet are either elaborately moulded or changed to a cone with a few rings at the bottom. When broken, the largest brooches have a clay core. 6248 has at

least three circular holes in the catch-plate, otherwise they all seem to have been solid.

The majority are very large and heavy, almost as though the latter was a material consideration in their manufacture.

87mm	2001–2 6248* weighs 57.39 gms
70mm	1999 weighs 45.8gms
62mm	1998 12045
46mm	2000*
42mm	13458
unknown	1997 (at least 75mm long) 2003 9901 12037 12042

Dating: 1999 Stonea, 3rd century; 2003 Worcester, c.240–300; 2001 Cirencester, 375–410/20.

4.i. The chief characteristic here is the liberal use of the lanceolate motif, sometimes divided by a groove, arranged usually so as to appear as saltires lying across the centre of the bow or, rarely, as a plain series across the sides of the bow. There are two groups: 4.i1 has the decoration along the whole of the bow, 4.i2 has it confined to the upper part. In both there may be either a ridge down the middle, more common in 4.i1, or a groove. All the catch-plates are solid.

4.i1. Plate 47.

74mm	2006
68mm	2009 2019 13455–6
64mm	2005 2020
52mm	2004*
50mm	2018
unknown	2007–8

Dating: 2008 Worcester, 120–240.

4.i2. Plate 48.

70mm	2011
53mm	2016
48mm	2012 2015
46mm	2022
44mm	2013
42mm	2023
38mm	2021
35mm	2014*
unknown	2010* 2017 12957

Dating: 2014* N Cerney, Ditches, c.60–70; 2013 Worcester, 120–240; 13455 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

4.j. Plate 48. Related to the last, specifically to 4.i2, the lanceolate forms are now blunt bars with, every now and then, an attempt to arrange two or four on diagonals at the head. The head itself is squarer in profile than has been the case so far. The wings are perhaps shorter than usual and more of them are plain.

66mm	2025
52mm	12038*
47–8mm	2024 2027 2030
45mm	2029
43–4mm	13467
40mm	2031 13457
35mm	2028* 12956
unknown	2026 2032

Dating: 13457 Kingscote, c.140/60–200; 2028* Gloucester, late 3rd century; 2024 Gadebridge, before mid 4th century.

4.j1. Plate 48. These few brooches are so clearly related to others in 4.j that it is a little pointless to divorce them on the grounds that they are not Dolphins. That it true, but cousins twice or thrice removed are still relatives. The bow design is acceptable, but it is the head which is different. There is a cast-on loop on a pedestal and the clearly defined wings are replaced by a series of steps splaying out from the bow to a minimal wing at the end. The design is so unvarying that all must come from a single workshop and, bearing in mind how few brooches can really be so assigned, it must have been a popular item. That being the case, the type was definitely made in a range of sizes. The lengths below are of the bow only.

40mm	2072* 13468
43mm	2071 2073
38mm	14862
unknown	13469

Dating: None as yet

4.k. Plate 48. All of these have ribs run up or down the sides of the bow which are terminated in lenticular bosses of varying lengths. Sometimes they overlap and sometimes they emphasise the head of the brooch. In several instances they are applied to brooches which, without them, would have been allocated to preceding sub-varieties. The catch-plates are solid and many of the returns are decorated. The type of decoration points to a single source, but its multiple patterns show how fecund the makers were in their ideas. 2069–70 are not quite of the group, but too close to put anywhere else. The enamelled top of the bow of 2057 can be found on other members of this family, see Oddments a.

78mm	2050
62mm	12648
60mm	2052* 2053
56mm	2054
53mm	2051* 12039*
45mm	2070 12034
43mm	2057
35mm	2049
32mm	9863*
unknown	2048 2055–6 2069 6249

Dating: 2057 Croft Ambrey, 75–160; 2070 Exeter, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 2048 Worcester, residual in deposits of earliest 3rd century, and 2050, 240–400.

4.l. Plate 48. A miscellaneous group which all have mouldings running the full length of the bow, be it a groove or a single ridge, at present the commonest forms, or a more complex set.

88mm	2044
85mm	13453
80mm	2043*
65mm	2033
50mm	2034

44mm 2036
unknown 1932 2038–9 2041

Dating: 2034 Whitton, ?before 160.

Oddments. These are arranged in no particular order, save that those which have cast-on loops come last.

a. Plate 48. Enamel on the upper bow, 2058 picking up the same pattern occurring on the head of one noted in 4.j above.

63mm 1974*
56mm 2059*
50–2mm 1965h 2058h

Dating: None as yet.

b. Plate 49. Abnormal moulded decoration in the form of a boss or stud usually as a stop to decoration on the top of the bow. In the case of 2061 ([371], 99, fig.34,904), there is a recurve in the profile. There is one from Saalburg ([76], 5, *Abb.5,4*).

79mm 2060*
58mm 11516
43mm 2061

Dating: None as yet.

c. Plate 49. These have cast-on loops and look normal in proportion, as opposed to those in **d**. One (1967) has a hinged-pin and which is otherwise indistinguishable from the other two. All three come from Derby.

70mm 1964 2040*
unknown 1967

Dating: 1967 Little Chester, late 3rd and 4th century.

And the following are oddments: 1943 1966 2045.

Dating: 1966 Watercreek, 120–90.

Distribution: KT abeego SUSS ch HANTS i WILTS jklllo SOM dfkk DEV k SCILLY bek MSEX cc HERTS beij BEDS/BUCKS d OXON bdf GLOS abbbcccdffffhiiiiijjjkklllll NORF beefij CAMBS h NHANTS dfk LEICS abbbbbcdeffhhi WARKS aaaaabbbcddefghhijj WORCS bbceeffghhiiikkoo HERE abbbcddeejkkko WALES aaaaabdehilooo LINC b DERBS aaabbbcddeeffkooo STAFFS bbbccdddeeffio SALOP aaaabbbbbbccccddddddeeeefghhhhhiiiiijjjkklllo YKS a HUM-HAD W aadeffijo HAD W cfoo SCOT ee

4.a shows a move up to the northern Marches, and clearly into the Southern Pennines, an area where the hinged-pin versions of Type 4 were made. As befits a type which was to become one of the most popular in Roman Britain, the distribution of 4.b and 4.d is much wider, but there is still an emphasis on the northern Midlands and Marches. 4.c has a wider spread and marks the first effective appearance in the deep South East and in the North.

In the main, and allowing for the fact that a lot of excavation at Wroxeter has hugely increased the number from Shropshire, the chief area for manufacture and sales was undoubtedly up the Severn Valley from mid Gloucestershire to the borders of Cheshire and then west

to include Leicestershire and Warwickshire, and also the Southern Pennines.

Dating: The dating, arranged in the order of the beginning of each date-range of the full type is: N Cerney, Ditches, c.60–70 ([808], 135, fig. 45,1); Derby, three examples, late 1st–early 2nd century ([227], 283–4, fig. 123,4,5; fig. 124,10); Croft Ambrey, 3 examples, c.75–160 ([665], 144, fig. 67,2,4,5); Wroxeter, 80–120 ([120], 23, pl. 15,5); Shakenoak Farm, Oxon, early 2nd century ([96], 95 fig. 27,7); Verulamium, 115–130 ([296], 114, fig. 29,10); Worcester, before 120 ([215], 73, fig. 37,1); Leicester, early-mid 2nd century ([150], 145, fig. 74,23); Derby, c.120–150 ([227], 283–5, fig. 124,8); Watercreek, 120–190 ([585], 210, fig. 84,11); Worcester, c.130–170 ([215], 73, fig. g32,3); Wall, Staffs, Hadrianic–early Antonine ([330], 17, fig. 7,7); Caerleon, Hadrianic–Antonine ([789], 170 fig. 54,5); Wilcote, Shakenoak Farm, mid 2nd–mid 3rd century ([97], 118–9, fig. 47,70); Derby, 150–175 ([227], 283–5, fig. 123,6); Baldock, 150–180 ([674], 113, fig. 45,83); Whitton, Glam, before 160 ([430], 169, fig. 69,12); Tewkesbury, 160–200 ([359], 64–5, fig. 18,4); Exeter, late 2nd–early 3rd century ([406], 235, fig. 101,20); Tewkesbury, 200–250 ([359], 64, fig. 18,3); Worcester, three examples, earliest 3rd century ([215], 73, fig. 37,4,5 and not illus.) and c.240–300 (*ibid.*, 73–5, fig. 37,6); Gloucester, late 3rd century ([422], 39, fig. 22,1); Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century ([71], 92, fig. 10); Derby, late 3rd–4th century ([227], 283–5, fig. 125,11); Gadebridge, before mid-4th century ([543], 123, fig. 54,14); Gloucester, late 4th century ([366], 66, fig. 26,1); Cirencester, 2 examples, 375–410/20 ([499], 104, fig. 77,1,2).

If these date-ranges are arranged as a bar chart, the beginning of the *floruit* is obviously very close to 70 and runs strongly through to c.150/175. There is a group which persists into the early third century, but the link back to the main run is weak and it should be seen as being residual, and thereafter all are clearly residual. The example from the Polden Hill Hoard (British Museum, 46,3–22,125) should say more about the dating of the hoard than about the brooch.

5. The Western Group. There is a large number of brooches which all show some kind of familial relationship, even if the extremes seem to be unconnected. They are divided into two groups. First are those without any added mouldings to the bow, then those with them. The dating of each group is gathered at the end of 5.b.

5.a. Plate 49. Here the wings are simple, the bow plain apart from an imitation of the hook on a Colchester, and the presence of any kind of ornament at the foot a great rarity. The catch-plates are almost always pierced and are divided as before for Rearhooks and Harlows. Triangles plain or with dog-leg bars = **a**; circular holes = **c**; solid catch-plates = **d**; and those with no catch-plates = **e**.

5.a1. There are two mouldings at the end of each wing. 1630 has dot and circle stamps on either side of the ridge. 5966 has a flute down the fake hook, and 1623 has an extra moulding on the border on each side of the beaded central ridge.

- a 1586* 1587 1589 1596 1599 1623 1630 5966 9851–2
12047–8 12055 13470* 13471 13547
b 1595*
c 1594* 1598 13479
e 1580–1 1621 9842

72mm	1596
c.65mm	1586* 1587 1594* 9851 13547
62mm	9852 13470*
60mm	1595* 1623 12047–8
53–4mm	1630 5966 12055 13471
48mm	1598 13479
unknown	1580–1 1589 1599 1621 9842

Dating: 13479, Duntisbourne Grove, 40–70; 1589 Wroxeter, 60–90; 13547 Dorchester, 75–120; 1586* Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century.

5.a2. Plate 49. There is only one moulding at the end of each wing. 1607 has a very short pseudo hook.

- a 1570–1 1575* 1576* 1593 1608 1619 1637 9833 12056
13430 13436
d 1641* 9839 9850
e 1409 1574 1607 13437

c.75mm	1593 9833
67mm	1575* 1576*
65mm	1571 1637
c.62mm	1619
57–8mm	13436 9839 9850
50mm	1608
c.45mm	1570 1641*
unknown	1409 1574 1607 12056 13430 13437

Dating: 1607 Longthorpe, Claudian–Neronian; 1608 Leicester, early–mid 2nd century; 1593 Worcester, 120–240; 9842 Lydney, late 2nd century.

5.a3. Plate 49. The wings are usually plain. In 1571–3 the fake hook has been reduced to a broad zone tapering to nothing and marked by close-set horizontal lines. These obviously come from a single workshop. In the other two the hook shows further devolution: on 1577* it has become three parallel ridges and on 1579 it has been replaced by a wide and shallow flute with a thin ridge on each side. 13547 has a beaded moulding at the end of each wing and an elaborate decoration based on the Colchester's hook.

- a 1572–3 1577* 1579 9853 13427 13434–5
d 1568* 1597 1602
e 1569 1609

72mm	1577*
70mm	13427 13434
66mm	1579
60–2mm	1572–3 1597
58mm	13435
50mm	1602
43mm	1568*
unknown	1569 1609 9853

Dating: 13435 Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40; 13427 Wilcote, 300–360; 1609 Alcester, early–mid 4th century.

5.a4. Plate 50. There are several mouldings on each wing, but no dominant pattern emerges. The hook remains

dominant. 1603* from Canterbury has the diagonal mouldings on the wings which usually occur in the east.

- a 1585* 1603* 1606 1622 9858 13431
b 1600–1 1605 1632 9843

69mm	1622
67mm	1606
64mm	1585*
58mm	9858
53mm	13431
50mm	1603*
unknown	1600–1 1605 1632 9843

Dating: 1605 Towcester, 50–75/100.

Distribution: KT 4 WILTS 1233 SOM 1234 MSEX 3 OXON 4 GLOS 1111111222234444 NORF 4 NHANTS 224 LEICS 123 WARKS 11234 WORCS 2 HERE 11234 SWALES 112 NWALES 1 LINC 13 DERBS 4 STAFFS 24 SALOP 111 HUM-HAD W 4 Basically the Lower Severn Valley with a possible extension up the Avon.

5.b. These are much like the brooches in 5.a, except they have added mouldings on the sides of the head of the bow. They are arranged as before so that those under the various suffix numbers are directly comparable with the brooches with the same suffixes in 5.a.

5.b1. Plate 50. These have two mouldings at the end of each wing. Those with dog-leg bars in the catch-plate piercing are marked with a d. 12059 has a circular hole. Foot-knobs are uncommon: 1745 has one, otherwise there is nothing or a few cross-cuts. 1810 1813 1823 12029 12959 have a pierced crest for the chord, and not a hook.

- a 1591 1725 1733 1735d* 1738–9 1745d 1827 12031*
c 12959
d 1810 1813 1830 12029 14536
e 1723 12027 13881

73mm	1745d
63mm	1735d*
58mm	1725
c.54mm	1591 1733 1830
50mm	12029
48mm	1827
46mm	12059
43mm	1810 12031*
34mm	1813 14536
unknown	1723 1738–9 12027 13881

Dating: 1745 Wycomb, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1725 Verulamium, 85–105; 12031* Wilcote, mid 2nd century?; 1723 Worcester, residual in earliest 3rd century dumps.

5.b2. Plate 50. There is only one moulding at the end of each wing. Comments about catch-plates made under 5.b1 apply here.

- a 1731* 1732 1736 1828
d 9865
e 1590 13884

65mm	1736
63mm	1731*

c.51mm 9865
32mm 1828
unknown 1590 1732 13884

Dating: 1828 Camerton, 65–85.

5.b3. The wings are usually plain. The only specimen has a catch-plate of type a.

1823

Dating: None as yet.

5.b4. *Plate 50*. There are several mouldings on each wing and the brooches are divided as before, on the basis of the style of their catch-plates. Many of the mouldings are either bead and reel, with beading, only commonly found on some groups of Rearhooks (ref to Part 2), and there are three which have the diagonal moulding or mark on the wings also a feature of some Rearhooks (e.g., Type 4): with suffix / below.

a 1724 1727–9 1734 1737 1742 1744 1816–8 1820 1824
1826 9831* 9832 9834–5 12025 12028 12954* 13882

c 1720* 1814–5 1822 1825 1829

d 1722* 1803 1811 1819 1821 13461

e 1721 1730 1740/ 1741 1796 2892/ 11500 13483 13484/

75mm 9831*

c.71mm 1744 9832 9835

65mm 1729

c.62mm 1722* 1724 1737

c.56mm 9834 12954*

52mm 12025 12028

49mm 1825

47mm 1820 13882

c.46mm 1816–8 1826 1728

43.5mm 1829

40–2mm 1727 1742

37–8mm 1720* 1814–5

32mm 1822

unknown 1734 1824

Dating: 12954* Broxtowe, before c.75; 1803 Alton, early Flavian; 1816 Verulamium, before late 1st century; 1741 Caerleon, Flavian; 1821 Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1724 Newstead, 80–c.200; 1811 Camerton, 120–40; 1796 Alcester, Hadrianic-Antonine; 1727 Gloucester, mid to late 2nd century; 1740 Shakenoak Farm, ?200–50; 2892 Astley, 4th century.

There is a very strong showing of the range from early Flavian into the second century and this suggests that this is the true *floruit*.

5.c. *Plate 50*. All of these have the added mouldings, usually as two sets, but in the form of an inverted V. The catch-plate styles are as before. The odd one out at the moment is 1832* which has an ordinary V overlaid by the inverted one.

a 1831*

c 1832*

d 1833–6 1839* 1840–1 9822 12030 13459

e 1837–8 1842 11510 13460

63mm 1831*

56mm 1834 1841

53mm 1833 1839* 12030

c.51mm 1838 9822

48–9mm 1835–6 1840 13459

42mm 1832*

unknown 1837 1842 11510 13460

Dating: 12030 Wilcote, 70–100/110.

5.d. These all have plain bows. As there are very few in proportion to the whole family of Polden Hills, both those without and with the added mouldings on the upper bow are put here, the former being 5.d1 and the latter 5.d2.

5.d1. *Plates 50–51*. Those with plain wings are uncommon (p below) and the rest have mouldings at the ends of the wings, only 1610* running to as many as four. No example with completely moulded wings has been recorded by the writer. The catch-plates are given as before according to their style.

a 1565 1578 1613 4485 9856 13481 13527*

d 1610* 1615 1643 9854

e 1614 1618 1620 1903 12014 13482

80mm 1565

72mm 13481p-2p

66mm 13527p*

62mm 4485 12014

56mm 1578 1613

c.48mm 1615 9854 9856

40mm 1610* 1643

unknown 1614 1618 1620 1903

Dating: 13527* Wall, mid–late 2nd century.

5.d2. These have plates or mouldings added to the head of the bow and all here are more closely related to the series running from Type 2 to and through Type 4 than to those assigned to sub-types 5.b and 5.c. The two surviving catch-plates are solid.

64mm 1849

62mm 1852

unknown 1874–5 9838

Dating: None as yet.

Lastly comes a clutch of catch-plates which in style and location, for they occur in the Gloucestershire-Somerset-Wiltshire area, should belong to Polden Hills, and Type 5 is the commonest category which has the greatest incidence of this style.

Dating summary

5.a.

13435 Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40; 13479, Duntisbourne Grove, 40–70; 1607 Longthorpe, Claudian-Neronian; 1605 Towcester, 50–75/100; 1589 Wroxeter, 60–90; 13547 Dorchester, 75–120; 1608 Leicester, early–mid 2nd century; 1593 Worcester, 120–240; 9842 Lydney, late 2nd century; 13427 Wilcote, 300–360; 1609 Alcester, early–mid 4th century. 1586 Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century.

5.b.

12954* Broxtowe, before c.75; 1828 Camerton, 65–85; 1803 Alton, early Flavian; 1741 Caerleon, Flavian; 1816 Verulamium,

before late 1st century; 1745 Wycomb, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1821 Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1724 Newstead, 80–c.200; 1725 Verulamium, 85–105; 1796 Alcester, Hadrianic–Antonine; 1811 Camerton, 120–40; 12031* Wilcote, mid 2nd century?; 1727 Gloucester, mid to late 2nd century; 1723 Worcester, residual in earliest 3rd century dumps; 1740 Shakenoak Farm, ?200–50; 2892 Astley, 4th century.

5.c. 12030* Wilcote, 70–100/110.

5.d1. 13527* Wall, mid–late 2nd century.

5.d2. none.

Both 5.a and 5.b have broadly similar time-spans and it would be a brave man who would care to pick over the details. As for 5.c and 5.d, there is not enough evidence to shake a stick at.

Distribution: KT c HANTS c DORS a WILTS 111abcccc66 SOM 122aaaabbccc SCILLY b6 ESSEX a6 MSEX c HERTS 1c BEDS/BUCKS 1 OXON 112c455556 GLOS 111111222aabcc4455555555566xxxxx NORF 55566 NHANTS 6 LEICS 6 WARKS ab566 WORCS 12a HERE dd SWALES 112acc NOTTS ad666 2 STAFFS b6666 YORKS 4 HAD W 6 SCOT c [5 = 5.c; 6 = 5.d1 and 2]

The core distribution is Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and to a lesser extent South Wales, except for 5.c where the emphasis is quite definitely on Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.

6. The Eastern Group. We begin with what is some senses a hybrid group, 6.a, which in one direction leads to some hinged-pin varieties and in the other to fully fledged Polden Hills. It is invidious to split them: they all have springs usually fitted into sections left for them in what are in effect solid wings. In one direction the gap gets smaller and smaller until the pin, now reduced to a piece of wire coiled hardly as much as two complete coils, is replaced by a proper hinged pin. In the other, the gap gets longer and longer until what had been a set of wings with a seam along the back showing that they had been closed round the axis bar, become merely a pair of hooks at the end of each wings performing the same function: 2107*. 6.b shows that the decorative elements on 6.a play a large part in the formation of the second.

In each, the brooches are divided the same way and the necessary parallels are drawn, so that 6.a1 is directly cognate with 6.b1 and, with a bit of luck, so on through the series until any new ones in 6.b are given extra suffix numbers.

There are two points of interest. Firstly, there is a group of Polden Hills and the typologically earlier forms which are specific to the east side of the country; secondly, they are uniformly much smaller than the equivalent brooches in the west of England.

6.a. We begin with the oldest general decorative element on the bow, the wavy ridge, and proceed through the main groups until those with plain bows are reached.

6.a1. Plate 51. The Wavy Ridge, in both it is double and

sunken. In neither does the catch-plate survive, it having been made of sheet metal and inserted in a slot in the bow. Both should have been made by the same craftsman.

57–9mm 2118 12010*

Dating: 2118 Scole, 100–175.

6.a2. Plate 51. The product of a definite workshop, the chief feature is the bow which has a sunken ridge, often beaded, with a concave face on each side. There is also a foot and there tends to be a bead and reel moulding at the end of the wing, although this can be reduced to a group of vertical ridges. All the surviving catchplates are solid.

42mm	12009
40mm	2110 2113 13555 13639
38mm	2111 11505* 11506–7 13477 13640
37mm	14535
36mm?	13638
33mm	2112
<30mm	2107*
unknown	2108 9841 11513

Dating: 2113 Scole, 100–175.

6.a3. Plate 51. A single ridge down the bow, 2135 2536 are the only ones definitely from a single workshop, the rest lack any close partner. Most have feet, all have solid catch-plates. 2121* is a more complete hybrid than most: behind the surviving wing is the tube for the axis bar moulded to look like a spring. The right hand wing is mainly lost but obviously had a spring and the chord passed through a piercing behind the head which, when viewed from the right appears to be a Harlow-like plate. 2114 had a separately-made sheet catch-plate inserted into a cut in the bow.

63mm	2114
53mm	2116
48mm	2125
46mm	2109* 2121*
44mm	2135 2536
unknown	2136 2119

Dating: 2536 Weekley, 25–mid 1st century.

6.a4. Plate 51. There is a pair of ridges down the middle of the bow. Both have unilateral springs set into wings which are moulded behind to look like the coils of springs. 2120*, had had its right-hand wing sawn off in antiquity and was repaired by drilling a hole through the stump for the end of the wire making up the spring.

63mm	2120*
42mm	9826*
unknown	2122

Dating: None as yet.

6.a5. Plate 51. Multiple mouldings down the bow. 2545* from South Cadbury is described in the report as a Polden Hill. It is found here on Plate 55 because it was taken to have a hinged pin before the last sorting of the Corpus.

58mm 2115* 2545* 13476

Dating: 2545* South Cadbury, c.45.

6.a6. Plate 51. These have elaborate mouldings or a division into three strands at the head or mouldings at variance with the vertical so far covered. More or less a holding category, it seems unlikely that this will develop into the varied elements which mark the much more numerous examples gathered under 6.b6. Strictly speaking, 2132* should not be here as it should have had a hinged pin, but the flaps used to hold the very short axis bar show that the brooch belongs to the same kind of experimental phase as the rest in 6.a. (2819*) is clearly the fully developed hinged-pin form of 2128 and is put under Hinged Pin Odd X1 there.

54mm 2132* (2819*)
34mm 2133*
unknown 2128

Dating: None as yet.

6.a7. Plate 52. These have the pseudo Colchester hook.

51mm 2123*
47mm 2130
31mm 2131
unknown 2129

Dating: None as yet.

6.a8. Plate 52. With plain bows, the wings are also usually plain. 2117 has a triangular piercing in its catch-plate, and the others, where they are well enough preserved, are solid. 11503 has an arris down the upper part of the bow and an applied moulding on each side of the head, which suits its location in Wiltshire. 13641* is here because it has a plain bow, but it also has a fantail foot and diagonal mouldings on the wings.

48mm 2117
43–4mm 2127* 7580
42mm 2134
35mm 2126
32mm 13641*
unknown 2124 11503 13630

Dating: 2117 Towcester, 50–75/100.

Distribution: KT 8 WILTS 8 ESSEX 35 BEDS/BUCKS 4 SWALES 1 SUFF 3 NORF 1222222222222222333378 CAMBS 7 NHANTS 333477888 LEICS 3368 LINCS 8 NOTTS 8 HUM-HAD W 6

There is what appears to be an axis running from Norfolk along the Nene Valley to Leicestershire. This is repeated in a more marked form in 6.b, and if the preponderance of 6.a2 were to be reduced in Norfolk the picture would adjust slightly. However, the hybrid form of 6.a probably originated in East Anglia and, although the division seems to have been quite arbitrary, it is noticeable that 6.a3 and 6.a7–a8 build up towards Durobrivae and there may be a general evolution with Durobrivae growing in importance: it is precisely in these “later” forms that the 6.b varieties favour that area.

6.b. The sprung pin is now a Polden Hill proper with fully formed pierced plates at the ends of the wings.

6.b1. Plate 52. Wavy ridge, obviously belonging to the same group as 6.a1. The catch-plate of 1674* has three circular holes and incised line decoration.

c.73mm 1674* 13425*
69mm 1659
57–8mm 12049*

Dating: 1659 Colchester, 50/55 – 60/1.

6.b2. Plate 52. Concave face on each side of head. This is the only example so far which forms a continuation of 6.a2 into the full Polden Hill form.

36mm 1653*

Dating: None as yet.

6.b3. Plate 52. A single ridge down the bow. 1656* 1670 were almost certainly made by the same craftsman.

51mm 13474
48mm 1655*
46mm 1648
42mm 9837
34mm 1671
33mm 1656* 1670
<30mm 1666 9855 13536
21mm 13871*
unknown 1651 12060 13490 13872

Dating: None as yet.

6.b4. Plate 52. Pair of ridges down the middle of the bow.

46mm 1665*
Undated

6.b5. Plate 52. Multiple mouldings down the bow. 1667–8* and 1690 have cross-cuts on each side, 1690 with the appearance of a hook as well.

50mm 6859
46mm 11509
36–7mm 1667 1668* 1690 13488
32mm 15391
unknown 1592

Dating: 1592 Tewkesbury, 160–200.

6.b6. As 6.a6, but these divide into two groups.

6.b6i. Plates 52–53. The first has elements which divide into three on the head, employ the diagonal markings on the wings already met with amongst the Rearhooks, as well as the lobe moulding with a rib down the middle. Here are two hinged-pin brooches whose designs show that they came from the same workshop as 1696–9 12947 13531 and demonstrate, as there is no group in the Hinged-Pin Brooches to which they could be assigned, that there are occasions when blind division along functional aspects alone is not advisable. What is certain is that these belong in a way to the other extreme of those found in 6.a: there is the seam across the back of the wings and the gap has been narrowed so that only a plain hinged-pin will fit.

A definite group is building up in which the single

tripartite lobe on the sides of the upper bow is the dominant feature either plain, 14538, or with beaded ridge and added lines on the head and a helical groove on each wing: 13875. The distribution of these is the East Midlands, Cambridgeshire into south Yorkshire. 13878 is here for, although there is only a beaded central ridge, the rest of the design conforms: its small size may have precluded the rest of the decoration. A yet smaller one, 13871, only 21mm long, from Thoroton, Notts, which has produced examples of the rest of the range, may also be from the same workshop, although allocated to 6.b3.

44–5mm	1699 13422 13880
42–3mm	1677 1691* 9761
40mm	1698 13531 13494 13875
39mm	14538
38mm	1678 1693 13493*
34–5mm	1692* 1696–7
<30mm	1694*
29mm	13878*
unknown	9857 12011 12947 13876–7

Dating: 13531 Castleford, 140–10.

6.b6ii. Plate 53. The second group is much more eclectic: 1684 has continuous bead and reel on bow and wings; 1695 the lobe with the median ridge; 13604 like 1695 with two lobes and plain wings, and the rest have what could be described as pairs of bubos.

44mm	1695* 11515
40mm	1634 1684* 13604
38mm	13478*
34mm	1635
unknown	1633 1640

Dating: None as yet.

6.b7. Plate 53. There is a pseudo Colchester hook.

45mm	1636*
43mm	1866
39mm	1582
unknown	13873–4

Dating: None as yet.

6.b8. Plate 53. Plain bows, the wings are still mainly plain, but with a tendency for some ornament.

44mm	1566 1611
42mm	1583
36mm	1567* 1612 1617
35mm	11514
unknown	9829 13879*

Dating: None as yet.

Distribution: DORS 1 WILTS 7 HERTS 78 SUFF 133 NORF 356666688 CAMBS 66666 NHANTS 233566666666788 GLOS 55 WARKS 36 HERE 356 LEICS 3356888 STAFFS 6 NOTTS 366666666666 Lincs 356 HUM-HAD W 66

The greatest number come from the Nene Valley, especially around Durobrivae, and those in Norfolk and Leicestershire suggest a trading axis.

7. Fluted Bow. There is a skeuomorph of the Colchester's hook which rises out of a wide flute down the bow. The flute narrows as the bow tapers to the foot, and on each side are one or two ridges. The catch-plate is pierced, usually by a triangle, but fretting is known.

7.a. Plate 53. These conform to the definition pure and simple. All surviving catch-plates are pierced, the holes ranging from framing, 1707, to small triangles or semicircles, 12063 and 1710.

a 1704 1706–8 1710 1712*–13 1716–19 12062–3 13475
e 1709 1711 11572

74mm	1717
68mm	1708
65mm	1718
61mm	1712*
58mm	12062
54–5mm	1705 1710 1714–5 13475
47–8mm	1706–1707
46mm	1716 12063
unknown	1704 1711 1713 1719 11512

Dating: 1715 Tewkesbury, 50–140; 1711 The Lunt, 64–70; 12063 Wilcote, 70–100/110; 1706 Nettleton, with 1st and 2nd century pottery; 1718 Alcester, late 2nd century?; 1717 Alcester, late 3rd century and later.

7.b. Plate 53. Here the bow tends to be square sided or have a flute down each side of a fundamentally square section. It is here that the one and only fretted catch-plate known to the writer falls (suffix f below). It is here that the fossil hook tends to become a slight extension of the real hook holding the chord, or even disappears from sight in the front view: 1700.

54mm	1702f*
48mm	1700
unknown	1701 1703 1708

Dating: 1700 Wall, c.55–70.

Distribution: HANTSb WILTSa OXONab GLOSaaaaaab NORF a NHANTS WARKS aaaaa LEICS a STAFFS b NOTTS a SALOP a SWALES a HUM-HAD W b

7.a belongs to Gloucestershire and Warwickshire and might represent a trading system using the Avon Valley. As for 7.b, it is too widely scattered for any firm conclusion to emerge.

8. Plate 53. The main series has short wings and a bow which is wide at the top tapering to a foot-knob. The chord of the spring passes through a pierced crest on the head of the bow which has a groove down each side, a small boss near the top and, under that, a series of marks or triangular cells for enamel. The other chief feature is the frequent occurrence of cuts in the middle part of each side of the bow. It is these, coupled with what is undoubtedly an early form (2101*) which shows that this either derives from an isolated sub-type of Headstud, or is the linear descendant of that (*vide* Chapter 4). It is the stud of that which devolves into the small boss. Other examples have a relic of the fossil hook of the Colchester and this as well

is a reflection of the elongated crests which are found on some of the cited Headstuds (*ibid.*).

All the examples are arranged by size, and attention is called here to some particular quirk belonging to individual specimens. Although there are variations, they are in truth slight and the whole of this type hangs together as a tightly knit entity. 2102*–3, both very small, have their studs modelled in the form of faces. All the surviving catch-plates are solid.

56mm	2100
52mm	13532
48–9mm	2080 2097–8 2104 11511
47mm	2088–9 2095 2105
44mm	2075 2082–3 2086 2087* 2094 2101* 2106 13551
42mm	2074 2076–7 2081* 2091 13462–3
40mm	2078 2093 2096 9824 12279
37mm	2090 2092
<30mm	2102*
unknown	2079 2084–5 2099 2103 9836 12050 13429 13464–5

Dating: 2104 Caerleon, with abundant Flavian pottery; 13462 Kingscote, late 1st–early 2nd century; 2100 Canterbury, 100/110–300/320; 2097 Dorchester-on-Thames, ?pre-Antonine; 13532 Castleford, 140–180; 13464 Kingscote, c.225–325; 2105 Alcester, 3rd century?; 2074 Shakenoak Farm probably late 3rd century; Wilcote, 300–60.

Distribution: KT aa HANTS a DORS aa WILTS aaaaa SOM aaaaaa SCILLY a HRTS a OXON aaaaaaaa GLOS aaaaaaaa NORF a SUFF a NHANTS a WORCS a WARKS a SWALES aa NOTTS a NWALES a YORKS a

Strongly represented in Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, it appears over the greater part of southern England.

9. All have mouldings running more or less the full length of the bow.

9.a. *Plate 53.* These are virtually the only ones with style a catch-plates and they range from the heavy fretting of 1625 to the simple triangle of 1652. Others occur here, but in particular contexts.

74–5mm	1625 1662
63mm	1660*
47–8mm	1647 1652 4486

Dating: 1662 Colchester, 49–c.65. There is no reason to suppose that any should be later than 75.

9.b. *Plate 53.* Here there is a border only on the bow, usually above the catch-plate alone. 1627 and 1645 have style a catch-plates, but the borders have priority here over those in 9.a.

55mm	1627
47mm	1644* 1645
43mm	13466*
40mm	1658
36mm	1628
unknown	1626 1646

Dating: 13466* Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40; 1627 Alcester, late 4th century.

9.c. *Plates 53–54.* A very small group which all, apparently, came from one manufacturer and which have occasionally such archaic features as the flange across the top of the catch-plate, suffix f below. Apart from that, the one feature which unites them is the moulding on the side which runs up from the foot and ends short of the head. One or two have a shorter version running down from the head, but not joining the other. The moulding on the side is occasionally found elsewhere (see 5650 in Chapter 4, Part 3, and 2128 in 6.a6 here).

44–5mm	13486f*
38–9mm	1679 1680 1681*

Dating: 1679 Tripontium, 2nd–3rd century?.

9.d. *Plate 54.* The rest with longitudinal mouldings, all those with enough catch-plate to tell have style d: solid.

66mm	1663
60mm	12054*
56mm	1661
50mm	1669
43mm	13438
38–9mm	1673
unknown	1649* 1650 1654 1664 1871 1873 13371

Dating: 1871 Metchley, 50–65/70; 12054* Leicester, late 1st–early 2nd century; 1650 Manchester, 160–earliest 3rd century.

9.e. *Plate 54.* Mainly those with some feature lying across the bow, and mainly in one place, from slight such as 2910 to bold like 1631. The latter has a pair, 13883.

53mm	1688
50mm	1629 12052 13883
47mm	1631*
44–5mm	1639*
42mm	2910
unknown	1672 1676

Dating: 1672 Nettleton, before 250.

Distribution: KT ab WILTS ccccc SOM c ESSEX aaa BEDS/BUCKS a OX acc GLOS aaaaabbbbcc NORF aaa NHANTS a LEICS aa WARKS abc WORCS aa SWALES abb LINC c STAFFS c HUM-HAD W aa

Oddments. These are loosely gathered and designated X. The first two have forward facing hooks and so are a kind of hybrid, but how closely this mirrors Colchesters still in use is unknowable.

X hybrid. *Plate 54.* The first has a style a catch-plate, the second consists of only the head and wings. The third is somewhat reminiscent of a group of brooches from the Cirencester area which employs the Harlow spring system (see Part 1 of this Chapter, Type 3.bd).

783* 13644 14853

X.1. *Plate 54.* The rest have extraordinary mouldings and

only those not knowingly published, or from excavations where publication is not likely, are illustrated here. No lengths are given. Most have lost their catch-plates, and those that survive are so far all solid.

1682* 1683 1685 1686 1687 1689 9823 9826 9828 13424* 13485* 13542

Dating: 13542 Castleford, 71/4–86; 1682 Wroxeter, 2nd and 3rd century.

X.2. Plate 54. Looking as though they ought to be easily assignable, neither is.

1638 2901*

Dating: 2901 Winchester, 43–140.

Colchester Derivatives Dregs, part 1. *Plate 54.* These are sprung pin brooches, but the method by which the spring was secured is uncertain. Several seem to have had forward facing hooks with absolutely no trace of there having been pierced plates at the ends of their wings. After / are the rest. The one not published is illustrated here: 13651*. 707 774–5 778 13651* / 236 6585 13932

Part 4. The Hinged Pin [CD H]

The pin is hinged. However, this ignores one group which appears to have imprisoned in it the last stages of an evolution from sprung pins to fully hinged ones, which here means that the head of the pin is pierced and mounted on an axis bar housed in the wings of the brooch. Nearly all of this transitional stage is found in Type 7.

Hinged-pin brooches were popular and there is perhaps a greater variety of ornamental types here than were to be found in the Harlow and the Rearhook forms of Colchester Derivatives. However, there is a fair mass which does not reduce itself to readily apparent sub-groups, and it will be treated in the same manner as were the Rearhooks: firstly on style of wing and, within that, on the style of the bow. All up to Type 6, the alphabetical designations will be the same as for the Rearhook.

1. The wings are completely moulded with bead and reel, the beads themselves usually beaded. Such wings are usually combined with bows moulded from top to bottom. There is a slight ambiguity when there is a very short stretch of plain wing next to the bow, in which case there has to be a minimum of two complete reels or beads so the plain section be hardly wider than a bead. Several sub-varieties occur and the chief ones are given below.

The catch-plates are divided according to their style: **a** = single openings or a large one divided in ways other than in 2; **b** = two openings consisting of a circle over a triangle; **c** = small circular holes; **d** = solid. Several have the wavy-line ridge produced by punching, either as a singleton or as a pair, and these are indicated below by the suffix w.

1.ax. Here is an example which fits no category here and, so sits outside classification. It is clearly derived from a

Rearhook whose wings and bow are fully moulded with bead and reel (see 8 Odd in Part 1 of this chapter). 15389

1.a. Plate 54. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Included here is the bow section which has concave sides, which count as borders for the purposes of the definition, leaving the centre which, by virtue of having a sunken or raised median ridge, becomes a triple moulding. 11540 has differential silvering. 2362 has all the proper layout on the upper bow, but it seems to run out before the break.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c 12964*

d 2469 2543 2470* 11540 11545 11547 11562 12969 13625

missing 2362? 2472–3 2537 9931 12967 13538

Dating: 2470* Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

67mm 2470*

55mm 11540

49mm 2537 12964* 13625

42mm 2469 11547 11562

38mm 11545 12969

30mm 2543

unsized 2362? 2472–3 9931 12967 13538

The range is fairly extensive, but 40–50mm is the most popular range.

1.b. Plate 54. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. The three so far recorded have lost most of the bow along with the catch-plate: 2641.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c none as yet

d none as yet

missing 2641* 12126 12968

Dating: None is dated.

unsized 2641 12126 12968

1.c. Plate 55. There is now a single ridge only down the middle either sunken or raised. 11565* and 13894 have mouldings running across the sides and a small projecting foot. Note: 2476–7 have the centre defined by a flute on each side, the second also having a small foot. Only the two of the same size from Lincolnshire (underlined) appear to belong to a single workshop and 12966 is not dissimilar. This also has a hollow defining a foot and an incised concave-sided lozenge across the bow (x below). 12008* has a wire pin wound round the axis bar and incised arcs down the sides of the bow and probably came from the same workshop as 2555, as both also having the same foot.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c none as yet

d 2476 2527 2541 2555 11565* 12966x 13894

missing 2280–1 2513 2526 11563x 12008x* 13426 13537 14531

Dating: 2555 Harlow temple, 120–200.

72mm	2476
58mm	2555
53mm	12008x*
50mm	2477
48mm	13894
45mm	11565*
37mm	2526 12966x
35mm	2513 <u>2527</u> <u>2541</u>
32mm	11563
unsized	2280–1 13426 13537

1.d. Plate 55. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. 2521 has a projecting foot. On the whole, there is nothing here to suggest that there is a coherent group.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 2521 2542 11541 11549*
- missing 2538 9923

Dating: 2542 East Retford, probably 2nd century.

60mm	9923
54mm	11549*
c.45mm	2542 11541
27mm	2521
unsized	2538

1.e. Four or more, vertical ridges, some of which may be beaded.

unknown 13631

1.f. Plate 55. A central flute usually with two mouldings on each side. 2531 and 2539 each have a slight foot. 2530–1 both come from the same workshop.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 2524* 2529 2530 2531 2539
- missing

Dating: 2531 Rempston, not after 250; 2539 Colchester, before 250–300.

50–2mm	2529–30
45mm	2539
40mm	2524* 2531
unsized	

1.g. Here the hook is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. 6283 is part of a monster which would have weighed in excess of 40gms. 2805* 2815 11535 11556* 12093 all have applied lobes with a central rib and all are from the east of England.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 2805* 2815 11556* 13892
- missing 6283 11535 12093 13520

Dating: 6283 Wroxeter baths, early 2nd century; 2805* Orton Hall Farm, after 375.

52mm	13892
45mm	2805*
40mm	2815
24mm	11556*
unsized	6283 13520

1.h. Plate 55. Has a broad front, either rounded or with an arris, and a border on each side. 2533* has an arris down the front and mouldings across its narrow foot, and comes from Cirencester. With 12110, from Shepton Mallet, the sheet used for the catch-plate was inserted into a cut in the bow, and its profile shows that it belongs to the deep South West.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 2533* 12110
- e missing 2276

Dating: None is dated.

67mm	12110
50mm	2533*
missing	2276

1.i. Plate 55. Completely plain bow. 2574* has an incised V on its head as well as a style a catch-plate and a groove across the foot.

- a 2574*
- d 13896–7

Dating: None as yet.

79mm	2574*
35mm	13897
33mm	13896

Distribution: KT a HANTS f DORS a SOM h DEV d ESSEX cf HERTS c BEDS/BUCKS a EA g SUFF cdg NORF aaaaaaaaaabccccdddggi CAMBS bcccdgg NHANTS abccd GLOS h WARKS b LINC acccceefferi NOTTS adfi SALOP g

The distribution of 1.a is enough at this stage to show that the principles applied to subdividing the Rearhook appear to have paid off here as 1.a is firmly based in Norfolk. Those belonging to 1.b are scattered; 1.c, 1.d and 1.f are disparate groups, but cling to the eastern side of England; an example of 1.d lies in Devon.

2. These have wavy ridges amongst the mouldings. There are not enough to divide between the several categories, and so to retain all of them in case others appear is a shade ambitious. Therefore, they are reduced to those which are most relevant.

2.b. Plate 55. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. 2519 and 9764 have a wavy ridge inset into each side as well, all having wavy ridges down the front.

- a none as yet
- b none as yet
- c none as yet
- d 2479 11538*

missing 2519 9764

64mm 2479

52mm 2519

45mm 11538*

unsized

Dating: None as yet.

2.d. Plate 55. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle or on the wing, if not on both. 2520 is here because there is a pair down the bow, even if there is a plain ridge between each part.

There is a case for abandoning this category all together. However, there is a strong possibility that the use of wavy ridges derives from the Colchester and is a mark of a relatively early date. A mark of this would be a variety of catch-plate styles, with a being strongly represented, but there are not enough specimens for any comment to be valid. On the other hand, most are from Norfolk where the use of this ornament was well represented on Rearhooks (see Part 2). Although slightly distorted, 2520 seems to have the well rounded profile of brooches belonging to the deep South West.

a 2820

b none as yet

c none as yet

d 2520 2522 2523* 13900

missing 2471

60mm 2523*

66mm 2820

46mm 13900

35mm 2522

unsized 2471

Dating: 2820 Ashill, Claudian-Neronian; 2523* Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Distribution: DORS d NORF b d d d d LINCS b d NOTTS b

Most are from Norfolk, possibly due to the bias in collecting for the Corpus.

3. The wings are sometimes completely moulded with patterns other than those in 1 but are usually only partly moulded and these are often with a single bead and reel. The distributions are after 3.k.

3.a. Plate 55. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Again, those with concave sides have been included. 2474*-5 are from the same workshop. 12078* is more elaborate than usual: it has diagonal markings on the wings (suffix \ below), the bow has a wavy ridge down the middle (suffix w below) and a series of cross-mouldings at the bottom.

2918 from g.388 in the King Harry Lane cemetery is of iron. Its extraordinary size is to some extent matched by the Colchesters. It shows that, although hinged brooches are distinctly unusual at the date of deposition (for the dating of the cemetery, see Appendix 1), there was no hindrance to their being made save perhaps custom.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c 12121

d 2474* 2475 2514 2544 11561 12078w* 12963 13549 13582 13598–9 13633

missing 2478 2918 12113 12963 13507 13519 13579

Dating: 2918 King Harry Lane, before 40/45; 13549 Dorchester, 120–150.

126mm 2918

59mm 13633

56–7mm 2514 11561 13582

47–8mm 13549

45mm 2474* 2475 12078w*

43mm 13598

40mm 12963

32mm 13599

unsized 2478 12113 13507 13519 13579

No sense of deliberate sizing emerges from these, but much depends on cumulative evidence from a series of varieties and sub-varieties.

3.b. Plate 56. The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. The presence of two more styles of catch-plate other than d, the solid one, might suggest that this group goes back into the first two decades of the Roman occupation. 12121 has a flat front with two grooves giving the appearance of three strong ridges.

a 2489

b none as yet

c 2517* 2534

d 2532*

missing 2499 2544 13504 13899

65mm 2489

60mm? 13504

52mm 2544

48mm 2499 2517* 2532* 2534 12121

45mm 13899

unsized

Dating: 2489 Richborough, before 85; 2534 Bancroft villa, late 1st–late 2nd century.

3.c. Plate 56. There is now only a single ridge down the middle either sunken or raised. 2275* has the central ridge moulded in precisely the same way as 806, the Rearhook assigned to sub-type 1.b there. It is so distinctive that one wonders whether the same craftsman was involved. If so, it shows that he and probably others were not wedded to a single system for mounting the pin. 12123 has close vertical ridges all along the wings as well as a bead and two reels on the foot of the bow; and 12109 has two small cross-mouldings on the foot as well as decoration on the catch-plate return. 12080* has a lenticular boss on each side of the head as well as a decorated foot.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c none as yet

d 2443–4 2455w 2458w 2460 2480* 2487 2492 2496? 12080* 12109 12123 12965 13601

missing 2275* 2508 9886 9922 11517 12128 12961 13602 13624

Dating: 2455, 2458 Hod Hill, before 50; 2460 Nettleton, later

1st–early 2nd century; **2496** Manchester, Flavian-Trajanic or 2nd century; **13601** Hacheston, mid 2nd and 3rd century.

68mm	2480*
63mm	13601
60mm	2496
56mm	2444
52mm	2458w 12109
48mm	2487
45mm	2455w 2460
40mm	2326 2443 2492 12123
36mm	12080*
33mm	12965
unsized	2275* 2508 11517 12128 12961

3.d. Plate 56. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. On 2501 the two mouldings divide at the very top as though on either side of a hook, but this is not quite enough to move this item to sub-type 3.h. 2510* has wavy ridges.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	2510w*
d	2501 2511
missing	
63mm	2511
55mm	2510w*
50mm	2501
unsized	

Dating: None as yet.

3.e. Four or more vertical ridges, some of which may be beaded. None so far that cannot be assigned to a specific group below, except for this one which only has them on the head. No date.

Missing 13612

3f. Plate 56. A central flute usually with two, occasionally three, mouldings on each side, one sometimes beaded. The mouldings on the foot of 2639 are unusual.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	2488 2490 2639* 2816 11558*
missing	
65mm	2488
54mm	2816
40mm	2639*
38mm	2490
<30mm	11558*
unsized	

Dating: 2488 Hod Hill, before 50; 2490 Nanstallon, 70–80; 2816 Gussage All Saints, abandoned 50–75.

3.g. Plate 56. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings. All three have lost the foot of the bow.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet

c	none as yet
d	none as yet
missing	11559*
unsized	11559*

Dating: None as yet.

3.h. Plate 56. Here there is a ridge run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. 2554* has knurled knobs and a moulded foot as well as the concave-sided incised lozenge on the bow (x), 2556 has an incised pattern which reserves a strip down the middle taken to represent the hook here. 2810 has mouldings across the sides of the bow. 2821* has incised arcs on each side. 13635* is a monster and with a small cast-on loop on its head, omitted from the measurement.

2290 2294–5 and 2554* form a proper group based in the South West.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	2572
d	2273 2287 2540 2554x* 2556 2821* 13521 13603 13635*
missing	2274 2279 2290 2294–5 2466 2810 9883 9937

33mm	13521
70mm	2287
65mm	2290 2572
62mm	13635*
54mm	2821 *
47mm	2273
45mm	2540 2554x* 2556 13603
42mm	2294–5
unsized	2274 2279 2290 2294–5 2466 2810 9883 9937

Dating: 2273 Scole, c.100–160/170; 2294 Gussage all Sts before 50–75; 2821* Tripontium, Flavian?

3.i. Plate 56. Broad rounded front with a border on each side.

Missing catch-plate 2485*

Dating: 2485 Colchester, c.100.

3.j. None to date, January 2009.

3.k. Plate 56. Completely plain bow, 2266 and 2268 each having a projecting foot, 12077 a concave-sided lozenge incised across the bow (suffix x below), 13552 13592* a median arris, the latter having chamfers in effect, and 13628 a moulding in an arc across the top of the head.

a	13902
d	2278 2268 2270 2277 2326 12077 13552 13592*
missing	2266 12095 13628
68mm	2278
60mm	2268
52mm	2270 13902
46mm	12077
44mm	2266 2326
38mm	13592*
unsized	12095

Dating: 13552 Dorchester, 150–170.

Distribution: KT bk HANTS bk DORS acccfffhkk
WILTS acccehhhk SOM achh DEV adfhh SCILLY
chkk ESSEX i HERTS h BEDS/BUCKS bd GLOS ah
SUFF aacchk NORF aaaaaabcccccfghhkkkk CAMBS
abcchhhhh NHANTS bchhh WARKS bbh WALES ab
LINCS aacdfhk NOTTS bc DERBS c LANCS c

The tendency for the South West to prefer hinged types is beginning to show amongst these generalised forms.

4. The wings are plain apart from a single moulding, sometimes sunken, at the end.

4.a. *Plate 56.* The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Distributions after 4.k.

d 12977

missing 2467*

45mm 12977

36mm 2467

Dating: None as yet.

4.b. *Plate 57.* The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. 12130* has beaded diagonal mouldings on the wings (suffix \ below). Distributions after 4.k.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c 2454 12994

d 2483 2500 2516 12130* 13550 13909

missing 13912

65mm 12130*

62mm 2454

58mm 13912

55mm 2516

48mm 2483 13550

41mm 1390

unsized 2500 12994

Dating: 2483 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 13550 Dorchester, 75–120.

4.c. *Plate 57.* There is now a single ridge only down the middle either sunken or raised. Those with diagonal marks on the wings are indicated by \, all come from East Anglia. Distributions after 4.k.

2552 has a series of cross-cuts down the bow rather than a formal ridge. Although the head of 2448 is missing, it is obviously from the same workshop as 2449 and 2551, all having a hollowed back of the bow. 12012 has a wire pin wound round the axis bar. 13613, with the cross-mouldings on its head and the flattened bow on which there is not so much a ridge as two grooves, may owe something to the Langton Down (see Chapter 2, Part 2). Here is to be found the quite extraordinary 2438*, a brooch with one catch-plate but two bows and heads.

a 2441* 2552 12116

b none as yet

c 2440* 2448

d 2438* 2445 2452 2456–7 2462 2482 2484 2493 2505 2509 2518* 2551 9909 12114 12129 12973 13600\ 13908

missing 2298 2439\ 2446 2449 2459 2461 2464–5 2503 2553 9904 11568 12012 12118 12119* 12972 13613

74mm 12119*

66mm 2440* 2441*

58mm 12118

55mm 2551–2

48mm 2482 2484 9909 12129? 13600

46mm 2438* 2445 2452 2505

42.5mm 2462 2509 9930

42mm 13908

c.40mm 2438*

37mm 12114

34–5mm 2456–7

32mm 2459 2493

<30mm 2518*

unsized 2298 2446 2448–9 2461 2464–5 2503 2553 9904 11568 12012 12116 12972 13613

Dating: 2441* Cirencester, 50–85/110; 2503 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 2449 Exeter, Hadrianic–early Antonine; 2552 Neatham, early 3rd century; 2456 Tripontium, into 3rd century; 2448 Exeter, early–mid 3rd century.

4.d. *Plate 57.* Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. In reality, the double mouldings in the middle of 2481 taper into a single one, which then runs to the foot. On 13906, the ridges are stopped about halfway down. Distributions after 4.k.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c none as yet

d 2481 2826* 9763 12321 13906*

missing 9924 14532

70mm 12321

58mm 2826*

45mm 9763

37mm 13906*

32mm 12973

<30mm 2481

unsized 9924 14532

Dating: None as yet.

4.e. *Plate 57.* Four or more vertical ridges some of which may be beaded. Distributions after 4.k.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c none as yet

d 13907

Dating: None as yet.

41mm 13907

4.f. *Plate 57.* A central flute usually with two mouldings on each side, one sometimes beaded, occasionally three. 13627 has a flute but no bordering ridges. Distributions after 4.k.

a none as yet

b none as yet

c none as yet

d 2559 12081* 12320 13913*

missing 13627

44mm 12320
41mm 13913*
37mm 12081*
33mm 2559
unsized 13627

Dating: None as yet.

4.g. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the top, and the other two curve away towards the wings. None has come to the notice of the writer.

4.h. *Plate 57.* Here a ridge is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. 2563* actually has three cross-cut ridges, a foot-knob under three cross-mouldings as well as diagonal marks on the wings (suffix \). 12975 has a foot-knob. 2380 has three ridges instead of the single one. Distributions after 4.k.

a none as yet
b none as yet
c none as yet
d 2283 2284* 2380 2573 12975
missing 2563* 14530

66mm 2573
46mm 2563\
41–2mm 2283 12975
39mm 2284*
32mm 2380

Dating: None as yet.

4.i. *Plate 57.* This has a broad rounded front with a border on each side. 2512* has a small projecting foot, 2557 a two-part foot-knob. Distributions after 4.k.

a none as yet
b none as yet
c none as yet
d 2512* 2557 9892
missing 9918 9935
45mm 2512* 2557
c.33mm 9892

Dating: None as yet.

4.k. *Plates 57–58.* Completely plain bow; 2260–1 2264–5* 2267 13622 13901 and 13910 have a small foot-knob and 9921 and 13901 unusual profiles at the foot. The suffix \ indicates diagonal marks on the wings. 2254* is the common form without a foot-knob, and 2265* will stand for those with one.

a none as yet
b none as yet
c none as yet
d 2254* 2258 2260–1 2264 2265* 2267\ 9895 9921 11543–4 12074 12978 13581 13584 13622\ 13898 13901\ 13910
missing 2259 2263 3868\ 13491\ 13904
70mm 2267\
50mm 13491\
47mm 2264
45mm 2260–1 2263 2265* 12978 13904

44mm 13910
41mm 9895
38mm 2258
36mm 2254*
34mm 3868\ 9921 12074
33mm 13898
31mm 11543–4 13581 13584 13622\
30mm 13901
unsized 2259

Dating: 2260 Tripontium, 2nd century; 2258 Old Winteringham, 3rd century.

Distribution: KT g HANTS cc DORS bbc WILTS ckk SOM bc DEV bccc ESSEX cg HERTS cc GLOS bcccckk SUFF cccd NORF abccccddffhkkkkkkkkk CAMBS cdk NHANTS cccciik LEICS abcccg WARKS bccck LINCS bbbcccccccfgikkk NOTTS ccccdhiikkkk DERBS k YORKS dfk WALES c

4.c. is popular in East Midlands, as is 4.k, although there are signs of a group in Gloucestershire-Wiltshire for that as well.

5. The wings are completely plain.

5.a. The bow has a border and triple element down the middle, the middle one frequently beaded. Only one definitely known so far, and that has lost its catch-plate and has no date. 13911, had it been better preserved, would almost certainly have qualified as well. Distributions after 5.k.

65mm 2515
unsized 13911

Dating: None as yet.

5.b. *Plate 58.* The central element has been reduced to one which can be beaded. 2494 has a foot, and although the head is missing, the bow design is the same as that on 2486*. Distributions after 5.k.

a none as yet
b none as yet
c none as yet
d 2486* 2494–5
missing

71mm 13863
52mm 2495
40mm 2486*
unsized 2494

Dating: None as yet.

5.c. *Plate 58.* There is now a single ridge only, down the middle either sunken or raised. 2339 and 2491 have diagonal markings on the wings (suffix \). 2339 has a ridge round the junction of the bow with the wings. 12111 has a wavy ridge down the front (suffix w below). Distributions after 5.k.

a 12120
b none as yet
c 2442*
d 2339\ 2447 2450 2453 2502* 9930 12127
missing 2451 2491\ 11534 12111w 13905

54mm	2442* 2447 2502*
48mm	2450
43mm	9930
41mm	12127
36mm	2453
34mm	2339\
unsized	2451 2491\ 11534 12111w 12120 13905

Dating: None as yet.

5.d. Here there is a pair of ridges or elements down the middle. These belong to specific South Western types covered under Type 10.

5.e. Four or more vertical ridges some of which may be beaded. These belong to specific South Western types covered under Type 10.

5.f. Plate 58. A central flute usually with two mouldings, occasionally three, on each side, one sometimes beaded. Two of these are in iron (suffix f below). Distributions after 5.k.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	2506f
missing	15458f 11536* 12124 12970
38mm	2506f
unsized	15458f 11536* 12124 12970

Dating: 2506f High Cross, Leics, 2nd century.

5.g. The design of the bow divides into three at the top. The centre element runs up to the pseudo hook, and the other two curve away towards the wings.

5.h. Plate 58. Here the ridge is run down the upper bow to simulate the hook of the Colchester. 2285 has a two-part foot-knob. Distributions after 5.k.

a	none as yet
b	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	2285 2297*
missing	2288–9 2385 9920
52mm	2285
32mm	2297*
unsized	2288–9 2385 9920

Dating: None as yet.

5.i. Plate 58. This has a broad front, rounded or with an aris, with a border on each side. 2497* has a projecting foot. Distributions after 5.k.

d	2498* 2497* 12122 13629
missing	12115
56mm	12115
48mm	2498* 12122
45mm	2497*
34–5mm	13629

Dating: None as yet.

5.k. Plate 58. Completely plain bow. There is a very slight

foot on 2252 which also has a very “Dolphin” style head. 11542* is in iron, as is 2253. 2262 has two grooves across its foot. 2436 has been removed from Type 7 as there is no adequate parallel for it yet, and the foot is missing. 2245 2250 13528 13577 have arrises down the bow. 6864, 6869, 6872 and 9893 are made of iron.

a	2242 2244 2246
b	none as yet
c	12073 12074 13577
d	2232 2233 2234 2237 2238* 2239 2247–8 2252 2256 2257 2262 6864 6869 9893 9933 12070 12974 12976 13903 13492 13528 13593
missing	2231 2235* 2240–1 2243 2245 2250 2251* 2253 2436 6872 11542* 12072 12975

The sizing given below excludes the three iron examples.

80mm	11542*
68mm	2232
62mm	2246 13528
60mm	2252
58mm	2234 2262 13577
51–2mm	12070 12075
50mm	2237 2244 2248
47mm	13492
45mm	2233 2235* 2238* 9933 13593
42mm	2242 2256
39mm	2239 2257
37mm	13903
33mm	12072 12974 12976
<30mm	12073
unsized	2231 2240–1 2243 2245 2247 2250 2251* 2253

Dating: 2253 King Harry Lane, iron, Phase 2; 2256 Goltho, 50–100; 12073 Lincoln, probably Neronian-Flavian; 12974 Broxtowe, before 75; 2247 2248 Worcester, 120–240; 2436 Stonea, after 140–400; 12075 Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century; 13528 Wall, early 3rd century; 6872 Baldock, iron, 4th century.

Distribution: KT hk HERTS kkk DORS k WILTS kk SOM aacchk DEV ack CORN k SCILLY ck BEDS/BUCKS f OXON b GLOS kkk SUFF kk NORF bccffhkkoo CAMBS bhkkkk NHANTS bhik LEICS ccfiikk WARKS kk WORCS kkkk LINGS bccikkkk NOTTS cchkkk STAFFS k SALOP k WALES ck SCOT k

5.k appears everywhere, but not in such numbers to suggest that it was ever manufactured as the cheapest in the range of Colchester Derivatives.

6. The Nene Group. Plates 58–59. Firstly, a justification for the name: the chief area covered by the type can be seen in its distribution. Its chief axis is from Norfolk to Leicester. The chief unifying feature here is actually the River Nene, which flowed south of Whittlesey in the Roman period and so led more directly to Norfolk than the altered course of the river might suggest. The real unifying feature at this end of the distribution would have been the Fen Causeway, which does not have an obvious extension west of Peterborough; therefore the river is the longer means of access.

The type can only be defined as the range of designs produced by combining a very limited range of motifs. There is one other feature which unites the family and that is the change from a pin which was wound round the axis bar housed in the wings of the bow, forming at best a unilateral spring, to a proper hinged pin. The motifs are listed below and then the combinations are given with the examples. In this way it should be possible to see which were the most common and also to see if there was any switch in the distribution according to the particular combination under review. However, the two features which are common to them all are not given in the list: the foot-knob, essentially a frustum of a cone with a narrow cross-moulding above, and occasionally three mouldings or the fantail foot. The wings always end in a simple moulding, or rather, where the writer has seen the brooch and the wing is complete, this is the case: it is only on published drawings that this feature appears to be missing which suggests that it was not noticed.

- a foot-knob
- b fantail foot
- c triangle
- d beaded ridge, narrow
- e beaded ridge, broad
- f lugs

The first two, **a** and **b** need no explanation. The triangle, **c**, lies at the head of the bow and is curved in section and bordered by a groove usually with cross borders. The beaded ridge occurs on the upper part of the bow, in the first instance, **d**, on a bow which tapers to the foot. In the second, **e**, it lies on a panel on the upper bow which tapers outwards towards the foot and has a step back to the lower bow. The lugs, **f**, appear at present only on one brooch, 2387* (Plate 59), each having a dot-and-circle, and the bow a triangle mounted on a broad panel with a lug on each side. Groups of three dot-and-circles are found on the fantail foot. Now follows the common groupings of these motifs.

ac	2255 2388–9 2390–6 2397* 2398–9 2400–9 6300 12132–3 13591 13496–7 13591 13611 13917 14846* 14867
56–7mm	2397* 2399 (2403?) 2405
50mm	(2250 2390 2396) 2398 2401 (2432) 12133
44mm	2409
42mm	12132
37.5–9mm	2388 2395 2402 2404 (2406) 2408 6300 1349736mm 13496
35mm	2400
31–2mm	13591 13611 14847
27mm	2389 2391 (2392) 2394 2407
25mm	14846*
unsized	2393
bc	2410–4 9934 11560* 12976 13498–9 13614–7
33–4mm	2410–4 9934 11560* 13498
unsized	12976 13499 13914–7
ae	2415–6 2417* 9888
36mm	2415–6 2417*
unsized	9888

ad	2296* 2418–2423 2424* 2425–2435 9885 9887 9889 9891 9903 9917 9936 13918–9 14830
48mm	2424* 2427 9917
45–6mm	2419 (2420) 2421–3 2425 9891
42–3mm	2418 2430 2433 (2434) 9885 9936 14830
34–5mm	2296* 2426 2429 2435?
unsized	2428 2431 2434 9887 9889 9903
acf	2387*
35mm	2387*

There is one brooch which may belong to this family but lacks any feature other than the standard wing and foot-knob.

2437*

44mm 2437*

What the sizing shows is that there were standard sizes, not all derived from using castings as new patterns, and that the sizes were independent of any outside standard, but were largely consistent within which ever particular combination was being made.

Dating: 2416 Bannaventa, late 1st–early 2nd century; 2427 Weekley, late 1st century–c.175; 2425 Rocester, 125–50; 2388–9 Verulamium, before 150; 6300 Wroxeter, up to c.160; 2405 Derby, Antonine; 2415 Leicester, before 220; 2426 Stonea, after 220; 2406 Derby, probably 3rd–4th century; 2434 Higham Ferrers, after 3rd century?; 2420 Derby, 4th century; 2394 Bancroft villa, mid 4th–early 5th century; 2414 Stantonbury, late 4th century; 2433 Chichester, late 4th century or later.

Distribution: SUSS d WILTS bd HERTS cccb BEDS/BUCKS cb SUFF cc NORF ccbb CAMBS cccccccbbbedddddd NHANTS cccccccbbeedddddddddd LEICS cxedddddd WARKS ccc LINGS ccbd NOTTS cbbddddd DERBS cccd STAFFS d SALOP c

The core distribution is Norfolk/Hertfordshire/Cambridgeshire/Northamptonshire/Leicestershire, but examples have been found as far away as Shropshire and Sussex.

At the end of Part 2 and called The Rest (X in the database) mention was made of a brooch from Norfolk found in 2008 (information from Andrew Rogerson) which has a simulated spring behind its wings with a slot for a pin with a unilateral spring. This, as has been noted, occurs on the present type. The Norfolk brooch is specifically of the sub-type 6.ad above. It is as well to draw attention here to those other features of Type 6 which are relatively commonly found amongst Rearhooks: 6.b, the fantail foot and 6.e, the broad upper bow tapering outwards towards the foot. The real dating of the earliest stages of this and the next type, as discussed in Chapter 11, may be an inception date of c.60/65.

7. Fantail Foot. The origin is almost certainly, in light of the new find from Norfolk mentioned above, the fantail Rearhook family (see Part 2, Type 7, and above), effectively dead by 60/65, and most must be earlier than members of this group. The distribution of 7.a1 and 7.a2 bears this out: cf. 15389 in 1.ax, which has a fully bead and reel bow

and is altogether too elaborate to be assigned to Type 7. There is an early and a developed stage, respectively 7.a and 7.b here. Both are characterised by a fantail foot, and each is further defined below. One feature is the change in the way in which the pin was mounted. Some have what may be called a hybrid system which has a wide slot behind the head in which the wire from which the pin was made was wound round the axis bar, a short version of a unilateral spring. The others have the standard hinged pin in which the head of the pin is pierced to take the axis bar. The former should be not only typologically earlier but also chronologically so, the whole family lasting into a time when the latter form of pin was typical.

The fantail foot with triangular cells for enamel is also found occasionally on sub-type 4.1a of hinged-pin Trumpets (Chapter 5, Part 3), and there is a similarity in the form of the head. The two are kept separate, for there is a reasonable origin for the present design which cannot suit the Trumpet form. That both have the same basic time span and were also made in the same general area would account for similarities despite origins.

7.a1. Plate 59. The bow is narrow and moulded in bead and reel, the lower end frequently running as a tapering edge across the foot to end at a point at the bottom edge. The wings may end in a boss rising from a basal moulding, 2837, or two reels, 11550*, but can be provided with a single moulding. The brooches belonging to this group are taken to be the precursors of the more common type forming 8.b. Some have diagonal markings on their wings (suffix \ below). 11566 has three dot-and-circle motifs on the fantail and no tapering ridge. 11550* has a swollen head, above three cross-mouldings, on which there is an incised concave-sided lozenge.

40mm	2842 9911
32.5mm	11550* 11566 13888
29–30mm	2837–8\ 2839*\ 2840* 2841 11529\
unknown	13632

Dating: None as yet.

7.a2. Plate 59. These could be called transitional, with the development of the sharp change between the bottom of the bow and the fantail foot which is so characteristic of those making up 8.b below. To some extent it is 13886 which points the way, whose beaded decoration and the lack of the sweep out to the ends of the wings shows its place.

37mm	13886
36mm	2843
35mm	13887
33mm	2850
32mm	14534
31mm	2851 12155*
28mm	11553

Dating: 13886 Dragonby, later 1st into 2nd century; 2843 Chew, 2nd century or later.

7.a3. Plate 59. These are, in effect, the last elements of

7.a and there is no single design which covers them all. 2876 has a plain bow with a circular section and possibly a plain foot: the published drawing is unclear and there is no description. The next two are less similar. 2853* has a fantail foot inset with enamel, but with no differentiation between the bow and the foot and a skeuomorph of the Colchester's hook, and 6114 which has a great upstanding ridge in the bow and what may have been an enamelled foot, but the published drawing is poor and there is no description.

48mm	2853*
47mm	6114
45mm	2876

Dating: 2853 Waddon Hill, c.50–60.

7.b. The top of the bow sweeps out to form the front of the wings and these are finished with ridges. The fantail foot is enamelled, except for the first, and the type is divided according to pattern style of the enamel decoration, the first one having a plain face. There is always a cast-on loop.

7.b1. The bow has two grooves down and maybe a cross-moulding at the bottom. The fantail foot has a groove across the bottom.

46mm	2863*
36mm	2849

Dating: 2863* Old Winteringham, 3rd century.

7.b2. Plate 59. The fantail has three triangular cells arranged 1 and 2 to form a larger triangle. 2855 has circular-sectioned wings and should therefore be typologically early. 2857 has walked-scorper decoration round the fantail. 12324 has an extra triangular cell in the middle.

43mm	2854
41mm	2855 9910 12154*
37mm	2857
35mm	12324
unknown	9874 13544

Dating: 13544 Castleford, 85/90–135/40 and another not illustrated in report 85/90–135/40; 2857 Harlow Temple, before 175/200.

7.b3. Plate 59. The common type has, reserved in the enamel, a pelta hanging from a lozenge which is frequently itself filled with enamel. 2859 is unusual in having three marked cross-mouldings under the bow and a minimal sweep out at the top to the wings and is in that respect close to 7.a2. 9926 has only the pelta and 9899 probably belongs to this group, the proper form of the decoration not having been recognized.

50mm	2859 2868
45mm	2866* 2869
42–3mm	9871 9875 12323 13545
40–1mm	2856 2860 2864–5 2867 2871 2873 9876 9899
	12992–3
37mm	2858 13501 13546
32mm	13502
<30mm	2861*
unsized	2877 9907 9912 9926

Dating: 2858 Richborough, earlier 2nd century; 13545 Castleford, 2 examples, 140–180; 2867 Tripontium, 3rd century; 2873 Thistleton, 4th century.

7.b4. Plate 59. Here are the rest of the enamelled examples, but with different designs. 2872 has two strips of triangles leaving a row of reserved lozenges between down the centre. 2862* has an open pelta at the top with beneath two triangles whose upper surfaces are concave and form a cusp at the top. 2870 is poorly illustrated and looks as though it may have been a more complex version of the last. Here also are the brooches which have lost their fantails. 2875 has a line of overlapping scales down the middle. 2874 is normal. 13586 has lost the bow, but the moulding at its base survives, the foot having a reserved strip which is a kind of unequal lozenge.

44–5mm 2872* 13543

40mm 2862*

unsized 2870 2874–5 13553 13586

Dating: 13543 Castleford, 71/4–86; 2862* Rudston, after late 2nd century.

Distribution: KT b2b3 HANTS b3b3 DORS a1a3 WESSEX b3 WILTS b2b2 SOM a2 ESSEX a1b2 BEDS/BERKS b4 BERKS b3 SUFF a1a2b3b4 NORF a1a1a1a2a 2a2a3a3a3b1b3b3b4b4b4 CAMBS b3b3b3b3 NHANTS a1a1b2b3b3 LEICS a1a3b3 WARKS b3 Lincs a1a1 a2a2b1b3b3b3b3b3b3b4 NOTTS a1b2b3b3 YKS b2b2b2b3b3b3b3b4b4 NORTH a3b3b4

This is interesting: allowing for the collecting bias which emphasises those from Norfolk, the centre of manufacture is likely to be in Lincolnshire, with the spread of sub-types, and water-borne traffic would account for the penetration up the Trent and round the Wash.

The dating of the beginning of Type 7 may have been the same as that suggested for Type 6.

8. The Bead and Reel. The name is self-evident, if the presence on the bow to some degree or other is the chief feature. However, the extent to which this can occur and where, coupled with the style of the wings, can lead to the proliferation of a host of sub-varieties which would lead to questioning whether such division is useful. The criterion adopted here is how much and where does the defining ornament occur. All the catch-plates which survive in good enough condition to determine the matter are solid. The bead and reel decoration surely derives from its fairly frequent use on the Rearhook and the many examples of the present type from Norfolk bear this out.

8.a. Plate 59. Bead and reel all along the bow, sometimes reserving an area for separate treatment at the very top.

Completely bead and reel wings and bow: 12089*

Only the top of the bow reserved: 2648* 11897 13594

Some restriction on the wings: 2649–51 2660*

8.b. Plate 60. The upper bow has bead and reel, the lower usually has a median arris. The pin of 2825 has a bent top

to engage under the bow when depressed. 13590 has a very prominent foot-knob.

The wings are completely moulded: 2652* 13616

Partly moulded wings: 2653–6 2658* 2663 2825 9905 9927 11555 12962 13590 13597 13623

Plain wings or with only a single ridge at the end: 2659 2664 9884 11552* 12092 13596

8.c. Plate 60. The lower bow has the bead and reel moulding.

The wings are completely moulded with bead and reel: 13606

The wings have a ridge at the end: 2661* 2662

8.d. Plate 60. Oddities: the only two to date, with a sunken bead-row down the middle and the reels single mouldings between wide beads: 2528 2813*

Fragments = X in the database. These have all lost the lower bow: 2657 11554 12094 13495 13585 13595 13893

Sizes

56mm 2813*

52–3mm 2648* 12089*

50mm 2652* 2658* 2825

c.47.5mm 2528

43–5mm 2650–1 2660* 2661* 9905 9927 11552* 11555 12962 13606

38–40mm 2655–6 2659 2662–3 9884 11897 12092 13594 13623

33mm 13596

30mm 13590

24mm 13597

unsized 2649 2653–4 2657 2664 11554 12094 13495 13585 13595 13616

It does not look as though any one of the sub-divisions has exclusive rights to any particular size.

Dating: 2652 Ringstead, late 1st–early 2nd century; 2659 Maxey, late 1st–late 2nd century; 2813* Old Winteringham, before 200.

Distribution: SUFF abbbbx NORF aaabbbbbbcbccxxx CAMB bbbxx NHTS abbx LEIC abb NTTS b Lincs accd NORTH d

It should be no coincidence that it is the east-west axis from Norfolk to the western edge of the Fens which dominates. In this instance it is possible to argue that it was as much water transport as the Fen Causeway which disseminated these products. It looks as though Norfolk is again the home, and it would perhaps be pertinent to ask what particular trade carried things like brooches piggyback as it were.

9. East Midlands Enamelled. All have cells for enamel cut straight through the top of the bow to form a series mainly on the upper bow. That enamel was used in these slots is shown by those (suffix e below) which still retain traces, usually red, although traces of alternating colours are known, 2666 2672 12090*.

The wings are uniformly plain or have a single ridge at

the end. The feet are variously treated, but occur only on the more elaborate and so need not form a determining feature in the sub-varieties defined below. All catch-plates are solid.

9.a. Plate 60. Reminiscent of Type 8. The others have the same kind of decoration on the head as those in 8.a. 2675 has two widely spaced slots above some cross-grooving and under that are some scallops, the whole series possibly recalling 8.a. 2665* was described as having a rearward-facing hook, in other words it belongs to the Rearhook Type, specifically 8 Odd.a of that, being listed there as well as here, but is under Rearhooks in the database.

2675 2679e* 2684

9.b. Plate 60. Here, there is a step down each side and a median ridge under the slots, *e.g.* 2684 in 9.a, but the decoration on the head has gone. The foot is often moulded, but there seems to be no common pattern and much may have depended on hand-finishing the casting. 2682 is actually one of a pair, the other not being drawn for this Corpus, but given the number 13003.

2666e 2667* 2668 2671 2680e 2682 (13003) 2683 9883 12278 13891

9.c. Plate 60. The ridge under the slots has gone to be replaced by an arris or, more commonly, a plain rounded front between the step on each side. There is a tendency for the step to retreat to the upper part of the bow and it is noticeable that as that happens the foot becomes plain. 12090* has six close-set slots and once had a separately made tube for the axis bar inserted into the mould before the bow was cast, although others show that the bar was inserted into a slot cast into the back of the wings. The suffix "e" indicates the use of enamel.

2669 2672e-3 2676e 2678 2681e 2685 12090e* 12971e* 13580 13889-90

9.d. Plate 60. The steps on the sides of the bow have gone, but there is a tendency for there to be ornament at the foot of the bow. 2670 with its triangles and reserved lozenges is included here out of courtesy: the enamel pattern does not belong to the basic definition, but it has no other home at present and, as will be seen, comes from the core area of the distribution.

2674e 2677e* 2670

Sizing. 9.a-d

48mm	2679e*
45mm	12971e*
40mm	2667* 2669 2678 12090e* 12278
37-8mm	2666e 2668 2670-1 2673 2680e 2684 13580
35mm	2677e* 2672e
33mm	2681e-3 13003
31mm	2675
<30mm	2685
unsized	2674e 2676e

Dating: 12971* Broxtowe, before c.75; 2673 Leicester, 125-130; 2675 Old Winteringham, 3rd century.

Distribution: HANTS bbb WILTS b SUFF c NORF bcc CAMBS bbcc LEICS c LINES aabbbcccccdd NOTTS c

It is obvious that this could have been called the Lincolnshire Type, but the spread west and south justifies the general name. The ones from East Anglia should represent part of trade away from Lincolnshire rather than have anything to do with the development of the type as such, especially as the examples recorded from there are not of the earliest strand.

10. South-Western Ordinary. The title is temporary until further analysis suggests something a little more memorable which (2009) has not happened. One of the common features of brooches from the area west of Hampshire and south of Gloucestershire is the introduction of mouldings applied to the sides of the head of the bow. These reach exaggerated forms and can also be found on a group of Polden Hills (see Type 5 *passim*), but are very difficult to divide into a coherent set of groups, or even at times into a simple linear typological series.

What is done here is to take the whole groups and divide it into various elements which interact to produce other sets of variables. We begin with a group which has no trace of these extra mouldings, but which appears to be at home in the area.

10.a. Plate 60. The wings have one or two mouldings at the end, a skeuomorph Colchester hook, frequently cross-cut or beaded, and a plain bow with a plain foot. They are all larger than most brooches so far seen. There is some variation in catch-plate and it seems wise at this stage to reintroduce the styles used under the Colchester and some of the varieties of the Harlow: however only **b**, the circle over the triangle, has been dropped. 2291* has an engraved line along both sides of the top of the catch-plate as well as a groove down the back of the return.

a 2286*
c none as yet
d 2291* 2293
 missing 2292

Dating: None as yet.

55-6mm 2286* 2291*
 52mm 2293
 unsized 2292

10.b. Plate 61. The wings remain essentially the same, 2314* uncharacteristically having a bead and reel, but the pseudo-hook disappears and the head now has a small moulding on each side which runs round the junction with the wing without displaying any kind of independence. 2315* and 2318 have a few cross-cuts at the foot of the bow. 2313 actually has a flat central face running up between the mouldings.

a none as yet
c none as yet
d 2310 2312 2314* 2315* 2317-8 2320-1 2322 2325
 missing 2309 2311 2313 12083 12979

Dating: 2310 Hod Hill, before 50; 2321 Studland, before 90;

2318 Ower, 100–150, probably before 125; 2320 Studland, after 120–early 3rd century.

64–5mm	2314* 2315*
55mm	2310 2312 2325
50–2mm	2317–8
41mm	2321
38mm	2322
unsized	2309 2311 2313 2320 12083 12979

10.b1. Plate 61. Although not logically part of the series, the few gathered here have one feature in common with the previous one: ornament is confined to the very top of the bow either as a cross-moulding or a panel and, by courtesy because I have not found a home for it anywhere else: 2569.

a	none as yet
c	none as yet
d	2272* 2560 2319 2249 2575* 2576–7 2569 2571
missing	2269 2271

Dating: 2569 Hod Hill, before 50; 2272* Studland, 80–120; 2269 Rope Lake Hole, probably 2nd century; 2249 Chew, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

76–7mm	2249 2319
61mm	2272*
55mm	2569
50mm	2575* 2576
44mm	2571
40mm	2560 2577
unsized	2269 2271

10.c. Plate 61. The wings are usually plain or have one moulding at the end, although occasionally there may be up to three very thin ones. The wing is usually separated from the bow by a moulding; 2570 lacks this and 13508 has two. The bow now has a skeuomorph of the Colchester's hook along with the small mouldings of 10.b. Sometimes the hook may be doubled or tripled and this may be a sign of things to come, but these usually belong with the extended mouldings on the heads of the bow which form sub-type 10.d. 2335* may show influence from a Type 4.d Polden Hill (see Part 3); note the foot and the way in which the decoration at the head of the bow is stopped in a step. 2332 has a proper foot-knob with knurling. 2336 conforms, but for a border down each side of the bow.

a	2722 13509
c	none as yet
d	2316 2327–9 2331* 2332 2334* 2335* 2570 12104–5
missing	2333 2336 2337* 2338 11518 13508

Dating: 2570 Camerton, Flavian?; 2332 Ilchester, 4th century.

71mm	2329
64mm	2328 2337*
57–8mm	2327 2331* 2334* 2335*
55mm	2316 12104
43mm	2332
38mm	12105
<30mm	2570
unsized	2333 2336 2338 11518

There is a maverick in a brooch from Cirencester, 2722, and before, in 12.a.1, which has a style a catch-plate, a bead and reel moulding on one wing and prominent mouldings rising from the wings which suggest the Polden Hill Type 3. It has a sunken moulding down the upper part of the bow whose lower end is lost in corrosion.

10.d. Plate 61. There is little change except that the mouldings on either side of the head are now applied directly to the bow and run down that for a short distance. Note that 1495, a brooch with the Harlow spring system, also has these.

c	2358
d	2330 2342* 2323
missing	2340–1 2361

Dating: 2358 Ilchester, before late 2nd century; 2340 Whitton, before 160.

62mm	2342*
58mm	13509
49mm	2323 2330
47mm	2358
unsized	2340–1 2361 13508

10.d1. Plate 61. As the last, but does not have the image of the hook. The primary reason for associating these with 10.d is the overall proportions: the later groups develop spreading heads and tend to sport more mouldings there.

d	11546*
missing	2365 2367

Dating: None as yet.

55mm	11546*
unsized	2365 2367

10.d2. Plate 61. Here is a mixed group which has the pseudo-hook, and nearly always the mouldings at the head of the bow. These are at the junction just along the junction with the wings (2566) or run down the sides at the top (2565* 2568), and there is one without any (2382). What associates them together is the presence of an incised lozenge across the bow at the base of the imitation hook. By extension, 2567 is included as the “hook” is stopped. All have solid catch-plates. 2344* 2381–2 2565* 2566–8

Dating: 2568 Ilchester, late 2nd century or later.

61mm	2344*
56mm	2565* 2566–7
52mm	2568
42mm	2381
unsized	2382

10.e. Plate 62. The head tends to be wider and extraneous features appear in the form of a more deliberate shaping. One brooch, 12096*, which might have been placed in 10.d is put here because it has the cross-cutting which becomes such a feature of the elaborate series which are fitted with Polden Hill spring systems (see 5.c and to a lesser degree in 5.b in Part 3). 2371 not only has an

“archaic” catch-plate, but also the wire pin wound round the axis bar and the top end lodged under the bow to provide resistance when depressed.

a 2353 2364* 2371

c 2348 2352 2356? 2359* 2354 2564

d 2349–50

missing 2346 2360 11519–20 11521* 12096* 12100 12101* 12102

Dating: 2352 Camerton, 1st or 2nd century; 2353 Camerton, before 180; 2356 Camerton, ?late 1st–2nd century; 2359* Ilchester, 3rd century–after 400.

62mm 2371

52mm 2364*

50mm 2349 2353

48mm 2350 2354 12101*

45mm 2359*

43mm 2348

37mm 2352

unsized 2346 2356 2360 2564 11519–20 11521* 12096* 12100 12102

10.f. Plate 62. There are now two mouldings on each side of the head. The head is therefore generally much wider and there is more scope for mouldings between. Proper subdivision will only become possible when there are more examples available. For the moment I have had to include one plain fronted brooch, 2366, and three which either have pseudo-hooks or possible a ridge down the bow, 2369* 2343 12099. Of these, the first is the most interesting: it has the dot-and-circle found on the head of Colchester Type 6.e (Chapter 2, Part 3), the side mouldings found on the heads of Polden Hills of Type 4a.l Polden Hills (this chapter, Part 3), and the mouldings on the wings which belong to sub-type 2.a of Polden Hill. In that sense, it is a true hybrid and should stand close to the beginning of the developments which gave rise to these separate strands. 2363* conforms in every respect, save for the extension of the added mouldings a long way down the bow, the outer one having a gap near the top.

a none as yet

c 2343 2363* 2351 2345 2368

d 2366 2355 11521*

missing 2369* 2370 12990* 12098–9

Dating: 2351 Camerton, 65–85; 2355 Chew, late 1st and 2nd century; 2366 Ower, 100–50, ?before 125.

64mm 2369*

55–6mm 2363* 2368

45mm 2343 2355 2351

42mm 2366 2345

37mm 11521*

unsized 2370 12990* 12098–9

10.g. Plate 62. These have no mouldings on either side of the head, but the heads themselves are wide and replete with mouldings which either do or tend to form Vs. In addition the general style is similar and this, along with each having style c catch-plates, strongly suggests that they emanated from a single workshop. 13895 has bead and reel wings.

c 2357* 2718 12108

d 13895

Dating: 2357* Exeter, 100–120.

47mm 2357*

46mm 13895

40mm 2718 12108

Distribution: HANTSacd DORSbbbbbb,1111cdfg WILTS bbbb,111cccccd1d2d2d2deeeef22 SOM aaa bb,1cccd2 dddeeeeffffffgg DEV bb,fg SCILLY 1ce BEDS/BUCKS c GLOS ccd1d2eee2 NORF d1 CAMBS bd NHANTS b WARKS e WALES 11deeeff LINC d2 NOTTS c

There can be no doubt about the heartland of 10.b, 10.b1 or 10.c: Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire. With 10.d there is evidence for a spread in the distribution. The one from Cambridge, as part of an old museum collection, might have been ignored, had it not been for a 10.d1 unequivocally from Norfolk. 10.e is perhaps more centred on Somerset than any of the others seem to have been. There is a tendency for 10.f to crowd into Somerset, and this may show that the method of subdivision used here has some validity.

11. The Knop. The name has been chosen quite deliberately as, although few of these brooches have the formalised heavily articulated bows of the main Trumpet series, there may well have been some influence from it, even if the Glastonbury La Tène III (Chapter 2, Part 5, Type 3, also largely with a solid catch-plate and fitted with a hinged pin in a false spring, is a native of the area in which the bulk of the present sub-type is found.

11.a. Plate 62. The wings may be elaborately moulded (w below) but all have added mouldings on the head and most have an inner one which sweeps out at the bottom of the top. The knop is or was triple and the lower bow may be provided with borders. The first one, 12086*, is simple but may be near the beginning of the sub-type.

a none as yet

c 12086w*

d 9932 11533w 12088w*

missing 11531 12087

Dating: 11531 Tiverton, 65 plus.

52mm 9932

47mm 12088w*

40mm 12086w*

37mm 11531

32mm 11533w

unsized 12087

11.b. Plate 62. Here, there is a central flute and a tendency for there to be one major moulding on each side. Most brooches have a small moulding along the junction of the bow with the wing. The wings are the normal simple ones of Type 11. The knop is variable in that it may have one moulding or two. The foot can be plain or have a simple projection.

a none as yet

c none as yet

d 2714 2716 2719 2720* 2721 2723 2725
missing 2715* 2717 2724 2726 12082

Dating: None as yet.

63mm 2720*
53–4mm 2716 2719 2721
51mm 2724–5
44mm 2714 2723
unsized 2715* 2717 2726 12082

Oddments. *Plates 62–63, 11X in Database.* As yet there are not really enough of any others to be sure than there is a significant sub-group. All have some version of the knop and most have some recognizable relationship with 12 or 11, if not both. 2289 from South Shields may, in fact, be more P-shaped than is required for this type, and may more properly have been put in Chapter 9.

a 2912*
c 2282* 2372*
d 2347
e 11522

Dating: None as yet.

68mm 2282*
61mm 2372*
47mm 2347
unsized 2912* 11522

Distribution: HANTS o DORS bb WILTS abbbbbbbboo
SOM aaaboo a DEV a OXON a GLOS o NORF b
WALES o NOTTS b NORTH o
With b, Wiltshire has an ascendancy.

12. The Lozenge. The common form has enamelled ornament in one or more lozenges on the front of the bow.

12.a. Plate 63. Usually there are three lozenges in relief, often with grooves round the cell, and the primary form has borders and what may be described as gablets facing outwards between the lozenges. From the bottom lozenge to the foot is a ridge and the foot is usually fitted with a knob or a projection. The design was popular and it is likely that there were several craftsmen making it, as well as a progression: 2758–60 are taken to have been amongst the first with their bead and reel terminals on the wings, careful finishing and more than usually elaborate feet. 2761–65 2766* 2767–2772 2773* 2774–2780 2781* 2782–3. are more typical; 2769 2774 12982–3 and 12985 have added mouldings on the head. Distribution after Oddments X.

a 12982
c 2768 2773* 12983
d 2758 2759* 2760–5 2766* 2767 2769 2771 2774 2777
2781* 12984
missing 12985

Dating: 2768 Wilcote, 100–180, 2777 Woodbury, 225–mid 4th century; 2761 Ilchester, and 2764 Catsgore, late 2nd–4th century; 2763 Catsgore, late 4th century. The brooches from both Catsgore and Ilchester belong to a very marked residual element on these sites.

56mm 2781*
49–50mm 2764 2768 2773* 2774 12982

46mm 2762 2765 2766* 2767 2769
42mm 2759* 2761 2763 12983–4
40mm 2777
38mm 2758 2760 2771
unsized 12985

12.a1. Plate 63. The same as before, but showing signs of what might be taken for devolution, although the number with style c catch-plates might suggest that this is not the case. There is also the addition of a tab or cast-on loop on the head reminiscent of 12.c. The gablets tend to disappear and design to become more streamlined, sometimes with only two lozenges and, in 2788, they are replaced by incised lozenges only. This variant might be the product of a distinct workshop within the overall group making Type 12. Distribution after Oddments X.

a none as yet
c 2770 2772 2775* 2776 2782 2785–6
d 2778–9 2784 9890 12131 12981 13920
missing 2780 2783 2788

Dating: None as yet.

55mm 9890 (no tab)
52mm 2778 12981
50mm 2775* 2776 2785–6
46mm 2772 2782 12131
44mm 2770 2784 13920
40mm 2779
unsized 2780 2783 2788

Oddments 12.a1x. Plate 63. 2787 is the simplified form of 12.a1, but the enamelling consists of lozenges with infilling triangles. 12148* is a mixture with the enamelled pattern of the last, a boss under with a face and a ridge to the foot. None is dated, all have solid catch-plates and size is irrelevant.

2787 12148*

Dating: None as yet.

12.b. Plate 63. Almost unvarying, the wings are plain and there is a step down each side of the upper bow with two raised cross-cut lozenges between. The bow usually has a tab at the top and, if there is any ornament at the foot, it is simple. The catch-plates are solid. 2802 has traces of gablets between the lozenges showing the relationship with 12.a. All the complete catch-plates recorded by the writer are solid. Distribution after Oddments X.

57mm 2802
48mm 2791 2796 2800
46mm 2789–90 2793 2795 13514
45mm 2797 (no tab)
43mm 2798 2799* 12538
42mm 2794* (no tab)
unsized 2792 2801 13505

Dating: 2792 Exeter, 75–80; 2802 Caerleon, Hadrianic–Antonine; 2790 Canterbury, 175–300/320; 13514 Kingscote, late 3rd century–375; 2789 may be late 2nd to mid-3rd century century; 2796 Barnsley Park, after 350.

12.c. Plate 63. The lozenge is now a singleton in the middle of the bow and is usually divided horizontally into two

triangular cells. The bow above and below is narrower with arrises, the one above cross-cut. The top of the bow rises in a peak and has a tab or cast-on loop, the bottom often having an insignificant foot. The wings are sometimes plain but usually with simple mouldings. The catch-plate is solid in all the examples recorded by the writer. Those without the evidence are in the unsized category below. 2744 and 2747 have grooves on the upper bow. 2752*, 2753 and 2754 have three cells for enamel in the lozenge. 2757* has an oval instead of a lozenge and carries an elaborate reversed S-shaped cell. Distribution after Oddments X.

53–4mm	2753 12153
50–1mm	2741–2 2746–7 2752* 2757* 12152
48mm	2735 2737
45mm	2727 2734 2738 2740 2743 2750 2751* 2754
43mm	2733 2755
unsized	2731–2 2736 2739 2744 2756 13511–2

Dating: 13511 Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40; 2735 Whitton, 55–75; 2727 Gadebridge, before mid-2nd century?; 2754 Chew, 2nd century; 2756 Exeter, 160–200; 2752* Catsgore, late 2nd century; 2753 Nettleton, late 3rd–early 4th century; 2751* Catsgore, after 335.

12.c1. Plate 63. The lozenge has become a triangle with a horizontal base, the lower bow being or tending to be narrow. Distribution after Oddments 12.c X.

52mm	2748 11525
48mm	2745*
unsized	2749

Dating: 2745* Rope Lake Hole, said to be Late pre-Roman Iron Age.

12.c X. Plate 63. 2729* and 12991 are akin to sub-type 10.f in every respect, but have the raised lozenge divided into the two triangular enamelled cells of 12.a. Neither is dated. 2728 has the same lozenge but has a cut away on either side in the edge of the bow above. 2730 has the lozenge with a single cell, but it otherwise a very plain and of ordinary indeterminate basic form. The recorded catch-plates are style c.

2185* 2728 2729* 2730 12084* 12085 12991

Dating: None as yet.

Distribution: KT b SUSS b HANTS acc1 DORS aac1 WILTS aaaaaa111bbbcccx Channel Islands b SOM aaaaaa1111xbooccccc1xxx DEV aa1bc1 SCILLY bccccccccx MSEX ac HERTS 1bc OXON a1bbc1 GLOS 111xbbbbccccco WALES 111bbcx SUFF b NORF a1111bc LINCS a

12.a is definitely a South-Western brooch type, but 12.a1 has a wider spread running into Wales and with examples even occurring on the east side of the country. 12.b is very wide spread but based in Wiltshire and south Gloucestershire if anywhere. As this ought to be the automatic successor of 12.a, the spread in the distribution, when read with the expansion of 12.a1, should show that the trading pattern of the first century A.D. was changing and it may be that the manufacturers of these were able

to take advantage of a weakness in production of older forms elsewhere. The distribution of 12.c is distorted by the large collection at Nor'Nour, otherwise is firmly based in the homelands of 12.a, and 12.b.

13. The bow is wide and the wings spindly. All, except a few oddments at the end, have moulded feet to their bows. Most have decoration down the sides and middle. The wings are variously moulded from simply to elaborately all along. There are two main groups: a, with straight-forward ornament down the bow; b, with a highly decorated profile to a skeuomorph hook, the latter leading into a subsidiary group which has no logical home anywhere else. All catch-plates, where known, are solid. 2547 has the splayed foot associated with some Trumpet-related brooches.

13.a. Plate 64. No skeuomorph hook.

56–7mm	2504 2546* 2549
52mm	2379 2547 2550
46mm	12988*
40mm	2548
unsized	12107

Dating: 2379 Neatham, later 1st century.

13.b. Plate 64. Decorated skeuomorph hook, these commonly have beading down each side of the central moulding.

60mm	2300*
58mm	14915
50mm	2304
45–6mm	2302–3 2305–6 2307* 2808 9898
38mm	2299

Dating: 2307 Halstock, either before 60 or after 110/120; 2306 Exeter, c.275.

13.c. Plate 64. Here, the sides of the bow are shaped. In 2376 2807* 11524 and 12955 the sides are continuously shaped, in the others, there is a single interruption, except for 2378 in which there is a curved groove running from each edge. 2377 is the connection between 13.c and 13.a and it, along with 2383 and 12097, has the side mouldings which are such a mark of the Wroxeter Type 1.a2 (see Chapter 4, part 3).

50mm	2377* 2383 2807*
45mm	11524
42mm	2373 2378
unsized	2375–6 12097 12955 13548

Dating: 2373 Camerton, 90–200; 2378 Catsgore, after late 4th century.

Distribution: HANTS aa DORS bc WILTS bccc SOM aaaabbbccc DEV abb SCILLY bc GLOS b NHANTS b LINCS ac WALES bc YORKS b

The bulk is in the deeper South West. However, the spread along the south coast should be noted, and coastal trade may have carried them up the east side as far as Yorkshire.

14. *Plate 64*. It has a very elaborately moulded foot, or rather lower bow, with longitudinal mouldings on the bow above, often with wavy line ridges, and with moulded wings which can include bead and reel and is usually not less than half the length. There can be side mouldings curving away into the edge, with cross-cuts and occasionally walked-scorper decoration appears. All in all, an eclectic group which hangs together by the general similarity with the rest, and a marked dissimilarity with any other. All the surviving catch-plates are solid.

The effect of the mouldings on the sides of 2643* strongly recall those on the three noted in the comments on 13.c.

73mm	2644 13928
62mm	2642* 2643*
60mm	2640
48mm	2525
36mm	2638
unsized	2645–7

Dating: 2525 Hod Hill, before 50; 2647 Verulamium, 170–180.

Distribution: KT a HRTS a DORS aa WLTS aaaaaa GLOS a Centred in Dorset and Wiltshire, one example finding its way to Verulamium.

15. Broad at the top with the bow design divided into two parts: there are vertical mouldings above either a plain lower bow or one having some cross-mouldings at the top, and with a projecting foot. The wings are usually plain or with very simple mouldings at the end. A general familial relationship with the previous sub-type shows in the use of cross-cutting and walked-scorper ornament. They are divided into three main sub-varieties.

15.a. *Plate 64*. There tends to be a greater difference between the width of the head and the foot than is found in the rest of the sub-types, and there is no cast-on loop either which is a mark of the rest. They have a prominent central ridge usually cross-cut. The wings, except for 2604, are short and plain. 2604 has added mouldings on the upper bow and each is fitted with two projections. It is also the only one with a pierced, style c, catch-plate. The projections recall faintly the Bagendon Type (see Chapter 6, Part 2, Type 16). 2633 is here because it has a cross-cut ridge and also the added border of the last, but without the projections: it has lost its head. Distribution after 15.c.

44mm	2604
38–40mm	2601–2
35mm	2600* 2603
unsized	2633

Dating: None as yet.

15.b. *Plate 64*. Nearly all are larger than 15.a and can appear crude in appearance and all, except those marked x, have cast on loops. The first few, 2608 2624* 12986, come from the same workshop; thereafter it is less easy to be sure that single craftsmen produced many of those found. However, it is possible that there was less inhibition in making new patterns than seems to have been the case in other types amongst the Colchester Derivatives. Those

chosen for illustration are fairly representative, with the exception of 2607 (Arch J 1947, 54, fig. 9,8), not illustrated here, which is at odds a little with the rest. 15363 lacks the upper bow and head, but the form of the moulding on the surviving part of the bow should fit here, with the lower bow perhaps reflecting earlier stages. The catch-plates are solid. Distribution after 15.c.

83mm	2617
68mm	2607x
65mm	12986
62mm	2624* 2611
58mm	2619
55–6mm	2605x 2615* 2616 2618
52–3mm	2621 2630 13619
47mm	2608 2614
45mm	2613
43mm	13926
42mm	2609 2623*
40mm	2620 2629
38mm	2606x
unsized	2610 2612 8222 12117x 15363

Dating: 2611, 2618 Catsgore, 1st–4th century; 2619 Poundbury, late 1st into 2nd century; 2615* Halstock, before ?120; 2608 Chichester, ?late 4th century.

15.c. *Plate 65*. Most have head plates or developed pedestals under the loop and the distinction between the pedestal and the loop can disappear into a generalised head-plate from which the loop protrudes. Several have cross-mouldings near the middle of the lower bow. Where there are wings, these are short and often there is only a mark in the profile to set off the notional wings from the head-plate. A host of lower bows and catch-plates have been added here on the grounds that their various styles are more akin to the complete brooches here than to any other type identified by the writer. The only brooch which calls for particular mention is 2635 in which the link between the bow and the head-plate has been reduced to a bar. Distribution after 15.c.

The detached lower bows are a problem in which exaggerated forms of foot-knob like that of 13568 have yet to be noted on a complete brooch of any group, type, sort or family. The nearest brooch is one from Shepton Mallet which has flat face under a sharp bend back to the head proper: there is no break in the design which has a groove down each side and a central nib at the top just under the bend.

102mm	2635
85mm	2636* 2637
82mm	2631 2634
80mm	13929*
68mm	2628
unsized	2622 2625–7 2632 2964 2970 2973 9873 11526 11528 12134–5 12179 13560 13562 13566–8 13589 14456 15366

Dating: 2628 Camerton, 90–200; 2636 Chew, 2nd century; 2964 Whitton, mid 2nd century–275/325; 2970 Nettleton, before 250; 2622 Alcester, late 3rd–early 4th century; 2632 Catsgore, ?late 4th century plus.

Distribution: KT c SUSS b HANTS b DORS abbb-
bbbbbcccc WILTS abbbbbbbcccc SOM bbbcccccccc
SCILLY aa ESSEX b BEDS/BUCKS a OXON c? GLOS
aabbcccccc WARKS c HERE c WALES c YORKS c

There is little doubt that this belongs to the deep South West, once it is realised that those in Gloucestershire are at the south end. The very restricted nature of the distribution is evident, as most of those outside survive only as lower bows and so lack a guarantee that they really belong here.

16. Like the last, the bow divides into two. The wings are almost always plain, with a projecting foot and all the surviving catch-plates are solid. There is always a loop, sometimes with a cast-on pedestal under, and very occasionally it is part of a head-plate. The distinguishing feature is the treatment of the upper bow. In all but the very end of those gathered here there is a groove. In most instances this is in the face of the bow, and then it becomes the space between two ridges. The principal series has some decoration top and bottom and nearly every brooch is large. Where the loop is partly missing, measurements assume that it had been circular and had at the top a hoop equal in thickness to the sides.

16.a. *Plate 65*. This has, in the main, a boss, frequently cross cut, at each end of the groove. Where this is lacking, there is a nick or some other mark cut across the line of the groove. Distribution after 16.c.

90mm	2688
80mm	2692
78mm	2686* 2696
75mm	2535 2691
64mm	11527*
unsized	2693–5 2687 12136 12137–8

Dating: 2535, 2694 Chew, late 3rd century–mid 4th century; 2691 Catsgore, late 3rd and 4th century.

16.b. *Plate 65*. The ornament at the top and bottom of the groove disappears and the groove shortly gets replaced by a pair of ridges which are frequently cross-cut. 2704 is one of the largest brooches and has further ornament in crosscut cross-mouldings above and below the ridges and separated from them by flutes. It and 2703 both have head-plates. 15367 has a small cross-cut ridge at the top of the bow and a deep flute on each side running down to the foot. Distribution after 16.c.

13588* is not of this family, but its design is so close that it ought, in some senses, to be an imitation: it comes from Suffolk and the completely moulded bead and reel wings show that it is at home in the east. Its large size also reflects the main group

86mm	2704
84mm	15367
82mm	2689*
68mm	2690 2699 2703
65mm	13588*
44mm	2702* 2709
unsized	2697–8 2700 2705–7 2708 5072

Dating: 2708 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 2704 Nettleton, with 1st and 2nd century pottery; 2700 Catsgore, early 2nd century; 2707 Exeter, mid 2nd century; 2698 Catsgore, late 2nd century plus; 2699, 2703 Catsgore, late 3rd and 4th century; 2697 Catsgore, after 335.

16.c. *Plate 65*. The key here is probably 2712* which clearly belongs to 16.b, except that there is a cross-cut ridge rising from the bottom of the flute between the main ridges. Here the wings are decorated and there is a curious head plate under a poorly executed loop. The others just have a single ridge or, in the case of 2710, a series of cross-cuts on a shallow arris.

80mm	2712*
unsized	2710–1 2713 12139 13561 13563–4

Dating: 2710 Nettleton, before 250; 13564 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

Distribution: HANTS b DORS ab WILTS aaabbc DEV b SOM aaaaaaabbabbbcc SCILLY b OXON b GLOS bbcccc SUFF bbv WALES a

16.a is clearly a Somerset product and 16.b, while still centred there, has a wider distribution.

17. All have cast-on loops, sometimes rising from a pedestal, all have very short wings and moulded feet for the bow. All have the same proportions as the Headstud family (see Chapter 4), but none has a stud. Apart from that, there is little sense of there having been a single workshop or group of craftsmen making them. They are divided here very simply into those which have plain bows, those with simple mouldings, and lastly those which have a greater degree of elaboration than the last. As there are so many, and each differs from the next, only a selection is illustrated and the choice falls on those which are not known to be published elsewhere. 7452 has the stepped wings commonly found on Headstuds, as well as a beaded pedestal, but formally speaking, its place is here. 7466*, although published elsewhere, is worth repeating as a curiosity: the bow is only half as long as the other proportions of the brooch indicate.

17.a. *Plates 65–66*. Plain bows. No two are alike, therefore it seems unnecessary to arrange them by size. Distribution after 17.X.

The following have plain wings:

2484 2587 2588* 2590 2593 15368

The next effectively have one moulding at the end of each wing:

2579 2580* 2581–2 2589 9897 15369

The last group have moulded wings of a different pattern:

2583 2586 7452 7460 7466*.

Dating: None as yet.

17.b. Moulded bows, all of straightforward patterns. Two of these stand out, there being just enough for them to be separated: 17.b1 and 17.b2. Of the rest, 2578 has plain wings; 2597 a single ridge at the end; 2595 two at the end,

2598 a bead and reel; and 2591 has wings whose front face sweep into the bow. 2591 and 2597 have a single bulge down the front; 2578 a series of flutes; 2595 a single one between double mouldings.

17.b1. Plate 66. The wings all have versions of the bead and reel; the loop has a small peak rising from the bottom edge; the bow has five mouldings at the top narrowing to two at the bottom. Distribution after 17.X.

50mm	2374 2578 7455 7456*
46mm	2598
unsized	13503

Dating: 7456* Buxton, ?late 1st–2nd century; 2578 Newstead, 80–c.200.

17.b2. Plate 66. The flute down the bow is so wide that the sides of the bow are more or less reduced to borders only. 2595 has circular-sectioned wings with a seam across the back and a wire pin wound round the axis bar, and is likely to be the earliest in the whole of this sub-type. Distribution after 17.X.

72mm	7465
64mm	2595
52mm	7459
46mm	7467*
unsized	7458

Dating: 7462 Newstead, 80–c.200; 7465 Worcester, c.275–300.

The rest:

2591 2597 7462

Dating: None as yet.

17.c. Plate 66. Bows with decoration other than straight-forward mouldings; 2596 and 2324* are here by virtue of the mouldings along the junction with the wings. Distribution after 17.X.

These have a wavy ridge down the central flute, and beaded wings. The three gathered here are so standard that they can only really have come from one workshop. There is a possibility that the central flute had been enamelled, leaving the wavy ridge as a metal strip down the middle. The three show, broadly, they belong to East Anglia and the western fen margin.

56mm 2596 11869* 12112

Dating: None as yet.

The rest: 2324* 2594* 7461

17.X. Plate 66. Oddments. Here, no bows survive to aid with classification. The illustrated one was chosen because, of all so far gathered, this is the only one which had any sign of enamelled decoration.

2585* 2592 2599

Dating: None as yet.

Distribution: KT a DORS aaab2c WLTS a SOM aaax SUFF c NORF b2b2 CAMBS b1c LEICS b2 WORCS b2 LINC b1c NOTTS acc DERBS b1b2c HUM-HAD W aaab1 DUR aaaax HAD W ab2o SCOT ab1b2

Apart from a few from the South West, the distribution

for 17.a is remarkably military, but less so for 17.b and definitely not for 17.c.

18. Fantail Foot. Plate 66. Bizarre, without any obvious antecedents, the wings are long and thin and, at each end, have a group of thin mouldings. The well-arched upper bow has a very bold crest with a serrated top and joins the broad top of the fantail either directly or with a few cross-mouldings. The fantail is recessed for enamel and has a small knob on each lower corner. All obviously come from a single workshop, probably somewhere in the South West, but more examples are needed before one can be sure.

2879–81 12157*

45mm 2879 2881

42mm 12157*

unsized 2880

Dating: None is dated.

19. Divided into two, the first is evidently from one particular tradition, the second is much more diverse.

19.a. Plate 66. The binding feature is the presence of a series of close-set diagonal marks on either side of the bow, often on either side of a groove. The possible unity of the group is suggested by the limited distribution: all from Nor'nour, despite varying designs, or the South West, except for one from Wroxeter: 12175.

2829 2830–32 2833* 2834–6 12175 15370

Dating: None as yet.

19.b. Plate 66. These have lenticular mouldings or ridges with median ridges or flutes. 2811 would have been the obvious one to illustrate but its condition is such that the drawing would have been too much of a restoration.

2809* 2811 2812 2823 9902 9919

Dating: 2812 Leicester, before 125/30.

Distribution: DORS a WLTS b SOM a SCILLY aaaaa NORF b CAMBS bb NHANTS b LEICS bb LINC b NOTTS bb SALOP a CHESH b

Oddments. The following are worthy of note and only those not illustrated elsewhere are figured here. They are divided arbitrarily into vague decorative groups. The first, X1, will set the tone for the rest.

X.1. Langton Down affinity. Plate 66. This is marked in the case of 6497* whose short wings capture the short extension of the spring-case beyond the bow, and there is a poor attempt at the moulding which sets the bow off from that. However, when it comes to 2928 and 2929, the connection is a little tenuous. The items are arranged roughly in order of descent from the supposed original type to the least like. The distribution lies mainly in the West Country.

6497* 11557 6592 6649 2962 2928–9

Dating: 2928 Nettleton, 4th century; 6649 Alcester, early–mid 4th century.

X.2. Elaborately Moulded. *Plates 66–67.* There is scarcely a connecting link. These range from such oddities as 2818* to the relatively simple such as 13605 and 14537* and are arranged in the following groups, divided one from another in the list below by /: a = those with foot-knobs, b = those without, and c = heads of brooches only. 2806* might almost be a copy at a remove of a Hod Hill. 2932, with its extraordinary pincer-like arms on the front recalls the Norican of which only one guaranteed example from Britain (see Chapter 6, part 5) has been seen by the writer. The distribution reveals nothing.

a: 12159 2817 2818* 2804 2932 13559 13569* 13605 14537* / b: 2806* 2828 9867 / c: 2803 2824 2827 2896

Dating: 2818* Halstock, before c.60?

X.3. Enamel or Niello. *Plate 67.* Many brooches use these to enhance their appearance. In the instances gathered here these materials are used in a more integral way. The only one illustrated, most of the others being published, is not to scale and is taken from a poor sketch. The distribution favours the west.

2822 12147 12149–50 13933*

Dating: None.

X.4. Large cells for enamel or other inlay are the only features which unite this disparate group. Only one is complete, 2924*, and with 2925* and 2983, serves to show that a large size and a division into two parts can be hard to reconstruct from a small fragment.

2922 2924* 2925* 2982–3

Dating: None is dated.

Distribution: all so far come from the South West.

Catch-plates [CP]. the most diagnostic part of a fragmentary brooch tends to be the head and upper bow. Unfortunately, when collecting material for a Corpus, one is presented with middle sections of bows and catch-plates. Bows with either a top or a bottom are, oddly enough, not common finds, and all one ought to be able to do is to find types using similar sections. The catch-plate, usually plain on the front, is a different matter. Here are all the unassigned ones left at the end of dealing with all Colchester Derivatives.

The attentive reader will have noticed that a basic classification of styles of catch-plate has been extensively used. This is used here to group these basically unattractive remains.

CP Style a. These are framed or fretted. Theoretically open framed catch-plates are earlier than fretted ones and the fretting becomes simpler and more careless. However, a view of the objects shows that, although this may be all right in theory, the practice is otherwise. Here, the fretting comes first and then the framed ones are arranged in order of descending care. The last of these fail to belong to Style c because the piercing is not remotely circular.

2986 is of iron and the catch-plate is so narrow that the

two openings cannot be read as a failed attempt at fretting. 2967* and 12997 are both from Norfolk and from what is left of their bows, were of the same type, one having notches at the foot, the other not.

a1. Plate 67. Fretting in descending order, with the dog-leg in all states taking priority, the fretting occurring after /. Most come from eastern England, but the proportion is not overwhelming.

2967* 2968 12996 13540 12171 2969 13571* 2986 / 1387* 3007 1335 9745

Dating: 2986 King Harry Lane cemetery, before 35/40 (see Appendix 1); 3007 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century; 2969 Whitton, 135–60.

a2. Plate 67. Open-framing ranging from 1347 through 11569, then to 12168 where the shape of the hole begins to lose form, and finally to 13539* where there is a courtesy hole.

1347 13578* 2990 3005 1333 2978 12172 2985 15390 11569 11571 13573 12162 11570* 12168 2984 2994 2916 2979 13572 12166 2966 13539*

Dating: 2916 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110; 2978, 2979 Alcester, 1st century–early Antonine; 2985 Chelmsford, c.125; 12162 Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century.

CP Style b. The circle-over-triangle which derives from the chief Harlow. There are only three and 1334 may not be, it looking very much as though the casting failed to be complete under the circle.

2999 2976 1334

Dating: None as yet.

CP Style c. Plate 67. There is a circular hole, or in the case of 13609*, two of them. 12171 13500 3002 1386 13609*

Dating: None as yet.

CP Style d. Solid. Those after the first / have flat plates including fantails for the lower part of the bow and, after the second /, come those with properly formed foot-knobs.

1384–5 1388 1458 2975 2987 2991–3 2995–6 3003 3006 11567 11572 12163 12165 12167 12170 12174 12178 12995 13506 13574–5 13610 13862 / 2980 2996 3008 12164 12169 / 2971–2 2977 2981 2998 3001 13534 13587

Dating: 2991 King Harry Lane cemetery, Phase 1, g.291.3, 15 B.C.–A.D. 15; 3003 Metchley, c.50–5/70; 2993 Nettleton, 1st century; 2972 Nettleton, late 3rd century plus.

Colchester Derivatives Dregs, part 2. Here are those which have or had hinged pins:

2913 2956 14458 14513 14806

Part 5. Polden Hill/Hinged Pin (CD H/PH)

All have a strong contrast between the upper and lower bow. The upper usually has enamelled decoration, is broad and generally has a flat face. The lower bow tends to be

narrow and taper to some kind of foot-knob. The oddity here is that these designs use either the Polden Hill or the Hinged-Pin system, the former being distinguished below by being underlined.

1. The Trumpet Knop. The two parts of the bow are divided by a knop recognizably derived from some varieties of Trumpet (see Chapter 5). These are separated into two categories: a, those which have petalling on the knop, and b, those which have cross-mouldings only.

1.a. Plate 67. Nearly all here have lozenges down the middle of the upper bow with in-filling triangles. Therefore, as this design is more frequent here than in any of the other categories, those with this pattern, but without the lower bow and knop, have been put here. The upper bow of 2156 has the same design as that found amongst in Hinged Pin Brooches of Type 13.a. 2155 has a circular hole in its catch-plate and is only here out of courtesy: only the bottom two cross-mouldings survive of the possible knop and they suit 1.a more than 1.b. The catch-plate of 2144 also has a circular hole. All have hinged pins. All have cast-on loops or their stubs. Distribution after 1.b3.

The catch-plate styles given in the database are the same as for those found in the Colchester Derivatives and determine the final letter. Here 2144 and 2155 are style c, the rest with catch-plates are style d, and those without are designated e. All have hinged pins.

66–7mm	12140 12158*
60mm	2144
57mm	2146 2218 12141*
c.50mm	2153 2154 2156
48mm	2152
unsized	2145 2147 2155 11539* 13558

Dating: 13558 Kingscote, 130/40–200; 2146 Wilcote, 250–350; 2153 Chew, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

1.b. The petalled knop is replaced by one with cross-mouldings. The Polden Hills are underlined.

1.b1. Plates 67–68. All of these come from a single workshop, including the Polden Hill example 2137*, whose chief characteristics are a beaded central element in the knop, a marked two-part foot-knob and a crosscut ridge or arris between them and the knop. One brooch, 2141*, has a plain upper bow otherwise there are enamelled strips or cells, but not the design found on 1.a. The cast-on loop is there, except that many only have a recess instead of an actual hole. All the catch-plates are style d, solid. Distribution after 1.b3.

50mm	2141*
48mm	<u>2137*</u> 2157* 2158 2159 2160 2161*
44mm	2139

Dating 2160 Brockworth, c.150; 2139 Gloucester, late 2nd–mid 3rd.

1.b2. Plate 68. The proportions are more upright and the style of enamelling is more uniformly a repeat of that on 1.a, although one, 2148, has strips. 2138* may be early in the series. All the Hinged Pin brooches have cast-on

loops or the pedestals for them. The Polden Hill Brooches have pierced crests for the chords of their springs. 12066 is very like Type 2 below, save for the extra moulding at the knop. Distribution after 1.b3.

13922* illustrates the dangers of classification. There is little doubt that it ought to be here, but the knop is absent, replaced by an enamelled stud. All have style d catch-plates, except 2149 which has style c.

63mm	2143*
60mm	2149
c.56mm	2138* 2184 2214 <u>12067</u>
c.53mm	2142 2148 12144
48mm	13922*
44mm	<u>2140</u>
unsized	<u>12066</u> 12143

Dating 2140 Gadebridge, 75–150?; 2214 Verulamium, 2nd century; 2143* Whitton, before 300/340.

1.b3. Plate 68. These two brooches, both from Nor'Nour, were made in the same workshop.

46mm	2150*
unsized	2151

Dating: None as yet.

Distribution: SUSS 1a WILTS 1ab2 SOM 1a1a1a1ab2b2b2b2 SCILLY ab3b3 HERTS b2b2 OXON 1a GLOS 1a1ab1b1b1b1b1b1 NORF 1a NHANTS b1 WARKS 1a WORCS b2 SWAL 1ab1b2b2b2 LEICS a1b2 CHESH b2

1.a appears to be centred on Somerset, although examples were traded into the counties around. 1.b was sold mainly in Somerset, Gloucestershire and South Wales.

2. The knop has been replaced by, in 2.a, a groove with a pair of lobes under it, in 2.b by lobes applied directly to the base of the enamelled panel. 12144, in 2.c, shows a direct relationship with Type 1 in the use of four lobes, but it is too far removed from the knops of that to be placed there.

2.a. There tends to be a greater degree of definition to the base of the panel here than in 2.b. Sometimes there is a waist which runs round the sides, but there is always a groove or waist under the panel, or in the case of 2177, an extra moulding instead of the groove. In 2170 there is a coalescing of lobes into a full-blown bulge. All the surviving catch-plates are solid. These are divided into those with Polden Hill spring arrangements, 2.a1, and those with hinged pins, 2.a2.

2.a1. Plate 68. Polden Hill spring system. Distribution after 2.b2.

56mm	2162
54mm	2163–4 9816
52mm	2167 9817
50mm	2182
46mm	12068
44mm	2177–8 2181 11502
42mm	2165 2170 2171 2174–5 2179
40mm	2166 2169 2183

38mm 2172 2173* 2176
 unsized 2168 2180 9827 12065 13921 (head missing)

Dating: 2175 Chew, late 1st–2nd century; 2165 Wroxeter, after 125?; 2171 Caerleon, after c.125; 2167 Worcester, post-medieval.

2.a2. Plate 68. The close relationship of these with those making up 2.a1 is shown by one chosen for illustration, 2188*. The rest of the range shows a tendency to concentrate on a more overall enamel design, commonly in vertical strips, but there are those which have a lattice pattern. 2215* has a circular hole, style c, the rest where preserved have style d solid catch-plates. Distribution after 2.b2.

64mm 2199
 61mm 12146 13516
 56mm 2194 2195 13515
 54mm 2190 2200 2202 2212* 9816
 50mm 2186 2188*
 47mm 2189 2192 2209–10
 46mm 2197 2215*
 45mm 2191
 43–44mm 2187 2201 2205
 41–2mm 2193 2196 2198
 38mm 2213
 unsized 2203–4 2206 2207–8 2211 9827 9882 11532
 11573 12145 12161 13607

Dating: 2194 Caerleon with pottery of 130–160; 2213 Camerton, C3.

2b. The only significant difference between these and the others of 2.a is that the bow is longer and has, visually, another section inserted under the panel on the head and finished at its base with a repeat of the small lenticular elements under the panel. The foot-knobs tend also to be more elaborate. They are divided here into 2.b1, those with the Polden Hill system, and 2.b2, those with hinged pins.

2.b1. Plate 68. There are not many, and one of them is aberrant in that there is a further division in the lower bow. The surviving catch-plates are all solid, style d. Distribution after 2.b2.

60mm 13518
 58–9mm 13517
 56mm 12064*
 54mm 2217
 unsized 2216
Dating: 13517 Kingscote, 130/40–200; 2216 Worcester, 150–200.

2.b2. Plate 68. Hinged pin.

64mm 2225 2229*
 60mm 2221
 58–9mm 2226 2228
 54mm 2219
 unsized 2220 2222 2223–4 2227 2230 12142 12173

Dating: 2223 Chichester, late 4th–5th century.

Distribution: SUSS a2b2 HANTS a1a1 DORS a1a1b2b2 WILTS a1a1a2a2a2b1b2b2 SOM a1a1a1a1a1a2b2 SCILLY a1a2a2a2a2a2a2a2a2a2a2a2b2b2b2b2 2 ESSEX a2 SURR a1 BEDS/BUCKS a1a2 OXON a1a2 GLOS a1a1a1a1a1a2a2a2 b1b1b2 SUFF a2 NORF a2 NHANTS a1a2 WORCS a1b1 SWAL a1a1a2a2a2b2 NWAL a2 WARKS a1a2 LINC'S a2 DERBS a2 SALOP a1b1

The Lower Severn Valley stands out again, and the large number of 2.a from Nor'Nour more or less emphasises this, if there had been a ship-wreck there (312). It is unsurprising that so many with hinged pins come from the land of the hinged pin in the later pre-Roman Iron Age.

Oddments X. These are all members of the awkward squad. Some relationships with the Polden Hill-Hinged Pin mixed group can be seen; in other instances the connection is a little more tenuous.

Now follow the rest, a rag-bag of brooches which have been divided for convenience into four batches: to say groups implies more cohesion than is properly the case. The only ones which are illustrated are unpublished and are not a variant in some way of what has passed before.

Odd X1. Plate 68. Straightforward bows. 2819* also appears as Polden Hill 6.a6 and is illustrated amongst the 6.a varieties, Plate 51.

2558 2561 2562 2819* 12079* 13533* 13583*

Dating: 13533* Castleford, 71/4–86; 2562 Bryanston, up to and into 4th century.

Odd X2. Plates 68–69. Complete non-standard bows. There is nothing unifying the group, but 2935* and 2936 may be from the same workshop.

2909 2935* 2936 8506 11564 12125 12160* 13927 13931

Dating: None is dated.

Odd X3. part bows with non standard features in the middle of the bow.

2895 2953 11523 12151

Dating: 2895 St. Mawgan in Pyder, mid 1st century–c.150; 2953 Barry, later than 150?

Odd X4. heads only. 2935* has a Harlow spring system, but I cannot find a home for it with the rest.

2386 2935* 12051 12106 12987

Dating: None is dated.

The following hinged pin Colchester Derivatives lack any family, the bows being largely missing.

2386 12106

Colchester Derivatives Dregs. The remainder have no known pin fixing arrangement, or have lost their heads. 2883 2894 2926 3004 12036 13510 13570 14854–5 14994
Dating: 13570 Kingscote, 1st century B.C.–A.D. 130/40.

Chapter 4. The Headstud and Others

Plates 69–77

The origins of the type are obscure. There can be little doubt that the earliest ones, typologically speaking, are those with the Colchester spring system, but it is also certain that there was a pool of ideas which also included brooches without studs. The derivation of the stud itself must lie in the appearance of a stud used to hold down the end of the forward-facing hook, and, being treated ornamentally from the beginning, this became a useful decorative feature in its own right. However, before the classic types become dominant, there is a group of ideas which had the same origin but each took a different route.

The definition of the Headstud is simple, outwardly a Colchester Derivative with its wings and profile, it has a large ornamental stud near the head of the bow.

Part 1. Alternative Headstuds [Proto HDST]

1. Applied Hook and Derivatives

1.a. Plate 69. These have sprung pins fitted in a Polden Hill system in which the chord is held by a forward-facing hook without a rivet. 6994* is particularly valuable as the end of the hook has been expanded into a disc, with two annular grooves, separated from the main stalk by a cross-bar with a groove: the stud is present with typical ornament, but without the rivet. The brooches before / are forged, the ends of the wings being folded back and pierced for the axis bar through the spring. Those after / may be forged, but the matter is less clear.

6991 has a hook but seemingly no stud and also has a false spring, the axis bar being housed in a tube grooved to look like a spring and mounted between the plates at the ends of the wings. The piece came from Catsgore in a district which had produced false springs before the conquest and which also specialised in cold forged brooches (see Chapter 2, Part 5) and it may be that some of the other brooches had been fitted with false springs. 6990* 6993 6994* 7004 7005 7025 14000* / 6758 6991 7030?

Dating: 6993 7004 South Cadbury, two examples *c.*45; 7005 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 14000* Dorchester, 75–120; 6991 Catsgore, 4th century.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 11 WILTS 1 SOM 1111 DEV 1 GLOS 1

The pattern is striking, running along the south coast from Kent to Devon, although it is obvious that the type is more at home in the South West than elsewhere.

1.b. Plate 69. The Polden Hill system with the separately-made hook riveted through the bow. These are arranged roughly in order of increasing elaboration, with those which have lost the plate at the end in (). None has been recorded as having a false spring, but most of those with springs were not examined by their publishers to see if this was the case.

6987* 6988–9 6992 6996–7 6998* 7000 7002 7012 7062 11856 11530 13999 (6995 7003 12435)

Dating: 6995 South Cadbury, *c.*45; 6988, Hod Hill, before 50, two examples; 6996 Waddon Hill, *c.*50–60; 6989 Halstock, before *c.*60?; 11530 Tiverton 65–85/90; 7003 Holcombe 70–180.

The message is clear, in strength by the conquest, the type runs on for a few years into the 50–60 range.

Distribution: SUSS 1 DORS 1111111? SOM 11 DEV 111 SCILL 111 MSX 1

The deep South West is indicated even more than for the previous sub-type.

1.c. Plates 69–70. Basically with an ordinary hinged pin and with cast bodies, it still retains the separate plate. 7001 and 12433 probably have false springs and 7007 certainly does. 2507, 7008–11 have the ingenious device of casting a block on the head whose forward edge was undercut to hold the upper end of the plate. 7011 is an uncommon occurrence of enamel on Type 1.

6999* 7001 7007 2507 7008* 7009–11 7013 12433

Dating: 7008* Poundbury, mid 1st century; 7009 Camerton, 150–200.

The association with 1.b shows that the first lies in the same horizon and that the second must have been residual.

Distribution: DORS 111 WILTS 11 SOM 1 DEV 11 SCILLY 1 WALES 1

A repeat of the pattern of 1.b.

1.d. Plate 70. The plate has now been subsumed into the bow firstly as relief ornament taking up the ornamental potential shown by the more elaborate plates. In the end, or even in parallel for a while, the ornament is reduced in relief until it is no more than grooves in the surface of the bow. They are again arranged in order of increasing

elaboration, the ones from Ditchley and Nor'Nour (7024, 7017*) being quite extraordinary. Enamelling makes more of a showing this time.

7014 7028 12989 7019* 7029 7018* 7020–1 7016 7031* 7015 7022–3 7028 7027 7024 7017* 7036 2301

Dating: 7019* Exeter, 160–200.

Distribution: DORS 111 WILTS 1 SOM 11111 DEV 111 CORN 1 SCILLY 1111 MSX 1 OXON 1

There is even more emphasis on the deep South West.

1.e. Plate 70. All have bow profiles which are more arcs of circles than the usual volute form of the preceding varieties. They all are obviously related to the same by virtue of their decoration. There is also a direct reflection of the South Western school in that several are forged from sheet metal, 7038* being a fine example which also incorporates a false spring as well. 7042 from Plymouth Stamford Hill was almost certainly made the same way and clearly had a false spring: it was destroyed by bombing in the 1939–45 war. Enamel also occasionally appears: 7034. 7039* has two holes on its head for an applied decorative plate.

7033 7034–7 7038* 7039* 7040–5 12434* 9868–9 15419

Dating: 9868–9 Portesham, interlinked in a grave, before 75, and 15419, fastened to the handle of an Iron Age bronze mirror, 50–75; 7040 Camerton, 120–150; 7038* Exeter, late Antonine–275/300; 7037 Exeter, late 2nd–early 3rd century;.

After the three Portesham examples, all are residual.

Distribution: DORS 11111 WILTS 1 SOM 11 DEV 111111 SCILLY 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1

The South Western tradition is maintained, but the two from East Anglia are a bit of a surprise and might be a product of coastal trade. However, that is unlikely to account for an example ([253], 109, *Taf.* 12,9), complete with false spring, from Vindonissa in Switzerland.

1.f. These are very like the last, but with the profile more usual on Colchester Derivative. These are divided into three: those without a foot knob, those with and those which have forward-facing bosses or studs. The full distribution of the varieties is given at the end.

1.fa. Plate 70. No foot-knob, although, like 7006, there may be decoration at the foot of the bow. Enamel appears on those at the end of the sequence given below.

7006 7047* 7049–51 7057* 7052 7058–9 7060* 7061 7064

Dating: 7052 Exeter, c.75–80; 7047* Exeter, early 2nd–early Antonine.

The dating is thin but the latter part of the first century will suit those without enamel. Those with may run further. The deep South West is again marked with one or two outliers.

1.fb. Plate 70. These follow on the first and middle part of the last but have foot-knobs more or less of standard Colchester Derivative forms. Some are reminiscent of halves of melon beads. Enamel is usually confined to the decoration forming a skeuomorph of a rivet at the end

of the original hook, but 7119 is a warning that all is not straightforward.

7063 7048* 7053–5 7119 7056 7079* 7080 7081–3 9896

Dating: 7083 Catsgore, late 3rd century.

Useless.

1.fc. Plate 70. These are enamelled and have much more elaborate decoration recalling that of the more highly ornamented members of group 1.d. They all, however, have a forward facing stud and often a proper one just below the head of the bow.

7065 7066* 7077–8 7096* 7097 7098* 7099 9872 13818

Dating: 7066* Waddon Hill, c.50–60; 7065 Holcombe, 70–180; 7099 Exeter, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 7077 Poundbury, late Roman.

Almost guaranteed to be second half of the first century.

Distribution of all three: HANTS c DORS aabcc WILTS bc SOM abbc DEV aaabccc SCILLY aaaabbbbbbbbc MSX a OXON b GLOS c

1.fa and 1.fb belong to the deep South West, witness their numbers at Nor'Nour, but 1.fc shows a shift to the east.

1.g. These are all South Western and are related, but not really by any single feature. They are presented in a kind of sequence. The distribution is given after 1.gb

1.ga. Plates 70–71. The foot faces forward and there is often a ridge between that and the stud. Very few have the marked bend in profile at the head of the bow which tends to be a mark, amongst other things, of the main family of Headstuds. These are presented in a kind of sequence of increasing complexity.

7124* 7125 7128 7130 7135 7105 7127 7126 7106 7108* 7107 7102 7104 7109*

Dating: 7130 Upton St. Leonard's, ?late 1st–mid 2nd century; 7107 Catsgore, before early 4th century.

1.gb. Plate 71. The rest, the mouldings on the head of 7100* serve to connect these with those of 7.a. In 7135, with its flanges, there is a connection with a main group of brooches which itself does not quite match the full Headstud Type but is given here as Type 2.c. 7129 and 7134* are a shade more elaborate, but this should be a by-product of their size. 2986 effectively has no wings, a slightly trumpet head and a recurve to the profile of the bow. All this points to influence from the Birdlip Type, and what places it here are the two enamelled studs at the head and foot of the bow.

2986 7100* 7101 7135 7114 7115 7122 7123 7129 7134*

Dating: 7115 Camerton, 90–200.

The dating of both is hardly impressive, even when combined: Late first century and onward, but not beyond c.175 when British bow brooches have essentially ceased to be made.

Distribution: for both 1.ga and 1.gb, SOM aabbb SCILLY aaaaaaaabbbb MSX a GLOS ab NORF a Isle of Man b

The deep South West is once more indicated; the absence

of Devon is no surprise, as the number of brooches from this county in the Corpus is small.

1.x. Plate 71. The rest consisting of elements which look as though they ought to fit easily into one or more of the preceding, but which prove difficult. 7110*, from the Hildyard Collection, is drawn from a sketch and so is not to scale. 15365 has an enamelled stud not of the standard pattern, and the marked X on the head of Type 1 of the true Headstud. The distribution is not helpful.

7110* 7112 7120 7111 7113* 7116 15365

Dating: 7111 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 7116 Leicester, before c.180

Part 2. The Headstud [Headstud]

1.a. Plate 71. 14802* is a true transitional brooch. It has the stud with a blue glass bead, the reserved lozenges between triangular enamelled cells down the front of the bow, as well as the toothing down each side of the bow of Type 2 of the brooches below. But it has a Polden Hill spring system of the brooches above, the chord being run in a groove under the front of the cast-on loop on the head. It comes from Ariconium in Herefordshire.

14802*

1. Plate 71. A true Headstud, this group is put here as it provides one of the links between what has gone before and is to come. The stud is of normal type (see below) and the enamelled decoration on the lower bow is of the standard lozenges with triangles infilling down the sides; the foot is also of the normal type. But there is an incised X above the stud and the wings have a circular section, unlike the basically flat-fronted styles which follow.

7084–94 7095* 7449

Dating: 7086 Holcombe, 70–180; 7092 Barnsley, after 350.

Distribution: DORS 111 WILTS 11 DEV 1 CORN 1 SCILLY 1111 GLOS 11

As might be expected from the incised X, these belong to the deep South West.

2. The bow has teeth projecting from the sides, there is a stud or moulded ornament at the upper end and a forward-facing foot-knob, and the front of the wings is flat. 2.a has variant enamelling and 2b has dogs. These are followed by 2.c which have proper studs but with reserved lozenges between enamelled triangles. Finally there is 2.d with studs which are moulded and not enamelled. The end, 2.x, is made up of those which cannot be assigned to any group after the first.

The origin of the teeth on each side is obscure, but may have a rational explanation. One of the types of Hod Hill to be seen in the highways and byways of Roman Britain, at the same time as this Headstud was in the process of evolving, was the Type 12.c whose dating is not particularly early. Although its recorded numbers are rather small, it does not mean that the design did not make any impact,

witness the appearance on this Headstud Type of the distinguishing teeth deriving, in the case of the Hod Hill, from the knobs mounted on iron bars driven through the bow of the brooch (see Chapter 6, 12.a).

2.a. Plate 71. Enamelling on the bow in strips or rectangles (One from Xanten, [260], *Taf.6* 5.I.4) and without the dogs of 2.b.

7166 7173 7160* 7185 7179*

Dating: 7173 Kinvaston 55–70; 7166 Harlow temple before 80.

With only two with dates, one cannot be sure that the range is exclusively c.55–80.

Distribution: SCILLY 1 ESSEX 1 MSEX 1 STAFFS 1 NOTTS 1

2.b. With dogs on the upper part of the bow. The distributions are given after 2.b3.

2.b1. Plate 71. These are unenamelled and the suffix d indicates a dog or the slot for one.

7142d* 7144 7147d 7143d 12441d 13634

Dating: none.

2.b2. Plate 71. The *echt* dogs with enamelling. Wherever these can be examined in a good enough state, the dog was a separate casting fitted into a slot on the head of the brooch; therefore, those with slots and no animal are assumed to have once been fitted with them.

7141 7145 7146* 7149 9877–9 9881 9916 12325 12439* 12440 12442* 12997 13994–5

Dating: 7141 Wroxeter ? 75–100; 12440 Leicester, 125–50.

On this showing, the date-range would be 75–150.

2.b3. Plate 71. The dog has been reduced to a crest which at best is a reduction to a simple curve with a loop at the top representing the curled tail of the fully rounded creature. 7182 has no teeth, but there is a flange which, had a file been used, would have had the requisite feature. 7154 and 7178 have the foot facing down.

7150* 7151–5 7156* 7157 7182 7188 7178 7186–7 9894 12443

Dating: 7188 The Lunt, before 75?; 7151 Newstead, 80–c.200; 7178 Verulamium, 105–15; 7150* Marshfield, 4th century.

Distribution: KT 33 HANTS 1 SOM 3 HERTS 3 BUCKS 2 SUFF 1 NORF 1112233 NHTS 12 LEICS 223 RUT 2 WARKS 33 SALOP 2 NOTTS 2333 Lincs 222223 YORKS 22 SCOT 3

2.b1 has a limited area which seems to favour East Anglia, 2.b2 has a following in East Anglia and the East Midlands in the main, while 2.b3 is more widespread even to the West Midlands and Scotland, but still favouring the eastern side of England.

2.c. Plates 71–72. There is now a proper stud, but there are variations none of which really warrants a separate sub-group. 7171* is exceptional it has all the features of this type of Headstud, except the teeth on each side. It

also had a sprung pin secured by a rearhook and the wings have moulded ornament which incorporates a hollow which is not as large as the settings on the others of its general group. The use of celtic-style relief ornament is found sporadically in this type. Enamelled lozenges with in-filling triangles down the bow are now common.

7162–3 7167 7171* 7172 7175–6 7189 7180* 12446 12998 7164* 7165 7170 7177 7140 7136* 7181 9870 9913–5 13993 13996 15399

Dating: 7189 The Lunt, before 75?; 7177 Verulamium before 115–30.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 WILTS 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 11 SUFF 1 NORF 1 NHANTS 11 RUT 1 WARKS 1 SALOP 1 Lincs 111 NOTTS 111111 STAFFS 1

Widespread, except in the deep South West or in England north of the Dee-Humber line. There is perhaps a concentration beginning to show in the East Midlands.

2.d. Plate 72. The last group has moulded studs and the wings tend to be flat-fronted with one or two grooves at the end. That is, except for the first and last which has a crest, but not of the simplified dog-type.

7137–8 7158–9 7161 7168–9 7183 7184* 12444* 12445 13998 14575

Dating: 7168 Wall, with Neronian rubbish; 7137 7138 The Lunt, before 75?; 7158 Crundale probably later 1st century; 7159 Carlisle, late 1st century – 105–15; 7161 Derby, late 4th century.

The date of this and the last runs from before 70/5 probably into the second century as survivors in use.

Distribution: KT 1 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 LEICS 11 WARKS 11 DERBS 1 STAFFS 1 HAD W 1

There is a distinctly odd appearance to this with the North Midlands making more of a showing than is normally the case. However, the far-flung nature of the distribution, from Kent to Hadrian's Wall is enhanced by one from Langon in the Vendée (Dépôt Archéologique Départemental des Antiquités Historique, Fontenay le Comte).

2.x. Plate 72. These have no specific home, the last having a beaded standard foot-knob, incised triangles on the remains of the bow, and the teeth on each side.

7139 7190* 9928

Dating: there is none.

Summary of Type 2 Headstuds: Overall dating: 2.b is established by 75; the dog sequence covers the probably range from the late first century into the second century. Of special note is Pit 86 at The Lunt, Baginton, which produced four examples, 7137–8, 7188–9, which should all be before c.75. One from Broxtowe, 12998, ought also to be earlier than that. In short, it is the site assemblages which help rather than the spot dating. As for the end date of the type, the odd available date shows that it is very unlikely that any survived in use very far into the second century.

3. These are the first of the Headstuds with the proportions

of the well-known forms. We begin with those fitted with sprung pins. All have or had their springs mounted on sleeves through their coils running through a single loop behind the head of the brooch, and this presupposes a collar and loop, being the only real way to prevent the sleeve from falling out of the spring.

3.a. Plate 72. These have forward facing-hooks for the chord and rectangular cells for enamel down the bow.

7193–5 7196* 7197–9 7202–5 11859 7206 11859 7208–9 7211–3 7215–6 12327–8 13958 14552–3 12507 14491

Dating: 7199 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 7198 Prestatyn, before 70s?; 7205 Corbridge, 75–90/5; 14552 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 7196* Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century; 7211 Tripontium, 2nd century; 13958 Wilcote, 150–75; 7197 Whitton, before 160.

3.b. Plate 72. The bow has a single cell for enamel usually arranged as alternating blocks.

7191* 11857 7200–1 7207 7214 7218 13052 14555

Dating: 7214 Wall, 60–80/5; 7191* Wroxeter, before 90.

3.c. Plate 72. Then comes a small group of bow designs which fail to be like any of the others including not having any enamel. Those after / have the usual lozenge and triangle, or lattice, design. The foot has become standardised and so have the stubby wings with steps or beaded vertical mouldings.

7121 13953 13961 13959 7192 / 7219 7221–5

Dating: 7224 Bancroft mausoleum, mid-late 1st century; 7192 Corbridge, 75–90/5; 7223 Colchester, 80/5–c.100; 7221 Strageath, before 160/5.

Overall dating shows that the basic form was in being by 75 and was almost certainly not to be seen in use significantly after 100.

Overall Distribution: KT cc HANTS c WILTS a ESSEX c MSEX ab BUCKS ac OXON a GLOS a NORF aabb CAMBS ac LEICS accc WARKS aa SALOP b HERE a WALES aa Lincs aaa NOTTS bc STAFFS b YORKS aaaaabc DUR a HAD W acc SCOT aac

3.a is widespread and it is to be noted that its appearance on Hadrian's Wall is not in the Wall periods but in the military occupation preceding that. This may provide a horizon for those appearing on non-military sites in Scotland. 3.b may have just as wide a currency, but there are not enough to demonstrate this. 3.c belongs mainly to the east and occurs in the north mainly on sites which predate Hadrian's Wall. The one from Strageath will have arrived with the first occupants.

4. Plate 72. The pin is hinged, otherwise all else remains the same. There is, however, the imitation of features which belong, strictly speaking, exclusively to the sprung-pin examples. These range from real hooks to imitation ones with chords cast on to the top of the bow to the longest lived one of all, a crest aligned with the bow between stud and collar. However, most just have a stud at the top of the bow. The sequence is as before, only ending with the oddities. The lattice design is the largest group

and is worthy of its own type, 5. Those before / have skeuomorphic features including the simulation of a spring on the back of the cast wings on 7228*. One came from Vindonissa ([253], 109, *Taf.*12,8).

7228* 7229* 7231 7239 / 7227 7230 7232–4 7235* 7236–8 7240–1 7242–4 7246* 7247–53 11858 11860* 12447–8 12562 12773 13956–7 14554

Dating: 7231 Richborough, 75–90; 7239 Corbridge, 75–90/5; 7233 Chichester, Flavian; 7232 7236 Newstead, 80–c.200; 7235* Carlisle, late 1st century–105/15; 7241 Verulamium, 130–50.

The dating runs from the last quarter of the first century into the second with little sign that any should be dated after 125.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 DORS 1 WILTS 1 HERTS 1 NORF 1111 CAMBS 1111111 LEICS 1 RUT 1 Lincs 111111 NOTTS 1 STAFFS 111 CHESH 11 YORKS 1 HAD W 11 SCOT 11

The eastern side of England is favoured but basically south of the Humber and north of Essex. Few come from the west.

5. This is the classic Headstud. The pin is hinged, there is a cast loop on the head, the wings are stepped, the bow has the enamelled lattice with a groove on each side, and there is the usual foot-knob under cross-mouldings at the foot of the bow proper. The stud has an annular recess. The first one, from Wall, Staffs ([329], 48, fig. 18,2) despite the formal definition, has a separate loop and collar mounted in the ends of the wings.

5.a. Plates 72–73. The plain classic form as defined above, but 7290 confounds the issue by having a separate loop and collar but no crest as would be required by 5.b, and 7275* only has enamelling on the upper bow. One was found in a grave at Alteburg, Cologne, with a coin of Trajan and samian of the second half of the first century ([260], 73, *Taf.* 6,1.I.1).

7275* 7287–97 7298* 7299–320 7322–33 12329 12449–55 12597 12811 12999 13000–2 13984–8 14471 14557–9 15455

Dating: 14559 Castleford, 71/4–86; 7313 Prestatyn, 70s–160; 7314 Harlow temple, 80–100?; 7328 Doncaster, c.80–100; 7303 Nettleton, later 1st century?; 7289 7291 Newstead 80–c.200; 7297 Camelon, before 90 or Antonine; 14558 and one unillustrated No. 39 Castleford, 85/90–135/140; 12455 Wilcote, c.100–110; 2 unillustrated Castleford, Nos 37–8 140–180; 7317 High Cross, 2nd century?; 7315 Harlow temple, c.200 plus?; 7290 Wall, before early 3rd century; 7319 Verulamium, 430–460.

The dating, despite uncertainties, points unequivocally to the type having evolved by 75 and common through the rest of the first century. The difficulty comes when trying to decide where in the second century the type should be regarded as having passed out of use. Only the two unillustrated items from Castleford belong to the middle of the century, but they were probably residual from earlier deposits which yielded brooch 14559. In which case, the terminal date should be c.125.

5.b. Plate 73. There is an extra embellishment of a crest above the stud aligned with the bow, and the cast-on loop has been replaced by a separate loop and collar mounted in the ends of the wings (see sub-type 8.b).

7366* 7367 7389

Dating: none.

Distribution of both a and b KT aa WILTS aa SOM a SCILLY aa ESSEX aaa MSEX a HERTS aa OXON a GLOS aaa NORF aaaaaaab CAMBS aaaaaab NHANTS aa LEICS aaaaa RUT a WKS aa WALES aaa Lincs aaaa NOTTS a STAFFS aaa SALOP a YORKS aaaaa DUR a LANCS aaa CUMB aaa NHUMB a SCOT aaab

While these seem to cover the whole of Roman Britain south of the Antonine Wall, Central Southern England is poorly represented and the weighting which eastern England tends to get, owing to the greater chances of recording specimens, may not have unduly biased the distribution, witness those in Yorkshire and the north in general. The type had largely passed out of use when the legions arrived to build Hadrian's Wall, hence the specimens there must really be related to earlier activity.

6. Plate 73. The same as the last in all respects, but generally a little smaller and with a line of reserved lozenges down the middle replacing the open enamelled cells. In smaller details there may be change: the stud may have the recessed annulus, or a cross which, on better specimens, turns out to be four petals; the mouldings at the foot are reduced on occasion.

6303 7334–56 7357* 7358–9 11862–3 11865–7 11868* 12280 12456–60 13971–9 14465 14560–3 14653

Dating: 14562 Castleford, 71/4–86; 7355 Doncaster, 80–90; 14563 Castleford, 85/90–180, another unillustrated, No. 20, 100–250; 7348 Nettleton late 1st–early 2nd century; 6303 Wroxeter, late 1st–mid/late 2nd century; 14561 Castleford 140–180; 7345 Worcester early–mid 3rd century; 7359 Leicester 4th century; 14560 Caernarvon late 4th century.

The dating is not as precise as that for 5.a, but the same basic message is there: the type is established by 75 and the continuous sequence of dated examples breaks down in the earlier second century. The absence from the Military North is quite striking and may well be a product of date as well as a sign of marketing success.

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 11 SOM 11 MSEX 11 HERTS 11 BEDS 1 GLOS 11 SUFF 11 NORF 1111111111 CAMBS 111 NHANTS 1111 LEICS 11 WARKS 1 WORCS 1 WALES 11 SALOP 1 Lincs 1111 NOTTS 11 DERBS 1 YORKS 11111111 LANCS 1

None has come my way from the north of England or Scotland. Otherwise it is found over southern England, but the numbers from East Anglia and the western fen margin up into Yorkshire should not be only a product of the in-built biases of the Corpus. Indeed, the numbers from Yorkshire and Castleford in particular might indicate a manufacturing centre.

7. *Plate 73*. As for 6, but the lattice is replaced by a series of closely spaced cross-ribs.

7360–2 7363* 7364–5 12858 13960 14567–8

Dating: 14568 Castleford, 71/4–86; 7360 Harlow temple, ?80–100; 14567 Castleford, 100–250.

A good reflection of the dating for 6.

Distribution: ESS 1 GLOS 1 NF 1 CMBS 1 LEICS 1 NTTTS 1 Lincs 1 YKS 11 HW 1

This is like the pattern for Type 6 and has an example from the Military North as might be expected. Even so, the lack of emphasis there suggests that these types had passed out of use before the Antonine Wall was built and occupied. The detail that that example came from Vindolanda may mean that it had arrived before the construction of Hadrian's Wall had begun.

8. Divided the same way as 5, the difference being that these have enamelling on the wings. What is noticeable is that, unlike 5.a and 5.b, the ones with the crest, 8.b, greatly outnumber those of 8.a.

8.a. *Plate 73*. These do not have the crest above the stud. 7396 has two reserved voided circles side by side in the enamelling on the stud. 12462 (not below. 12466*?) and 14566 are larger than the others and this should account for why the stud arrangements do not conform with the others. The first is in the form of a tear-drop with an elaborate reserved design in the enamel; the other has a double stud with cone-shaped hollows, matched by one under the foot and with the enamelling on the bow divided between the standard cells at the top and rectangular ones at the bottom.

7368–72 7395–6 11864 12466* 12467 13981 14565–6

Dating: 14565 Castleford 71/4–86; 7368 Harlow temple before 80; 14566 Castleford 85/90–95/100.

8.b. *Plate 73*. These have the crest above the stud. The other feature which they tend to have, when examples are complete enough, is a separately made loop and collar fitted into the ends of the wings, the collars being enamelled on their fronts to match the bow and wings. Of these, 12462* is large and has what appears to be an aberrant feature: the condition of the piece prevented it from being clear whether there was a skeuomorph of a chord on the head or whether this was a cast-on loop flattened on to the surface of the brooch.

7373–88 7390–3 7394* 7397 12462* 13982–3 14034 14274 14564 14718 14911

Dating: 14564 Castleford, 85/90–135/140; 7397 Leicester, early-mid 2nd century; 7391 Chichester, after early 2nd century; 7373 Derby, 2nd half of the 2nd century; 7386 Barry, after 150; 7387 Catterick, 160–late 3rd century; 7380 Worcester, earliest 3rd century; 7394 Alcester, early 3rd century?; 7393 Old Winteringham, 3rd century; 7384 Nettleton, after 270.

Dating: what is immediately apparent from the first is that there is no good evidence for 8.b having had a start as early as 75 and only a little for a beginning date in the first century at all. It seems that the evidence is weighted

towards the middle and latter part of the second and into the third. This is at odds with the bulk of the dating of British brooches for which there is at present no good explanation. There is, therefore, some case for seeing 8.b as being a development from the brooches of 5.a and b, with 8.a belonging to those rather than the 8.b form.

Distribution: KT b SUSS b HANTS bbb WILTS b MSX a ESS a SUFF b EA b NF aaaabb CMBS a NHTS b WKS ab LEICS bb STAFFS a Lincs b NTTTS b DBS ab WORCS b WALES ab CH b YKS aabbbb CUMB b SCOT bbb

Assuming that the smaller numbers might be the earlier form, then 8.a shows a stronger presence on the eastern side of England from Norfolk into Yorkshire than elsewhere. 8.b is the one which spread into virtually all parts of Roman Britain.

9. Gone is the standard lattice in favour of largely unenamelled bow; the wings may sweep back in a single curve, and the enamelled ones may have a "celtic" style. The stud is now a deep cell with a hole through to the back for a metal rivet to fix a presumably solid enamel stud of some form – none seems to have survived. The foot has a similar setting underneath, the rivet breaking through into the catch-plate area. All have the crest above the stud.

These are presented as three variants of the design of the wings; further subdivisions could be made, even the creation of new and separate groups depending on whether the loop is cast-on or of wire with a collar mounted in the ends of the wings. However, for the sake of simplicity the latter difference has been ignored save to underline those with the cast-on loop. As these are frequently lost, the absence of any positive trace of a cast-on loop is taken to be evidence for them, and as it happens, the general absence of the cast-on loop serves to show how secure the basic identification is.

9.a. *Plate 73*. These have enamelled wings and, as there is seldom any clear break from one design to another, 7408 is a variant on enamelled bows in having lines of enamelled triangles on each side of the bow.

7398 7399* 7401–4 7405 7407–9 12330 12461* 12462–5 13473 13763 13862–3 13965–8 14300–1 14317 14556

Dating: 7403 Carlisle late 2nd–early 3rd century.

9.b. *Plate 73*. Here the swept-back wings have stepped fronts. 7411 7412* 7413 7414–7 7418 7419 7433 13970 14569

Dating: 7411 Exeter before 75; 14569 Castleford 85/90–135/140; 7418 Balmuildy 140–155.

9.c. *Plate 73*. The wings are moulded and may be round in section.

7438 11861* 1346 13980 14781

Dating: none.

Distribution of all three: WILTS b DEV bb HERTS a OXON aa GLOS aab HERE c WALES bc EA a NORF aaab Lincs ac NOTTS a DERBS ac SALOP a YORKS aaabbc DUR a NHUMB a CUMB a SCOT aabbbb

The example from Balmuilty, 7418, as part of the Antonine Wall, has two possible dates of deposition, and I have chosen the earlier and longer period. The other sites in Scotland are non military and have much more open-ended histories of occupation. Assuming a direct relationship between 9.a and 9.b more intimate than just typological, the dating for 9.b may be roughly applicable to 9.a. The distribution of 9.b, however, is more in favour of the west and the Military North than that for 9.a. Most should lie between the latter part of the first century and the third quarter of the second, unless the example from Balmuilty is a survivor in use well out of its horizon. All the others come from sites occupied in the earliest second century, if not earlier. The number of 9.b from Scotland is perhaps remarkable and their absence so far from Hadrian's Wall may be more than just coincidence.

10. These essentially have unenamelled bows, but this is not obligatory. There is also a tendency for the foot-knob to be much simpler than the normal double moulded version separated from two or three more at the base of the bow by a flute.

10.a. Plates 73–74. These have or had a separate loop and collar mounted in the ends of the wings. The foot-knobs vary from one reminiscent of that on an Aucissa, 7436, through a triple moulded one which often has the central element beaded, 7406, to versions like the standard foot-knob, 7400. Of these, the second is by far the most common. Distributions after 10.c.

7131 7400 7406 7410 7429 7431 7436 7440 12463* 13240 13954* 13965 14302 14570 14572

Dating: 14570 14572 Castleford 71/4–86; 7429 Derby 150–75.

10.b. Plate 74. Here are those with the cast-on loop, frequently on an integral pedestal. Again, the foot-knobs are not standard, the greater number being like the most common on 10.a. 12331 has a petalled foot-knob. 7424 shows a repair: there is the cast-on pedestal without the loop, and a replacement loop and collar mounted in the ends of the wings. Distributions after 10.c.

7420–2 7424* 7425 7426* 7427* 7428 7430 7432 7437 7439 7443 12331–2

Dating: none.

10.c. Plate 74. These have the standard Headstud foot-knob and, as they are not a major group, can be compared directly with those having other forms of foot-knob. These all have cast-on loops without a pedestal.

7103 7272 7433* 7435 7442 7444 13969 14573 15400

Dating: 7435 Richborough 60–90; 14573 Caernarvon late 4th century.

Distribution of all three: KT bc SCILLY ac ESSEX aa NORF abbc CAMBS bc LEICS bc LINC aaabbc NOTTS aa DERBS a STAFFS b WALES ccc YORKS aaaacc CUMB bb HAD W b NHUMB b SCOT ab

The location of 10.a is exclusively the eastern side of England, save for one from Nor'Nour which is not quite

like the others. The examples of 10.b are more widely distributed, but still are absent from the west of England and Wales, and there is no distinction whether they are small, 7427*, or large, 7424*. When it comes to 10.c, the picture is different; they are to be found in Wales. Three may not seem to be significant, but they have to be seen against the absence of both 10.a and 10.b.

11. This, the last recognized grouping, is in one sense at the wrong end of the sequence for all here have sprung pins. Although Type 3 has sprung pins, the members of that, including the subdivisions, have a clearer relationship with the hinged-pin varieties than any of these. They serve to show that there were byways in the development of the straightforward series which lead nowhere and in that sense all that follow were failures for they had no progeny.

11.a. Plate 74. These have hooks which ended in studs, although the first is a little doubtful: the side view fits this rather than only having a rounded end on the hook alone. On the other hand, the side view of 7273* suggests strongly that should be assumed have a cast-on stud, but is in fact only on the end of the hook. 7282* is an extraordinary item. Distributions are after 11.c.

7268–70 7273* 7274 7282* 7267 13955

Dating: 7274 Newstead 80–c.200.

11.b. Plate 74. The underlined ones have Colchester spring systems, and none has a stud. Distributions are after 11.c.

7265–6 12436* 7254–6 7257–8 7260–2 7263* 7264 14465

Dating: 7263* Honley, c.73; 7258 The Lunt, before c.75; 7265–6 two examples Corbridge, 75–90; 7262 Carlisle, late 1st century–105/15; 12436* Wilcote, 100–125.

As might almost be expected, here are the ones which have the Colchester spring system and the largest number of separately-made foot-knobs. The earliest indicated manufacturing date is surely no later than c.65/70 and that is only about ten to fifteen years later than the last Colchesters are likely to have been seen in use. One would think that it is only a matter of time before the date-ranges will overlap by producing earlier versions of brooches in this group. However, there is one type of Colchester, Type 8, which was favoured by the military and, although seemingly rare in Britain, examples have come from similar and sometimes precisely the same sites associated with 11.b and this might be how the basic 11.b evolved. Perhaps these ought to have been listed with Colchesters as a development from Type 8, but the detailing places them more with Headstuds. None was lost significantly after 100 and from 90 they were passing out of use.

11.c. Plate 74. Hinged pins, but those before / have more than a passing similarity with members of 11.b. Those after / have cast-on loops and pedestals, or loops by themselves, but otherwise are not markedly different.

7259* 7463 7468 13287 13992 14574 / 12333* 12334 12336 13989–91

Dating: 14574 Castleford, 71/86.

Distribution: KT a DEV a OXON bb GLOS bb LEICS b WARKS bbc Lincs abc NOTTS ac DERBS a STAFFS b YORKS abcccccc HAD W bbbccc SCOT aa

Though there are few, 11.a brooches seem to favour the north and Scotland. As for 11.c, these are at present basically north of the Wash and again emphasise the eastern side of England. Eight or nine of the 14 examples of 11.b are remarkably from military or official sites. But, given the possible association with two military Colchesters (Chapter 2, part 3, Type 8), this need not surprise. 11.c, with two from North Tyneside (13989, 13991), has a northern feel and this is not surprising when we seem to be in the same milieu, as far as design goes, with 11.b. Note that 7259* comes from the fortress site at Mancetter.

Regional Associations, these are as the title indicates, brooches which have more of a flavour of a particular region than the great majority of Headstuds reveal.

R1. East Midlands. Plates 74–75. These had wire pins wound round an axis bar which was often in a tube cast in the mould, the result being that if there was a poor bond, the cylinder dropped out and the brooch was rendered inoperative: 7283*, 7285. In the case of 7117 and 7118*, the association with a Headstud is tenuous, being confined to enamelling and relief ornament on the head of the bow.

7283* 7285 / 7117 7118*

Dating: 7283* Stonea, later 2nd century.

R2. Polden Hills. Plate 75. Normally at home on the western side of Britain, the Polden Hill system is to be found sporadically elsewhere. The distribution of the few known favours the area south of the Humber.

7132* 7133 7280* 7281 7284* 7447 14551

Dating: 7132 Upton St. Leonards, late 1st–mid 2nd century?

R3. The South West. Plate 75. The presence of the X above the stud shows the relationship with Type 1, and a slightly less rigid view of the definition of that type might have allowed these three a home there. Only 7450, from East Anglia, lies outside the homeland.

7445* 7448 7450

Dating: 7445* Dorchester, late 2nd–4th century.

Oddments: only a selection is illustrated.

X1 Enamelled. Plate 75. 7286 is a hybrid, Headstud in form but no stud, only a curiously enamelled knop. 7441* had a narrow strip of red enamel down the front and the front of a pedestal on the head was undercut suggesting that the chord of the spring had been held there. An example of this general group comes from Frankfurt Hedderheim ([260], 73, *Taf.* 6.4.I.2).

4950 7271 7276 7278* 7279 7286 7441* 12438*

Dating: 7286 Baldock 55–90.

X2 Unenamelled. Plate 75.

7434 7446* 7451 14571

Dating: 14571 Castleford, 85/90–135/140.

Fragments: all are of lower bows which cannot be easily slotted into any of the groups identified above.

7423 7453 7564 12437

Part 3. The Wroxeter. Plates 76–77 [WROX]

These are not really Headstuds, but they are not really Colchester Derivatives in the main either. There are sufficient of the latter with studs to suggest some kind of spin-off, but the bulk are independent varieties which deserve a better name than I have managed to come up with so far. The name comes, not so much from the relatively large number from the site, but more for the detail that the earliest typological forms occur there.

The question of origin is vexed. The most prominent feature of the bow is frequently the appearance of an enamelled stud, sometimes a plain boss. The only brooch types which consistently used a major feature on the bow are the Headstud itself, the Trumpet or the last Birdlips as defined (Chapter 2, Part 1). The Trumpet has been taken care of (Chapter 5) and there is no interchange between the Wroxeter and the Trumpet. The very varied nature of the earlier Wroxeters owes nothing to the Headstud or, seemingly, to the last Birdlips.

Brooch 6276* is awkward: had it had a type of Polden Hill spring arrangement, it would have been assigned to Type 1. As it has, however, a version of the Harlow spring system, it is out of place. Nevertheless, it comes from Wroxeter and so has a first call on being called a “Wroxeter”, despite its aberrant spring system. In some senses, it represents part of the eclectic origins of the group placed here under that name.

6276* 1762*

1.a. All are patently Colchester Derivatives in basic form and they have either the Polden Hill method of holding the spring, or the pins are hinged. All have decoration on the upper bow. The bulk have either a stud or an ornamental blob at the base of the main decorative zone at the head of the bow. Some have no stud, blob or a decorated head, but other elements in their form show how they are related. Brooch 3827* (Plate 4) in 3.d of Chapter 2, Part 1, bears more than a superficial likeness to the brooches here for it to be considered as a possible precursor. However, the fact that it was fitted with an integral bilateral spring and had a framed catch-plate prevents its appearance here.

One thing to note is that the first three examples listed under 1.a1 were made in more than one piece, discounting the spring. Colchester Derivatives belonging to the Polden Hill family 1.a were made from separate pieces riveted together. Their distribution lies mainly in the Midlands and the lower Severn Family and it is there that the very distinctive group classified as Polden Hills 2.a are at home.

It should be from a common rather inchoate milieu that all derived.

1.a1. Plate 76. These are nearly all Polden Hills. What unites them is the decoration on the upper bow which is stopped at the bottom by either a feature as in 5637* or has a swept edge around the bottom as in 5658. The two from Prestatyn came from a site which produced evidence for brooch manufacture in the form of an unused mould for a Trumpet (Chapter 5, Part 1, 1.3b2, 5221*).

6276, 5640 and 15386 display a family likeness. The last two have hinged-pins, but only the last has the lower bow with the foot. The unifying feature is the line on the upper bow distorted by punching to produce a wavy ridge.

5637* 5646–7 5635–6 5640 3666 5654–6 5658 5659* 9821

Dating: 5636 Colchester, 60/1–c.150; 5646–7 Prestatyn, 70s–160; 5635 Wall, Hadrianic-Antonine.

The dating suggests that the form develops in the later first century, and in its multi-part construction this ought to be so, but the solid cast forms fairly obviously could have run on possibly to the mid-second century.

Distribution: ESSEX 11 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 SALOP 111 NWALES 11 Lincs 11 STAFFS 1 CHESH 1 LANCS 1

The upper Severn Valley area seems to predominate, but the style also travelled to the east coast south of the Humber and there are not necessarily enough examples to be completely sure that the north Welsh Marches and Lancashire was the area where the type was most at home. However, the relationship of the first three, listed with brooches made in more than one part, is suggestive.

1.a2. Plate 76. All except 5648, 5642* and 13885 have hinged pins. All taper to the foot and the ornament is confined to strips down the upper bow, only 5642* displaying any originality. Brooches 5652 and 5653, both from Prestatyn, are unenamelled but have the added mouldings on the sides of the lower bows which is a mark of that factory. S = spring.

5641 5642* 5644 5648S 5649* 5650–53 5657 9820S 9925 13885S

Dating: 5651 Prestatyn, 70s–160 and 5642*, 120–160; 5644 Wroxeter, before mid 2nd century; 5657 Chester, after mid 2nd century; 5649* 5650 5652–3 Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century.

A late first century origin is possible, but the emphasis is probably more on the second century, four from Prestatyn clearly being residual.

Distribution: DORS 1 WALES 1111111 SALOP 1 CHESH 111 IRELAND 1

Fairly obviously, most of these mark the area of production, Prestatyn being demonstrably one of the centres and Wroxeter another.

1.b. The wings have gone and with them the basic appearance of a Colchester Derivative. At best, there is a head-plate with a semicircular bottom from which

issues a straight-sided bow which has a marked change of direction once the central feature has been passed, and the lower part frequently has a recurve. The decoration is often enamelled.

The items gathered here are divided according to how the sprung pin is mounted. Firstly, there is the bilateral spring mounted on a single plate or loop, secondly the spring is housed between two pierced plates and lastly the pin is hinged.

1.b1. Plate 76. Bilateral spring mounted on a single plate or loop behind the head of the bow. 5645* from Prestatyn is one of the most remarkable brooches in the Corpus: it is of enamelled iron. 14805 would, because of the shape of the top part of the head-plate, be counted as a member of 1.c, but is here because of the basic definition of this group. 2927 is here because of the head, the profile lacking the marked recurve of the basic group.

2927 5638* 5639* 5643 5645* 5660–1 5664 5665* 5686 14805 15402–3

Dating: 5660 Silchester, c.100–120

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 1 GLOS 111 WARKS 1 SALOP 111 SWALES 1 NWALES 1 CHESH 1 NHUMB 1

From Hampshire to Northumberland, but still an emphasis on the Severn Valley and the area to its north.

1.b2. Plate 76. The spring is mounted like that of a Polden Hill Colchester Derivative: on an axis bar between pierced plates. 5675* is an unfettled casting from Poole's Cavern, Buxton and part of the evidence that brooches were made in the southern Pennines.

5662* 5666–71 5675* 5687* 5688–9 5690* 14451* 14803

Dating: 5668 Derby, 115–140.

Distribution: OXON 1 GLOS 1111 EA 1 LEICS 1 DERBS 11111 SALOP 1 CHESH 1

The Derbyshire group is distinctive which means that there was another centre producing these brooches not far from the known and suspected centres. The specimens belonging to Gloucestershire are also more or less related one to another. That none comes from Cumbria, the Hadrian's Wall zone or from Scotland suggests that the dating may be different from that of the next group and certainly the marketing was, as far as can be told, different. However, the distribution of 1.b3 as published by Philpot (1999) is severely skewed by the limited area of intensive metal detecting.

1.b3. Plates 76–77. These have hinged or sprung pins. 5676 from the same site, and almost identical in design, is made of lead and might have been used as a pattern: its material is not suitable for use. S = spring.

This is Philpot's [577] Wirral Type as defined in a single drawing (*ibid.*, fig.1). He mentions that the earliest recorded examples came from Meols and they are 5677 and 5678 here. He notes that metal detector activity has produced a great many from the Wirral and it is this

which has determined his name for the form (*ibid.*, 279). All this is a valuable reminder that intensive activity of this sort can provide many spots on a map, but without carrying out a similar exercise over a much wider area, it will never be certain that any type can be regarded as being so positively. Nevertheless, there is a switch in the limits of the distribution of those recorded by me of this sub-type and that of 1.b2 which suggests strongly that there was a different marketing arrangement with a limited overlap, but whether this was reflected in the concurrent chronology cannot be known as there is effectively no dating for either sub-type on which to base any argument soundly.

5663 5672 5673* 5674* 5676S 5677–82 5685 6282 9818–9 13951

Dating: none, but 5663 from the end of the Antonine Wall may well belong to the middle decades of the 2nd century.

Distribution: SUFF 1 NHANTS 1 WALES 1 DERBS 1 SALOP 1 CHESH 1111 CUMB 11 HUM-HAD W 1 SCOT 111

This distribution runs up the Pennines into Scotland and should be compared with that of 1.b2 and read with the comments on Philpot's paper [577] above.

1.c. *Plate 77.* All have their sprung pins mounted as in 1.b2. These have versions of the Trumpet knob or decoration involving lenticular bosses or a tall head plate or a combination of any two of these.

5629–34 5682–4 5691–6 5697* 5698–705 5706* 5707 5708* 9947 12069 13952 14452 14804

Dating: 5633 Winchester, 43–140; 5704 Biglands, 125–180/97; 5684 Alcester, early-mid 4th century.

Distribution: KT 11 SURR 1 HANTS 111 WLTS 1 HERTS 1 CMBS 1 EA 1 NF 1 GLOS 11111 WALES 111 OXON 1 WORC 11 WARKS 111 LEICS 11 NOTTS 1 Lincs 1 LANCS 1 CUMB 11

Most of England south of the Pennines appears to be covered, though weakly towards the deep South West. There is a representation up the west side of the Pennines and also in South Wales. This type and 1.b3 appear to almost mutually exclusive, which would argue that they were probably contemporary.

Part 4. Colchester Derivatives, with Trumpet-style Knops [CD H/PH 1]

There is no need to define, the title says it all. There are glimpses now and again that the basic brooch belongs to a definite group already identified above, but with the addition of the knob and frequently of enamelling, these cannot really be seen as a normal part of the plainer relations. They overwhelmingly have hinged pins, but there are a very few without, and these are indicated by an appended S.

1.a. *Plate 77.* The brooch is a simple T-shape with enamelled cells on the wings and bow, triangles on the

former and a line of lozenges with infilling triangles on the latter in the main, although 5752* has stepped wings and paired long cells on the bow. 5751 has an additional feature, a headstud above the knob. All have a petalled knob, but of fairly simple form, save for 5751.

5747–51 5752S* 10545 11855* 13924

Dating: 5749 Scole, Trajanic–Hadrianic; 5752 Little Chester, mid-Antonine.

Distribution: WILTS 1 SOM 1 EA 11 NHANTS 1 Lincs 1 NOTTS 1 DERBS 11

The area covered is that south of the Pennines and, although more examples may show that some come from further north, it may be doubted if the picture will change significantly.

1.b. *Plate 77.* The upper bow has what could be described as a series of ripples up each side of the upper bow. These unite the whole group, the knobs varying from a proper petalled form, 5711*, but more commonly plain mouldings and then finally the knob is replaced by a triangular cell for enamel. All must come from the same workshop and all show the variations which can be used by the makers. // are used to divide the group.

5711* / 5709 5710 5712* 5713–4 5715* 5716* 13925 / 5717 5718

Dating: 5710 Catsgore, late 2nd century–400.

Distribution: WILTS 1111111 SOM 1 SCILLY 1 This says it all: it belongs in the South West.

1.c. *Plate 77.* The upper bow has a ridge either running up from the central feature out to the side of the head, or along the junction of the bow with the wings. 5732* has a Polden Hill spring system which, not surprisingly, comes from Norfolk.

5719 5723–5 5729 5731 5732* 5733* 5734–5 5746

Dating: 5719 Catsgore, after 150/80; 5735 Camerton, 180–350.

The dating is indecisive, both sites having a fair amount of residual material. The one from Norfolk should not date later than the early second century, if as late as that.

Distribution: WILTS 1111 SOM 1111 SCILLY 11 EA 1 Again, the South West; the odd one sprung-pin one in Norfolk adds nothing to this.

1.d. *Plate 77.* A broad head with a slight taper into the knob which has a variety of mouldings, but no petals.

5720–2 5726* 5727 5738

Dating: none.

Distribution: WILTS 1 SCILLY 111 GLOS 1 SWALES 1 No real change on the previous two.

1.e. *Plate 77.* These almost defy description, but they rely for their effect on the prominent cross-mouldings and the lipped lenticular bosses in the two zones. In that sense, these have a double knob, so large that the whole of the upper bow is taken up by them. Only on 5745 is

there a sufficient shift in the ornament for there to be an appearance of a knop.

5743* 5744 5745

Dating: 5743* The Lunt, before 75?; 5744 Baldock, 70–90; 5745 Nettleton, 69–117 coins.

Distribution: WILTS 1 HERTS 1 WARKS 1

x. *Plates 77–78.* Miscellaneous, ranging from 13923, with its fully moulded wings, petalled knop and foot, to 5728* which has a minimal, almost apologetically, petalled moulding.

5728* 5730 5736 5737 5739 5741* 5742 13923

Dating: 5741* Marshfield, late 1st and 2nd century.

Distribution: WILTS 11 SOM 1 SCILLY 11 SWALES 11 NHTS 1

For such a disparate group, the concentration on the South West and associated areas seen already is still worthy of note.

xx. *Plate 78.* All by itself at the moment, this had a bilateral spring mounted on a single loop behind the head of the bow which has a prominent set of mouldings which almost certainly owe more to the Trumpet than anything else.

5740S*

Chapter 5. The Trumpet and its Varieties

Plates 78–88

Part 1. Mainstream Trumpets [TR]

All those dealt with here have springs mounted on single loops behind the head of the bow. The loops always look much bigger than is needed because they have to accommodate the sheet metal sleeve which runs through the coils. This has to house the ends of the wire used for the loop over the head of the brooch, its waist is caught by a collar of some form. Both tube and loop depend on each other: had there not been a need for a loop, the sleeve would not have been needed.

Robin Collingwood, noted philosopher and guru of Romano-British studies following the death of Francis Haverfield, wrote a paper about Romano-Celtic Art in Northumbria [155] in which he discussed the Trumpet Brooch (*ibid.*, 42–52). One need not follow the intricacies of his argument which was based upon too few specimens and a lack of familiarity with England south of the Military Zone. He applied the word *acanthus* to the knop and this raises images of Corinthian capitals, highly inappropriate. Here they are said to be petalled, a less emotive word. Those who choose to work through his text will see from the maps and the dating presented here that there is little substance in his paper. But he made two observations which are worth looking at.

The first is that he considered that the Trumpet derived from a type which I have labelled Stead Type 2.b (See Chapter 2, Part 1), and that is discussed below. The other concerns the profile of the lower bow. He talks of the ugliness of the straight leg, or lower bow in the terminology used here, being improved when it is formed to produce a single curve. One is “stumpy”, the other is “graceful”, but the lower bow may be recurved as his fig. 3,f shows. Now as it happens the earliest known enamelled Trumpet brooches 4956 and the unenamelled 5116 both have a curved lower bow and it may be worth exploring the distribution and dating of others with a similar feature.

1.a1a	Thetford 5040, Welton Wold 11828* Plate 78 , Binchester 14659?, N Tyneside 14129
1.a1b	Orton Hall Farm 5084
1.a1c	none
1.a2	The Lunt 5116
1.a3	Castleford 14655, Quidenham 14128
1.a4	none
1.b1	Leicester 5082, Sleaford 5099?* Plate 79 , Vindolanda 5121, Ashton Nhts 5149, Baldock 14658, Thoroton 14146?

1.b2	Grandford 14131?, Thoroton 13140
1.b3	none
1.x	Lincoln 12371
1.2a	none
1.2b1	Verulamium 4943, E Anglia 4946, Dorchester in Thames 4947, Corbridge 4948, Wicklewood Norf 11826?* Plate 80 , Usk 12353, N Yorks 15448?
1.2b2	Cirencester 4951* Plate 80
1.2b3	London 4928
1.2b4	The Lunt 4956*, <u>Wicklewood</u> 4965, Ditchingham 4958?* both Plate 80
1.2b5	Rudston 4972?
1.2b6	Newstead 4969 1470
1.2b7	Stoke Holy Cross 14119* Plate 80 , Corbridge 4976?
1.2bx	Halam 4971, London 4959
1.2by	Caerleon 4974
1.2c1	Durham County 5007?, Settle 5008
1.2c2	Little Chester 5016* Plate 81

Dating: 4956* 5116 The Lunt, before 75; 4969–70 Newstead, 80–c.200; 4974 Caerleon, c.100; 5016* Little Chester, 2nd–? early 3rd century; 14655 Castleford, 100–250; 5084 Orton Hall Farm, 225/50–300/325; 4943 Verulamium, 260–270; 4972 Rudston, after 370.

Of the ten dated brooches, six come from sites which were occupied already at 75, or began at c.80, and three of the others have first-century occupation. There is a break in the dating sequence with the eighth being earlier third century at the earliest.

It comes as no surprise that the best represented group in the Type 1 group should be 1.b1 as that already stands out as being early. The brooch numbers underlined in the Type 1.2 group have Type 1.b knops and it is not particularly surprising to find that out of 20 examples in 1.2b, eight are of this type.

Whatever the case, the result is that there seem to be grounds for thinking that brooches in which the bow profile follows through to the foot-knob in more or less a single curve are amongst the earliest. However, those with ? attached to the number have curves which are less pronounced than the others and it is possible that there was a progressive straightening out. As the brooches were worn with the feet, as we see them, sticking up in the air, it may well be that something a little more prominent was needed and that could be achieved by straightening the lower bow.

Distribution: MSX 11 GLOS 1 WALES 11 HRTS 11

SUFF 1 NORF h111?? EA 1 OX 1 CAMBS 1? NHTS
1 WKS 11 LEICS 1 NTTS h11? DBS 1 Lincs h? YKS
1!?? DUR ?? HW 111? SCOT 11

In the broadest sense the main distribution lies west of Birmingham, north of the Thames at London and south of the Pennines. In a narrower sense, it is Hertfordshire to the Trent and Coventry into East Anglia. It may be that one should look for the origin of the Trumpet as a type in this broad area.

Fortunately, the almost complete answer is provided by a gold Birdlip from Market Rasen (Chapter 2, Part 1.4: 10537*, Plate 5), now in the British Museum. We can see that Collingwood was right almost by chance. E. J. W. Hildyard [392] had a more valid approach in seeing the Pannonian as a possible origin when married with the continental station of the Legio IX and its first fixed fortress in Britain at Lincoln, but the Birdlip was already established in the area.

The Carmarthen Brooch, 4979* in Type 2.c1 (Plate 81), would normally not be specially mentioned but for a paper published [83] which made extravagant claims: "it was made not later than 25–50" (*ibid.*, 41). That it comes from the west side of Britain can be seen in the distribution of the others of its group. When it comes to the dating however, we are treated to an analysis of the decoration (*ibid.*, 48–50) alone, no attention being paid to the functional aspect. The choice of parallels is unfortunate as not one has a secure date, all merely floating in an art-historical soup. If the functional aspect had been properly considered, it would soon have appeared that the single loop for a separately-made spring could not possibly be as early as the second quarter of the first century A.D.: they make it into an invention (*ibid.*, 59), the coiling of an integral spring being too difficult for the silversmith! The discussion of the actual date (*ibid.*, 50–57) suggested that the earliest archaeologically-dated Trumpets are the two from the Lunt, 4956* (Plate 80) and 5116, although at that time only the first had been published (*ibid.*, 52). The paper ends with a discussion of the ultimate origins of the type (*ibid.*, 57–61) in which the Stead, again, as it is described here (Chapter 2, part 1) is seen as the *fons et origo*. The problem of the lapse of time between the perceived end of one and the lapse of the specimen from The Lunt was nullified by saying that the Trumpet is one of its most magnificent forms. No evidence has been found to sustain this view.

These brooches are selected from those with the standard bilateral spring mounted on a single loop or lug behind the head of the bow. However, in the residue of those with hinged pins, there are five brooches, below Part 3, x1, with bows whose profile is part of a full involute curve. The three with provenances come from South Ferriby in Lincolnshire, Margidunum in Nottinghamshire, Feltwell in Norfolk and one of the others from an unlocated site in the East Midlands. Two of these sites are well known for their early Roman occupation and 5506* (Plate 87) from South Ferriby was found with two Colchesters and

20 Corieltavoran coins ([138], 27, fig. 2,1–3). The coins were examined by Derek Allen (*ibid.*) and there is no suggestion that any Roman coin was discounted.

The coins themselves were likely to have been in use to some extent until Nero began to mint in 64, Claudian coins being in such short supply that there were more-or-less official copies. Therefore there are no grounds for arguing that the solitary Trumpet must be pre-conquest. The chances would seem to be that the hoard and the brooches were deposited in the decade 45–55. This, of course, still means that the Trumpet must be very early. The problem is that there was no other brooch of later type with the three. The build-up of hoards can be complex and, in this instance, it is possible that the coins had been separated from ordinary circulation at an early date, and that two usable Colchesters were added, or even had formed part of the original sequestered group, and that the Trumpet, therefore, is genuinely the latest object. In which case, deposition could have been c.60–65. Even so, this would still make the South Ferriby Brooch the earliest known. The hinged pin need be no problem: Birdlips with hinged pins evolved in the same area (see Chapter 2, Part 1, Type 4.1c) and probably before the Roman army arrived in the area.

Other Trumpets with integral springs are Gloucester 15422* (Plate 78) and Wickford, Essex 15424. Then there are 5506* (Plate 87), 5510 and 12382* (Plate 87), all with hinged pins, and both from the eastern edge of England. Nothing certain here, but none is in the North. For the early development of any type one has to rely on chance survival and for the Pannonian to have lasted to 60/70 is not unreasonable and for the Trumpet to have evolved in the period 60–75 is reasonably certain: there is enough overlap of time and very probably of territory for the happy cross-fertilisation to have occurred.

At this point the hinged Trumpets mentioned above can be introduced. They show little sign of being influenced by any Pannonian, but the brooches were made by native craftsmen who were not making copies of anything. Even the Aesica Type (Chapter 2, Part 4) does not slavishly copy a Rosette (Chapter 2, Part 2). The truth is that these native workers were adapting a familiar basic shape into something else tricked out with new ornament. All one need note is that wherever petalling of the knob comes from, the South Ferriby brooch, 5506*, found with the Iron Age coins, has plain mouldings. However, another from the same site with an integral spring has elements of petalling: 15423* (Plate 78). It was in a heavily eroded state and the bulbous parts of the bow above and below may have been divided by cross-mouldings.

1. The Standard Trumpet. This is the plainest of the ordinary Trumpets, and beginning at the top, the collar has two or three mouldings across the front, the central one of the latter form sometimes being beaded. There is a nib on the head of the bow designed to prevent the whole of the loop and collar from moving over the head of the brooch; the trumpet head itself is plain with a groove round the

outer edge. The knop is petalled, that is, it has a central disc with projections sweeping out all round on each side from the mouldings at the bottom of the head and the top of the lower bow. These mouldings are frequently a trio, of which the middle one is often beaded, sometimes a pair, less often a single one. The lower bow has a central arris and a groove down each side. The foot-knob is made up of three more mouldings, again with beading on the middle one on many examples. The catch-plates are solid.

These Trumpets are divided into two main groups, those which have knops running all the way round with petals behind the bow, and those in which the petals are only on the front and sides and there is at best a minimal shaping at the back of the bow, and frequently nothing at all.

There may seem to be a fair number of variations for what is described as being the standard type, but the brooch was made for a fair length of time and almost certainly in more than one place. In terms of the manufacturing practices of the time, these small differences are hardly of any account. The only one which is of any moment to be found in the examples gathered here is the appearance of the hinged pin. The distribution will make it clear that this is a habit belonging to those made somewhere in or near the southern Pennines, and is also to be found in Colchester Derivatives of the Dolphin Type (Chapter 3, Part 3, Type 3).

1.a. Petalling runs right round the bow. These are divided into three groups. Firstly come those with four petals only; secondly those with more than four; and fourthly those which have a double disc in the knop itself.

1.a1. those having four petals. 5122 has a simple cross-moulding near the top of the lower bow. Those underlined have hinged pins.

These have been divided, like those of 1.b, according to how many mouldings there are on each side of the knop. The idea is to see what results here in relation to what appears there. Firstly, the division is not simple and it is the number under the knop which was used to determine the group to which any brooch should be assigned. The conclusions are given at the end of 1.b3.

1.a1a. *Plate 78*. Three mouldings. There are two aberrations, both included because there is no more reasonable home for them. The first is an example (11828*) from Welton Wold just north of the Humber which has a skeuomorph chord and is hinged. It has engraved ornament and a curved lower bow. The second is from Ariconium (9991*, *Plate 84*) and has the spring mounted between double lugs. However, on mature consideration, it has been placed in Type 2.2d.

All are measured from the top of the trumpet head to the foot.

75mm	5059
68mm	14659
65mm	5025 9971 9980 14129
60mm	5097 5100 5233 9973 11680 11828* 12361*
54mm	5052

50mm	5033 5040 5075
47mm	5051 12335
incomplete and unsized	5057 9951 12362 12367 15405

Dating: 5051 Prestatyn, 70s–160; 5052 Newstead, c.80–200; 5057 Castleford, 100–250; 9973 Catterick, 117/130–170/80; 5059 Mumrills, 140–c.163; 5025 Camelon, 140–160/5; 15405 Catterick, 150–170/80; 9971 Catterick, 200/20–400+; 5033 Alcester, ?early 3rd century; 5075 Rudston, after mid 3rd century.

The general range is from the later part of the first century into the third. However, a range from c.100 to c.175 actually covers six of the nine.

Distribution: SOM 1 MSEX 11 NORF 1 WARKS 1 WALES 1 Lincs 1 YORKS 111111111111 DUR 11 HAD W 1 SCOT 111

More north of the Humber-Dee line than south of it; Yorkshire is well represented and could be the chief area of manufacture.

1.a1b. *Plate 78*. 2 mouldings. 5021* from Carlisle is another example with a hinged pin, but without a fake chord. Again the measurements are from the top of the trumpet to the base of the foot.

73mm	5110
68mm	5021*
65mm	(5036) 5134
60mm	5039 5048 5084 5092* 5109 9970
59mm	3312 5044
55mm	5030 5064 5074 5122
53mm	5081 5093 5094 5126 5129
50mm	5041 5102 5148 11829 12356 14125
47mm	5042* 5098 5106 11837
45mm	5063 5095 12357 14134 14143
44mm	5024 5050 5069
43mm	5114
42mm	5068 5086 5101 11830* 11840
40mm	5054* 5101
unsized	5128
incomplete	5034 5036 5062 5083 5103 5135 5145 11827 12364–5

The breaks in the listing mark breaks in the sizes. The progression is more or less straightforward, except for the range 40–47mm. This brooch style was made through several generations of craftsmen and the patterns they used would have gradually become worn. The best way of making a new pattern is to use a casting from an older one. If in metal, then the new pattern would be smaller than the original because metal shrinks as it cools. This could easily account for the imprecision in the range covering 42mm–47mm, this being a popular range as brooches in it would have been cheaper than those in the 60mm range, and the fact that there are clear breaks in the range above 55mm should mean that these were less in demand and that these definite increases in size were planned.

Dating: 5114 Corbridge fort, 75–90/95; 5106 Watercrock, c.90–95; 5086 Monument 97, 125–150/75; 5036 Carlisle, late 120s–150/180; 9970 Catterick, 150–170/80; 3312 Watercrock,

150–170 and 5126 c.150–c.220; 5050 South Shields, c.160; 5021* Rudston, post Antonine; 5074 Brancaster, late 2nd century; 5092* Catterick, 200–250/75; 5048 South Shields, mid 3rd century; 5084 Orton Hall Farm, 225/50–300/325; 5024 Droitwich, late 3rd–mid 4th century.

The list shows that this basic plain type is probably as early as the decorated ones from The Lunt. The end of the period when survivors-in-use could be expected to be seen is, as usual, not easy to establish. One may note that the five latest are probably or certainly after 200, the remaining fourteen are earlier and only the last three of those are or may be post-Antonine. The balance or probabilities is that the type had ceased to be made by 175 and the last specimens passed out of use in the next 20 or 30 years.

Distribution: KT 1 SOM 1 SUFF 1 NORF 111111111111 CAMBS 111111 LEICS 1 WARKS 1 LINCS 11 NOTTS 1 DERBS 1 SALOP 1 CHESH 1 YORKS 11111111 DUR 11111 HAD W 111111111111 SCOT 111

Probably relatively common from East Anglia into Scotland, Southern England is weakly represented. However, the weakness up the Marches may have depended on what other brooches were on offer and preferred. The Trumpet was popular in the North, but whether this is genuinely so and not because the choice was limited cannot easily be determined. The number from Norfolk is surprising and only partly explained by the inherent bias in collecting for the Corpus.

1.a1c. *Plate 79*. One Moulding at the top and bottom of the knop.

65mm 5091*
60mm 5079 5087
55mm 5105 14662
incomplete 5028 5032 5035 14126

Dating: 5032 Rampton, late 2nd century, or earlier. No comment.

Distribution: DORS 1 NORF 1 NOTTS 11 YORKS 1 LANCS 1 CUMB 1 HAD W 1 SCOT 1

One must not expect much from so very few examples. The distribution is very wide, but only one from what may fairly be called Southern England.

1.a2. *Plate 79*. Here the central disc has gone, the petals lie on a bulge in the case of 5058* and 5116, and a faceted central part in the case of 5022*.

61mm 5022*
58mm 5058*
52mm 5116

Dating: 5116 The Lunt, 64–70?; 5022* Brough on Humber, c.125.

Distribution: meaningless as all three come from military sites. However, none is so far from Southern England.

1.a3. *Plate 79*. These have more than four petals. 5088 and 9960, from Traprain Law and Thwing, Yorks, respectively, have hinged pins, and both may have been made in the southern Pennines area where the use of such a pin mounting on types more regularly associated with

sprung pins was prevalent (see Chapter 3, Part 3, Type 4 *passim*). 12339 from the drawing may well have been eroded, disguising the mouldings above and below the knop as well as the trio in the foot-knob. The following have a curved profile throughout: 14655 from Castleford; 14128 from Norfolk; 14132 from Grandford, Cambs; 9974 from Doncaster; probably 9979 from Orston, Notts. These cluster around Lincolnshire, the area where the type originated.

68mm 5047 5108 9960
64mm 5107
62mm 5080 5090* 11832 5111 14132 14655
60mm 9967 12339
58mm 5088 14128 14142
55mm 9985 14130
52mm 5249
50mm 9974
47mm 9969
incomplete 5049 5142 9979 9982 11838

Dating: 14655 Castleford, 100–250; 9969 Catterick, 150–170/80; 9982 Greta Bridge, before late 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 1 SOM 1 MSEX 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1111 CAMBS 111 LINCS 11 NOTTS 1 YORKS 11111111 DUR 11 HAD W 11 SCOT 1

Apart from one from Somerset and another from Middlesex, they all belong to eastern Britain chiefly from East Anglia into Yorkshire.

1.a4. *Plate 79*. The disc in the knop is double. All three are of silver and 5060 has more than four petals. The drawing used for 5026* is based on the one done by M. R. Hull.

66mm 5026*
64mm 5027
60mm 5060

Dating: none

Distribution: two from York, one from Ayrshire.

1.b. The mouldings do not run round the bow. These are divided as before on the number of mouldings above and below the knop: three, two or one. There are no other combinations and this seems on the face of things to be the only chief difference amongst all these. Again, they are also ordered according to size.

1.b1. *Plate 79*. Three mouldings above or below the knop. The middle one may be beaded, but this seems to be an optional extra, and in any case there is little to guarantee that illustrators noticed all instances as the traces can be faint after heavy wear.

80mm+ 5140
67mm 5121
64mm 5077
60mm 5130 14141
57mm 14666
52mm 9955
50mm 14654
47mm 14657
46mm 14124

45mm 5023 5046 5099* 5118 5149 14133
 44mm 14144
 unsized 5067
 incomplete 5082 5127 14123 14146 14658

Dating: 14654 Castleford, 71/4–86; 14657 Castleford, 85/90–135/140; 5023 5077 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5130 c.110–140, +?; 5046 Verulamium, 145–160.

The range is remarkably restricted: perhaps as early as 80 or before to 160. The three from Yorkshire are all from Castleford where there was a flourishing metal workshop tradition. The absence of any later, obviously residual ones, in Roman contexts is very unusual and raises the possibility that the type had ceased to be made by c.125. Compared with the equivalent brooches in 1.a, this is a more restricted range and should, coupled with the difference in distribution of the two kinds, demonstrate that there is a fundamental difference and not a matter of one being a simpler and cheaper version of the other.

Distribution: KT 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 NORF 1111 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 11 NOTTS 1 YORKS 111 CUMB 11 SCOT 111

The striking feature here is that, apart from Hadrian's Wall and its hinterland, all the examples are on the eastern side of Britain. The other feature to note is that six come from the Military North and associated sites such as Traprain Law, the three already mentioned from Yorkshire, and 14 from south of the Humber. With the distribution of 1.a1a, there is no concentration on the eastern side of the country and possibly a lack of bias in the south of the country: there are only seven south of the Humber-Dee line, and there are 17 north of it. In short, there are two distinct types or perhaps one real type, the 1.b1, and a few larger brooches in the 1.a group which allow the craftsmen a greater degree of freedom in decoration.

1.b2. Plate 79. Two mouldings above or below the knop. As before, one may be beaded, but if heavily worn, may not have been noticed by the illustrator.

60mm 5120
 52mm 5137 12366
 47mm 5073 5113 9948 12359
 46mm 5076 12360
 45mm 14656 14660
 43mm 5071 5112 11835 14131
 41mm 5125
 40mm 5056 5123*
 27mm 12363* 14135 14136
 incomplete 5043 5053 5066 5117 5119 5143 6531 9983 12358 14127 14140

All three miniatures are from the Lower Nene Valley. What is surprising is that the range of sizes does not closely reflect the range for 1.b1 where 45mm dominates. Here, 43–47mm covers most, and there is a new, miniature size. One might have thought that to divide these Trumpets according to something so apparently trivial as the number of mouldings next to the knop would be pointless, but apparently not.

Dating: 5056 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 14656 Castleford, 140–180; 5137 Watercrock, 150–220; 5043 Nettleton, 4th century.

The range is from the beginning of the second century to, perhaps, the earliest third. This also shows that there is a real difference between three and two mouldings on either side of the knop. The dating of the equivalent 1.a1b shows that there is a difference, the 1.a1a having an early start, but otherwise running to perhaps the earliest third century.

Distribution: WILTS 11 SOM 1 SURR 1 NORF 111111 CAMBS 11111 NHANTS 11 WALES 1 SALOP 11 Lincs 1 NOTTS 11 YORKS 1111 LANCS 1 CUMB 11 HAD W 1 SCOT 1

Allowing that there may have been more than one manufacturing centre, it is still remarkable how The Wash, and its immediate adjuncts, and the Humber are dominant: 16 examples against four from the western side of England. The four from Yorkshire might be counted as being part of the same general cultural zone as the first group. There are some four from the deep south and a further five from the Military North.

The distribution of 1.a1b is more interesting in that its supply to the Military North, as defined by Yorkshire and Cumbria and north gives us 25 specimens as opposed to the 9, including Lancashire, for 1.b2. However, 32 specimens recorded for the latter group may be compared with the 56 for the first one. If the numbers of 1.b2 were to be multiplied by 1.75, its distribution would become, rounding up to the next whole number:

1.b2 = SURR 11 WILTS 1111 SOM 11 EA 111111111 CAMBS 11111 NHANTS 1111 SWALES 11 Lincs 11 NOTTS 1111 SALOP 1111 YORKS 1111111 LANCS 11 CUMB 1111 HAD W 11 SCOT 11 [59]

The rounding up has favoured the numbers, therefore East Anglia and Cambridgeshire have been reduced by two. This adjustment gives 17 for the north as defined. The balance for the rest of the country to the south becomes 31 for 1.a1b or 55% and 40–2 for 1.b2 or 69%. Whether one can treat this kind of statistical result seriously is really up to a mathematician.

1.b3. Plate 79. One moulding on each side of the knop.

55mm 5070
 45mm 5045 5124
 44mm 5085
 32mm 5104*
 incomplete 5131 5144 5146 11833

Dating: 5131 Halstock, after c.110/120?; 5085 Winterton, Antonine; 5144 Exeter, late 2nd–early 3rd century.

There are no surprises here: mainly second century with a faint chance that the group lasted into the early third century.

Distribution: DORS 1 DEV 1 MSEX 11 NORF 11 NHANTS 1 Lincs 11 SCOT 1

There are not really enough to give a balanced picture.

In summary, the three-moulding Trumpets seem to reveal

that those of 1.a are more favoured in the north and the south, and that there is a tendency for this to be partly reversed when it comes to 1.b. However, the dating does not suggest that the more complex form is earlier than the other. On the contrary the indications are that it is later.

Those with two mouldings offer only a slightly different image, the bias being still there. There seems to be a slight indication that 1.a1b may have an earlier start than the 1.b2 brooches.

Now those with only one moulding: in terms of distribution, with only one being from north of the Humber, 1.b3 is definitely more a southern Britain type than the 1.a1c. In contrast, four of the nine assigned to 1.a1c are from what may be fairly called the Military North. When it comes to dating, there is not enough to draw any speculative conclusions.

1.x. Fragments which cannot be assigned to any to the categories above.

5029 5031 5037–8 5055 5065 5078 5089 5115 5138–9 5147 11834 11836 12371 14137–8 14145

It follows that the distribution of these fragments is meaningless.

Dating: 5089 Monument 97, 150/75–4th century; 5139 Dover, 190–210; 5037 Carlisle, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 5138 Worcester, residual in early 3rd century dump; 5147 Catterick, c.200–late 3rd century.

The fact that these are all fragments may well mean that they were all residual in the contexts from which they were recovered.

1.2. Decorated heads, inlaid, enamelled or relief decoration and each is taken as a separate sub-type, although the distribution is put together to see what emerges.

Those which are underlined have hinged pins and come respectively from Devon, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, County Durham, Yorkshire, Traprain Law, South Shields and Sutherland in Scotland.

1.2a. *Plate 79.* All are or were inlaid with another metal or alloy to produce a two-toned effect while leaving the surface of the brooch smooth. The group before / has petalled knops, the rest do not.

4907* 4908 4911–3 /4906 4909–10 4914* 4915–21 12350* 14644 14646 14652

Dating: 4906 Prestatyn, 70/80–160; 4911 Backworth, with coins to 139; 4918 Chorley, ditto; 4919 Wroxeter, before 155/70; 4910 Dinorben, before 200?; 14646 Caernarvon, late 4th century.

Distribution: SOM 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 WARKS 1 WORCS 1 WALES 1111 STAFFS 1 SALOP 111 CHESH 1 LANCS 111 NHUMB 1 HAD W 1 SCOT 1

Firmly on the western side of England, including Wales, the small number from elsewhere does little to disturb the essential message.

1.2b. Enamelled, the chief patterns on the head are arranged in three groups and all show as a reserved field

out-lining discrete blocks of colour. The dating is given for each design group and then amalgamated at the end.

1.2b1. *Plate 80.* These have a voided arc on each side of the head with a divided triangle top and bottom. 12351* and 14114, both from East Anglia, have the arc reduced to a voided semicircle and there is some simplification in the triangles in the middle. 4976 is an alternative on which the voided arcs are attached to the central spine. 4942 has a hinged pin.

4929–33 4934* 4935–6 4938 4940–1 4942 4943 4946–9 9946 9984 9986 11826* 12352–3 14116–7 15448 / 12351* 14114 / 4976*

Dating: 4949 Worcester, 120–240; 4940 Hockwold-cum-Wilton, late 2nd century?; 4943 Verulamium, 260–70.

For all the numbers known, this is a pitiful record. The truth is that the bright colours of the enamels show well in the soil so a disproportionate number of them are retrieved as casual finds. This applies to all enamelled brooches.

Distributions after 1.2b7y.

1.2b2. *Plate 80.* This has a kind of double axe motif on each side. Distributions after 1.2b7.

4951* 4952 4953 4954–5 9981

Dating: 4952 4955 Newstead, mid 2nd century ([300], 136); 4954 Little Chester, 150–75; 4953 South Shields, early 3rd century.

Distribution: see after 1.2by.

1.2b3. *Plate 80.* This has a spray of three petals on the head. Distributions after 1.2b7.

4922–5 4926* 4927–8 9959

Dating: 4927 Wroxeter, before 130.

Distribution: see after 1.2by.

1.2b4. *Plate 80.* All have a simple scroll on each side rising from the base of the trumpet, although not all the scrolls are the same. The first, 4956*, is from The Lunt and is the other early Trumpet, the first being in 1.a2. The common habit on the lower bow is for a line of reserved lozenges, but 4964* has a single strip on each side with a concave edge at the top. 5262 has a bad drawing in the publication, but the signs are that it belongs here. Distributions after 1.2b7.

4956* 4957 4958* 4963 4964* 4965–7 4973 5262 14120 14121–2 14650

Dating: 4956* The Lunt, before 75; 4963 Higham Ferrers, 2nd century; 4966 Richborough, Antonine.

Distribution: see after 1.2by.

1.2b5. *Plate 80.* There is a voided triskele on each side of the centre line. Distributions after 1.2b7.

4961 4962* 4972

Dating: 4972 Rudston, after 370.

Distribution: see after 1.2by.

1.2b6. *Plate 80.* There is no unity of design but unusually one or more cells for enamelling across the centre line. The illustrated one is in the Hildyard Collection (No. 45).

4968* 4969–70 9953 9965

Dating: 4969–70 Newstead, 80–c.200.

1.2b7. Plate 80. Here arcs rise from the centreline. There is one from Frankfurt-Heddernheim ([275], 245, *Abb. 6*), a match for 4976. 5096 is here because of the description, and not because of what the drawing shows.

5096 14119*

Dating: none.

Distribution after 1.2by.

1.2bx. Plate 80. Miscellaneous designs which show not much sign of affiliating with any other.

2954 4959 4960 4971 12354 14645* 14647 14648

Dating: 14647 Castleford, 250–400.

1.2by. Plate 81. These are enamelled, but the heads either have no real trace of what the design might have been, or the upper bow is missing. 14168 in xx has a hinged pin, but is obviously related to 5360 and 12355.

4937 4939 4944 4974–5 4978 5360* 12355 14115 14118

Dating: 4974 Caerleon, c.100; 4978 Worcester, 120–240.

Distribution of all.

KT 4 HANTS 4 SURR 1 WILTS 11 MSEX 136x
HERTS 1 OXON 1 GLOS 123y EA 1 SUFF 136 NORF
1111111144447yyy CAMBS y NHANTS 14 WARKS 4
WORCS 1yy WALES 11y LEICS y Lincs 34x NOTTS
1x DERBS 12 SALOP 3 CHESH 1 YKS 1234456xxxxy
LANCS 4 DUR 27x HAD W 11 NHUMB x SCOT
1122334566

The picture is none too clear. Allowing that the great number from Norfolk actually represents a real state of affairs in the main part, the chief areas would be Norfolk, Yorkshire and Scotland. This might show an emphasis on the east, if not particularly on the military.

19 examples lie south of a line drawn from mid East Anglia to the Dee estuary, and 61 north of that. 20 alone come from Yorkshire and Scotland. If their occurrence in Scotland is a guide, only Newstead being an obvious military site, then it might seem that the Antonine Wall as such is unrepresented. Therefore, the bulk is either earlier or later than that. However, the Hadrian's Wall sites are also weakly represented and it is thus possible that it was the natives who bought the brooches, rather than those associated with the military.

Dating: 4956* The Lunt, before 75; 4969–70 Newstead, 80–c.200; 4974 Caerleon, c.100; 4978 Worcester, 120–240; 4927 Wroxeter, before 130; 4963 Higham Ferrers, 2nd century; 4952 4955 Newstead, mid 2nd century (Frere 1987, 136); 4954 Little Chester, 150–75; 4966 Richborough, Antonine; 4940 Hockwold-cum-Wilton, late 2nd century?; 4953 South Shields, early 3rd century; 14647 Castleford, 250–400; 4943 Verulamium, 260–70; 4972 Rudston, after 370.

This shows that there is a continuous run from the latter part of the first century to the later second century. Then there is a break with the rest being generally third century or later. It is true that the lack of precision in dating material closely following the second century tends to give a much generalised view. However, eleven brooches

in the first part to four for the rest of the Roman period should surely mean that none was really to be seen in use by 200.

1.2c. Relief decoration could be divided in groups in order of apparent relationship. They have actually been divided only into those with petalled knops and those with plain mouldings. What does emerge from this is that the designs on the head then fall into natural groups, the two hardly being related. 4994 has a pierced catch-plate, a very unusual feature; the two groups show the danger of lumping all patterns together: the first is characteristic of the eastern side of England north of East Anglia, the other marks the region in which Wroxeter lies.

1.2c1. Plate 81. Petalled Knops. 12348* is a fragment of a giant, at least twice the size of an ordinary Trumpet. Tricked out with its loop and collar it would have been more than 120mm high.

4979* 4980 4989* 4990 4991* 4992–4 4995* 4996 5004
5007–8 5009* 5010–11 12337 12338 12348* 14649 14651
15406

Dating: 4980 Holcombe, 70–180; 15406 Catterick, 170/80–100/220; 4996 Little Chester, late 2nd – early 3rd century.

Distribution, h = hinged: HANTS 1 DEV 1 GLOS 1111
WARKS 1 WALES 111 SALOP 11 DERBS 1 YOKS
111hh DUR h SCOT h

The pattern is heavily weighted towards the west and north. The absence of any major presence on the east is marked, for not even East Anglia seems to have any. The hinged (h in the distribution) examples are all north of the Humber, and they almost certainly emanated from the Southern Pennines (see Chapter 3, Part 4).

1.2c2. Plate 81. Moulded Knops. The group before the first / are all of one design from head to foot-knob. The second group is also from one workshop, but the lower bow varies in design from being like those on the first group to a line of small bosses inset in circular depressions to the one illustrated. Those after the second / have different trumpets, or unrecoverable designs. 4988 has a spring between pierced lugs.

4981–3 4984* 4985–6 / 4987–8 4997 4999–5001 5002* 5003
5005 / 5013 5015 5016* 9952

Dating: 5001 Wroxeter, c.110–130; 5003 Wroxeter, before c.130; 5015 Little Chester, 150–175; 4987 Whitton, 2nd century; 5000 Derby, late 2nd century; 5016* Little Chester, 2nd into early 3rd century?; 4984* Alcester, after 357.

The date is solidly second century, there is no reason to think that the style might not have come into being in the later first century or that it runs close to 200. The early enamelled Trumpet Brooch from The Lunt, 4956* in 2.b4 had a pair of lenticular bosses across the top of its head and this should be a good sign that moulded decoration could also be earlier than 75.

Distribution: WCS 1 WKS 1 STFS 11 SALOP 111111
WALES 11 CH 1 DBS 11111 / GLOS 1

Very limited, the Marches concentrating in Shropshire and then in Derbyshire with a few in Wales. The only ones in Gloucestershire belong to the last group in the listing above.

1.2cx. *Plate 81.* Fittings almost certainly from 2.c brooches.

5011 5017–9 5020* 12349*

Dating: 5020* Bourton on the Water, only pottery of 80–160; 5017–8 Buxton, mainly 2nd century; 5019 Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century.

Not many examples, hence not very many dates, but apart from the one from Prestatyn, the range suits what is suggested for 2.c2.

Distribution: SOM 1 GLOS 1 WALES 1 DERBS 11 SALOP 1

This repeats that of 2.c2 with the extraordinary giant being from Gloucestershire.

1.3. More attenuated than those of the main series, the immediately noticeable different feature is the knob: one thick central disc, with a thin moulding above and below, separated from head and foot by wide flutes, the head and foot ending in a pair of small almost lenticular bosses. The head tends to have a median arris and ends in a kind of head-plate only slightly bigger than the trumpet and which may have an unpierced tab rising from it. The foot is thin, with an arris, ending in a two-part foot-knob recalling to some measure that found on the standard Dolphin (see Chapter 3, Part 4, Type 3). There are minor variations, so much depending on hand-finishing and natural desire of some craftsmen to produce their own versions.

1.3a1. *Plate 82.* These have a tab or a cast-on loop on the head and are arranged according to size, but because the tab or loop can be broken, the measurement is from the base of the addition. 14148 would have been larger than 60mm.

60mm 5170 5171* 5257 9987

58mm 5191 5218

53mm 5154

52mm 5174

50mm 5175

47mm 5258 5162

46mm 5172

44mm 3522* 5153 5155 5186 9964 14153

42mm 5173 5184

37mm 5176 5183

35mm 5161

incomplete 9977 14148 14151

Dating: 5183 Nettleton, 69–117; 5161 Camerton, before 180; 14153 Birdlip Quarry, late 3rd–4th century.

There is little to say with only three examples. The first was dated by coins and not by pottery and so may well have run on into Hadrian's time, or later.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 1 WILTS 1 SOM 111 SCILLY 1 OXON 1 GLOS 111111 WARKS 111 LEICS 1 HERE 1 WALES 111 NOTTS 111 SALOP 1

Effectively west of Hampshire then up the west side of the Bristol Channel and swinging away to Warwickshire. Outliers occur at Wroxeter and in Wales. There is a weak presence in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire.

1.3a2. *Plate 82.* These lack the tab or cast-on loop, otherwise obviously essentially the same design.

65mm 14149*

63mm 5212*

54mm 5196 5219 9989

46mm 14672

45mm 5160 14675

44mm 5151 5163 5164* 14669 14671

43mm 5165 5166 5181

42mm 5158 5169 5216

40mm 5220 9988 14674

38mm 14673

37mm 12372

not to scale 5203

incomplete 5167–8 5177 5182 12374–6 14150

Dating: 5181 Whitton, 70–95; 5158 Tewkesbury, 50–140; 5219 Chilgrove, late? 3rd–early 4th century; 5216 Marshfield, probably Late Roman; 5166, Whittington Court mid 4th century +; 5167 Nettleton, 4th century.

What is interesting here is that manufacture is guaranteed to have started in the latter first century, but the rest offers little as to when it may have come to an end.

Distribution: SUSS 1 WILTS 11 MSEX 11 BEDS x NORF 11 OXON 1 GLOS 11111111111111xx HERE 11 WALES 111x WARKS 11 LEICS 11 NOTTS 1x (note: x denotes the examples in 1.3ax)

In the lower Severn Valley and then swinging as before towards Warwickshire, some were traded eastwards as far as East Anglia. This is the same pattern as for 1.3a1, but because of the large numbers is probably a truer reflection of the real state of affairs. In which case, the dominance of Gloucestershire must mark the chief manufacturing area.

1.3ax. These have lost their heads and so cannot be assigned to either of the two preceding divisions.

5152 5156–7 5180 14670

Dating: 5180 Mantles Green, 250–300.

1.3b. The knobs are not of the same design and are generally simpler. The brooches are divided in the same way as those in 3.a.

1.3b1. *Plate 82.* Those with tabs or cast-on loops. Distribution after 1.3b2.

52mm 5199

50mm 5286

44mm 5187 5288*

incomplete 5272

Dating: 5286 Alcester, Hadrianic–Antonine.

There are too few to make much comment save that the single dated example offers no surprise and is given as “1” in the distribution given after 1.3b2.

1.3b2. Plate 82. These are without the tab or cast-on loops. Immediately there is greater variety and this is reflected in the number chosen for illustration. 5190* has a loop on its head aligned on the axis of the brooch and set forward on the trumpet head.

Here is the Prestatyn Mould, 5221*, **Plate 82**: this is a warning against assuming that a mass-production item is going to be identifiable in the archaeological record. Just as there is no good parallel for the brooch made in the Old Buckenham metal moulds (see **Plate 36**), so there is an equal lack of a parallel for this. On the matter of sizing, the 46mm is the length of the pattern: the casting would have shrunk and so would probably have fitted into the 46mm range. 5236 and 5290 are here because they are the closest one can get to the unachieved Prestatyn brooch. They come respectively from Wroxeter and Manchester, well within a marketing area around Prestatyn.

65mm	5214* 9966
60mm	5207* 5222
57mm	5213
56mm	5190* 5208 5265
54mm	5194 9975
53mm	5179 5205
52mm	5197 5285
50mm	5188 5195
48mm	12373
46mm	5221* Prestatyn Mould
45mm	5150 5189 5215
42mm	5193 5202 14154
40mm	5200 5217* 9956 14152
38mm	5198*
37mm	5201
28mm	14677
distorted	14665
incomplete	5178 5209–11 5256 5290 14664

Dating: 14664 Castleford, 71/4–86; 5265 Caerleon, 80–100; 5201 Leicester, late 1st century; 5221* Prestatyn Mould, 90–100/200; 14665 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 5179 Whitton, before 135; 14677 Kingscote, early-mid 2nd century; 5193 Silchester, with Hadrianic-Antonine pottery; 5213 Caerleon, 160–230; 5189 Manchester, 160–earliest 3rd century.

A period from the late first century to c.160/75 will cover all, but there is such a weighting towards the last quarter of the first century that the sparse nature of the evidence after c.125 should be significant.

Distribution: HANTS 2 WILTS 22 SOM x BERKS 1 GLOS 12222222222xx WALES 22222222 EA 2 NORF 2 CAMBS 2 NHANTS 2x LEICS 22 WARKS 112x NOTTS 22 STAFFS 12 SALOP 2 YORKS 222 LANCS 222 Predominant in the Severn Valley, the manufacturing area must have been close to Gloucester with much of the market lying in South Wales.

1.3bx. Fragments unassignable to either of the previous categories. For the distribution, see x in the previous analysis. 5159 5192 5206 5277 14679

Dating: 5206 Catsgore, late 2nd century?–c.400?

1.4. Plate 82. Only three are known to me at the moment, but the design is so distinctive and unlike others that there seems little point in trying to form a sub-group of some other type. The knop may be petalled or moulded in the round, a valuable reminder that not every design is steadfastly the same. However, it is the head of the Trumpet which marks the sub-type out. The trumpet is slim and ends in the middle of a dish whose thick rim is cross-cut. The one with the rounded moulded knop has triangular cells for enamel on the head and its date may indicate that it stands early in the life-span of the type. The distribution is two in Warwickshire, both at Alcester, and one in Gloucestershire.

5223 5224* 5225*

Dating: 5225* Alcester, Nero-Trajan; 5223 Alcester, Hadrianic-Antonine; 5224* Wycomb, 4th century?

1.5. The only criterion is in the form of the head, and this may have no real validity in the long term: it is approximately twice as wide as high, and the top edge when viewed from the front is almost a straight line. They have been divided into two groups.

1.5a. Plate 83. Firstly, those with versions of a petalled knop. The petals are lips around the top of a bulge. One intermittent feature is the way in which the trumpet has a cone running up it from its base, or may have an arris.

65mm	5235–6
64mm	12473
63mm	5234* 14147
58mm	5230
54mm	11842
50mm	12368*
45mm	5232
incomplete	5301 5303

Dating 5232 Stanwick, later than 71.

Distribution: CAMBS 1 LEICS 11 Lincs 11 YORKS 11111 SCOT 1

See comment under 1.5b.

1.5b. Plate 83. Secondly, those without any trace of petals, and these tend to have the cone ridge running up the trumpet. One, 5228, has red enamel in vertical grooves round the centre of the knop.

68mm	5227
54mm	5238
48mm	5293
46mm	5231*
44mm	5136
Incomplete	5228–9 11843 12369 14139

Dating: 5238 Newstead, 80–c.150; 12369 Leicester, early 2nd century.

Distribution: fairly obviously both varieties lie from East Anglia up into Yorkshire and only on the eastern side of England. However, putting Items 1.5a with these, the centre of manufacture is around the Humber. Those from Scotland and the Lower Thames are exports in one way or another.

Distribution: ESSEX 1 MSEX 1 EA 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 1 NOTTS 1 YORKS 111 SCOT 1

1.x. This is a rag-bag of items loosely divided according to fairly arbitrary criteria. Two more examples of any one brooch would elevate it, and any of its close neighbours, to a proper place in the listings above. Dates are given, but there is little point in commenting on the distribution in all but the most obvious instances.

1.x1. *Plate 83*. Petalled knobs.

5237 5263 5268

Dating: 5263 Rocester, mid 2nd century.

1.x2. *Plate 83*. Large chunky brooches with moulded knobs sometimes with wavy lines or a chevron of lenticular bosses. They tend to come from the northern Marches and related areas and got as far as Hadrian's Wall: 5141.

3650 5132–3 5141 5241 5242* 5289

Dating: 5241 Wroxeter, mid 2nd century.

1.x3. *Plate 83*. The knobs are knurled, grooved or with regular projections, a true mixture of heads and lower bows. 5261* has traces of red enamel in the spaces in the central moulding. None comes so far from the South East.

5246 5247* 5248 5252–3 5254* 5255 5260 5261* 5291–2 9949 14676.

Dating: 14676 Castleford, 140–180.

1.x4. *Plate 83*. The knobs have the curious lipped appearance of 1.5a brooches.

5300* 5302

Dating: 5302 Silchester, early 2nd century.

1.x5. *Plate 83*. Small, minimal trumpet head, both have a small boss in the middle of the lower bow.

5267 5280*

Dating: 5280* Tewkesbury, 140–60.

1.x6. *Plate 83*. Three or four simple mouldings form the knob.

4243 5287 5294* 5296 12377

Dating: 5296 Old Winteringham, Antonine; 5287 Alcester, mid 4th century.

1.x7. *Plate 83*. Miscellaneous moulded knobs and some decorated lower bows. 14663 looks as though it ought to be assignable, but has a cast-on loop and pedestal.

5259 5266 5270 5273 5281* 12370 14663 14667 14678 15404

Dating: 14667 Castleford, 85/90–95/100.

1.x8. Oddities: 5239 has three ears attached to the trumpet, each moulded with a ring; 5240 has an elaborately moulded knob, a tubular upper bow meeting the lower part of a circular head-plate from whose upper part projects a large circular boss; red enamel fills the grooves on both knob and foot and the upper bow is a fluted triangle whose apex joins an oval head-plate; the lower bow is a flat lozenge.

5239–40 5264 5269

Dating: none.

1.xx. Fragments, nearly all lower bows and unassignable.
5244–5 5250–1 5274 5278 5282–3 5295 5337

Dating: none.

Part 2. Double-lugged

The spring is mounted on an axis bar held at each end by a pierced plate. The loop and collar, therefore, are usually cast on to the top of the head or form part of a head-plate.

2.1. *Plate 83*. The knob is made up of two cross-mouldings on the front only, separated from each other and the upper and lower bows by flutes. Sometimes the effect is of four cross-mouldings. The trumpet head is triangular in section and ends in a head-plate with rounded corners with a cast-on loop above. The lower bow also has a median arris and sometimes has bordering grooves. The foot is long with a pair of cross-mouldings in the round divided by a flute above a cone. The whole brooch is much slighter in its general sections than the main Trumpet varieties.

Variations occur: 5316 has a decorated lower bow; 5320* has double mouldings and a pair of ridges down the head; 6586 has a bulbous foot under the two cross-mouldings and another underneath. The measurements are only to the top of the bow.

59mm 5306

58mm 5313

53mm 5305 9961

50mm 5304* 6586 7457 9990

48mm 5308 5314–5 5318

47mm 5316

40mm 5311

incomplete 5307 5309–10 5312 5317 5319 5320* 5321

Dating: 5308 Wroxeter, 110–130; 5318 Derby, 150–175; 6586 Wroxeter, 300–350; 5317 Derby, 4th century.

Distribution: CAMBS 1 LEICS 1 STAFFS 11 HERE 11 WALES 11 SALOP 111 CHESH 11 LINCS 1 DERBS 111111 LANCS 1 DUR 1

The core area is around Derbyshire, with trading mainly to the west, south-west and south with very few moving east and north, and none apparently going into Gloucestershire or south, and none penetrating to East Anglia or south of there.

2.2. A varied collection within which elements of larger groups can be seen. These come first.

2.2a. *Plate 84*. Oval head from which issues a prominent plain trumpet head. The knob may be plain moulded or petalled in a rudimentary way: it is obvious that the casting had plain mouldings and that curves were cut out on occasion to give the appearance of being petalled. On the head is a cast-on pseudo-pedestal and loop. The lower bows seem seldom to survive: only one here is actually complete. That being the case, sizes are not given, suffice it to say that none would have been less than the 65mm of 5364, and most would have been much bigger.

5342* and 5345 have knobs of the same design; the back of the knob of 5342* has hammer marks suggesting

that the front may have been hammered into a die. All the others have rounded backs to the knops.

5338 5339* 5340 5342* 5345–7 5350 5364 5368 15364 15407

Dating: 5364 Derby, 80–140; 5338 Shakenoak Farm, 1st ½ of the 2nd century; 5346 Camerton, before c.300.

Distribution: SOM 111 OXON 1 GLOS 1111 WARKS 11 LEICS 1 DERBS 1

Mainly Gloucestershire spreading to the south west and north east.

2.2b. Plate 84. All have or had enamel on their heads, two on the lower bow, the knops varying from being petalled, 11825*, through chevrons in relief, 5324*, to plain moulded ones like 5367 which in many ways is only here by courtesy.

5324* 5325 5354 5355* 5356–7 11825*

Dating: 5354 Dover, 130–160/70.

Distribution: KT 1 GLOS 111 EA 11 WARKS 1. No pattern emerges.

2.2c. Plate 84. The head is dominated by the head-plate with its cast-on loop. The trumpet has a flat face down the middle and a lenticular boss on either side at the top where the trumpet spreads out. The knop is the same for all three. The fairly broad lower bow has a raised central flat-topped ridge. The foot is modelled in the round and is bulbous with a small nib underneath. There is evidence that the head and the lower bow had applied repoussé white metal trim, and the dating of this is discussed (see Appendix 2).

5334 5335* 5336 12340 14160–1

Dating: 5335* Canterbury, 175–300/320.

Distribution: KT 1 NORF 11 Lincs 1 YORKS 1 CUMB 1 = mainly the eastern side of Britain.

2.2d. Plate 84. These are really close enough to have come, if not from one atelier, then from associated ones. The knops may have one or two mouldings above and below, while 5326 has on each side one with a pair of small mouldings. // divide the groups beginning with one and ending with two. 5006* has mouldings on the trumpet, but the form is the determining factor: this brooch could never have been a member of 1.2c1.

9991* is unusual in having a petalled foot-knob.

5006* 5322* 5323 9991* 11831 14155 / 5326 / 5343 14661 14683*

Dating: 5323 Harlow Temple, 80–100?; 14661 Kingscote, 355–363.

Distribution: ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 111 NORF 1 HERE 1 STAFFS 1 Lincs 1 HW 1

The first group tends to lie on the east side of England, but this is not really a basis for saying that it must have come from there or that the collection must immediately divided into two distinct sub-types.

2.2e. Plate 84. The knop has a chevron of lenticular bosses; all are of the same size and have cast-on pseudo

loop and collar. The only dated one is a poor drawing and misrepresents the chevron.

5327 5328* 5353

Dating: 5353 Silchester, 120–160/170,

Distribution: HANTS 11 GLOS 1

2.2f. Plate 84. Bold plain mouldings decorated with discrete beading with cast-on loops, there are difference between the first three but the form of the cast-on loop on two, 5330* and 5365, have different foot-knobs which draws in the third, 5331, whose knop matches the first. All three should have come from the same workshop. As for the fourth, the form, loop and the foot match, but here the knop has been reduced to just two mouldings which dip, and there is also a beaded ridge up the trumpet.

5330* 5331 5365–6 9957

Dating: 5331 Rochester, 4th century and later?

Distribution: GLOS 1 STAFFS 11 SALOP 11

The general form of the brooches suits an area with Wroxeter at its centre and these fit well into that pattern.

2.2g. Plate 85. All have a unifying feature, a moulding, occasionally two, lying across the trumpet head. The knobs may be properly petalled, moulded or given a set of projections.

5371* 5372–9 5380* 5381–3 6565 9963 11841 12378 14162 14684 14685* 14686*

Dating: 5381 Caerleon, 130–160; 5373 Caerleon, Hadrianic-Antonine; 12378 Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century; 6565 Wroxeter, ?later 2nd to ?mid 3rd century; 5377 Gloucester, late 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 1 BUCKS 1 BERKS 1 OXON 1 GLOS 11111111 EA 1 NORF 1 LEICS 1 WARKS 1 WALES 111 SALOP 1 HAD W 1

Found mainly on the western side of Britain from the head of the Bristol Channel but not apparently as far as Chester. There is an eastward expansion or sorts, but nothing very marked.

2.2h. Plate 85. Brooches with relief mouldings. 4998 and 5014* come from the same atelier, as might 5012. 14159 would have been classed as a 1.2c2 but for the spring mounting system

4998 5012 5014* 5341* 5349 14159

Dating: 5012 Tewkesbury, 160–200; 5014* Wroxeter, 2nd and 3rd century.

Distribution: CAMBS 1 GLOS 11 SALOP 11

2.2x. Plate 85. These are oddments amongst the petalled brigade, the first three have a distinctive knop. Had all three survived completely they might have been assigned a specific designation. The others are also-rans.

5329 5357 5358* / 5344 5349 5351

Dating: none.

Distribution: BUCKS 1 GLOS 11 CAMBS 1 WARKS 1 WALES 1

2.2xx. Plate 85. These are the oddments in the basically plain moulded group. They are too disparate to arrange in any particular order and the distribution is not worth giving, it repeating in essence those that have gone before.

5332* 5333 5348 5359 5362* 5363 5369* 5370 9954 9962 14153 14156–7 14163 14680–2

Dating: 5333 Nettleton, mid 2nd century; 5370 Chelmsford, 120/125–160/175; 5362* Alcester, late 2nd century; 5369* Worcester, c.275–300; 5332* Alcester, mid 4th century; 14156 Wilcote, late 4th century.

Part 3. The Knop Replaced by Flat Plates

These are of various shapes and are arranged in order of frequency.

3.1. These have an upright circular plate on which is mounted a raised area inset with enamel. All these brooches were once decorated with applied repoussé white metal trim, extensive traces of which are commonly seen, if only in the form of discoloured areas where the base solder is left. They are divided on the basis of the style of the foot: those with foot-knobs and those where they have been replaced by a pelta whose incurved ends have touching bosses. All have or had cast-on pseudo loop and collars.

3.1a. Plate 85. Foot-knobs. Brooches in this group tend to be larger than those in 3.1b, and the foot tends to be wider in proportion to the overall size of the brooch. These criteria have been used when assigning brooches which have lost their feet. Measurements do not include the loop and its pedestal as these are so often damaged.

64mm 5384 5400 14169*

60mm 5388 5393 5395

53mm 5394 5396 5403

51mm 5387 5399

50mm 5405–6 14172

49mm 12341

46mm 5419

42mm 5392

40mm 5436

37mm 5389 5435*

33mm 12386

incomplete 5386 5390–1 5397–8 5401–2 5404 5407 5412 5430 11844 12385 14170 14174

Dating: 5430 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5390 Camerton, 90–100; 5387 Wroxeter, mid 2nd century; 5395 Camerton, 3rd century; 14169* Verulamium, mid-late 3rd century; 5392 Camerton, 250–280.

The dating of the example from Camerton is suspect.

Distribution: KT 11 DORS 1 WILTS 11 SOM 1111 ESSEX 1 MSEX 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 1 WALES 1 SUFF 11 NORF 1111 CAMBS 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 11 NOTTS 1 SALOP 1111 YORKS 1 HAD W 1 SCOT 11

The only ones north of the Humber-Dee line are in Yorkshire, on Hadrian's Wall or in Scotland.

3.1b. Plates 85–86. Peltate foot.

57mm 5420

54mm 5417*

53mm 14173

52mm 14688*

44mm 5416

40mm 5410* 5411 5432

37mm 5409 5425

incomplete 5408 5414–5 5418 5421–2 5427–9 5431 5433–4 5437 5466 11850 14171 14177

Dating: 5409 London, early 2nd century; 5434 Verulamium, with 2nd and 3rd century pottery; 5433 South Shields, c.150; 5466 Strageath, before 158; 5422 Springhead, before c.175?; 5418 Scole, mid Antonine–early 3rd century; 5429 Verulamium, before late 3rd century; 5431 Barnsley Park, after 350.

The range is from the earlier second century into the early third when the sequence is broken.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 1 SCILLY 1 MSEX 11 HERTS 11 GLOS 11 SUFF 11 NORF 11111 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 NOTTS 1 SALOP 11 CUMB 1 DUR 1 SCOT 111

Wider than for 3.1a, there is still a gap in the middle of England. The occurrence of the type in Scotland fits with a basically second century date. The emphasis on East Anglia can be read with the basic bias in the Corpus, but it remains here after the drop in numbers from Somerset up to Wroxeter which might suggest that the bias towards East Anglia may not account for the number there: if the other areas show a drop, then there should have been one there as well. Perhaps the brooches were being carried on the back of trade out of the Wash.

3.2 Here the disc is replaced by a pelta. The foot may be either a foot-knob or a pelta as in 3.1 and these brooches are divided on the same principle.

3.2a. Plate 86. A proper foot-knob.

40mm 5440 5443

35mm 5439 14690*

32mm 5467

30mm 5438 11847 12387

Dating: 11847 London, early 2nd century; 5467 Worcester, Late Saxon +.

Distribution: KT 1 MSEX 11 GLOS 1 WALES 1 LEICS 1 YORKS 1 HAD W 1

Too few for any clear idea to emerge,

3.2b. Plate 86. Peltate foot

42mm 5464*

40mm 5463 5468 14178 14689

incomplete 5441 5458 5460–1 5470 11848–9 11852

Dating: 5458 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5468 Canterbury, c.150–400.

Distribution: KT 11 SUFF 1 NORF 111 CAMBS 1 LEICS 1 WALES 1 Lincs 1 NHUM 1 SCOT 1

Ignoring those from military sites and Kent, there is a good

cluster across the Fens from East Anglia to Leicestershire. Three examples here and two from the next group from the Roman probable religious and settlement site at Walsingham/Wighton may point to the manufactory either having been nearby, or that there was a particularly successful salesman.

3.2x. Fragments unassignable to either of the previous divisions.

5442 5462 5465 5469 11851

Dating: effectively none.

Distribution: SUSS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 HAD W 1

3.3a. *Plate 86.* These have a semicircular plate in the middle, the diameter at the bottom. All those seen either have a peltate foot, or no foot at all, therefore all are placed in a single group.

43mm 5451 5453

37mm 5456 14176*

35mm 5450 5455

unsized 5454

incomplete 5444–6 5449 5452 5457 5459 9968 11845 14175

Dating: 5449 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5459 Camelon, 140–165.

Distribution: DORS 1 ESSEX 11 EA 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1111 NHANTS 1 WALES 1 Lincs 11 CUMB 1 SCOT 11

As with all these brooches of Type 3, East Anglian and associated areas come out strongly again. There should be little doubt that the prime manufactory must lie within the overall region.

3.3b. *Plate 86.* These have a narrow trumpet butting the flat front face of a rectangular spring-case with a cast-on loop on top. The surviving foot is a forward-facing disc.

34mm 5448*

incomplete 5447

Dating: 5448* Leicester before c.180.

Distribution: both are from Leicester.

3.4. *Plate 86.* There are only two brooches here, but the discovery of one in Germany ([260], 80, *Taf.* 7,11.I.24) more or less indicates that this is a definite sub-type. Both come from Norfolk and this fits in well with the host of others of Type 3 found there.

13489* 14457

Both come from Norfolk.

Part 4. Hinged

All have hinged pins.

4.1. These are a parallel to sub-types 3.1–3.3 in having different shapes in the middle. There is a general family likeness in which the trumpet head plays a less important part than has been the case so far. They are divided according to the character of the central element.

4.1a. *Plate 86.* The trumpet head is almost as unimportant as that in 3.3b, the spring-case there being replaced by an elongated rectangle forming what are in effect wings generally with one or two vertical grooves at the end. The centre of the brooch is taken up by a disc with a pair of flared lenticular bosses on each side, sometimes divided, but which can be reduced to points. None drawn by me lacks some sort of feature on the side of the disc so those lacking anything and taken from published drawings may have had some trace not recognized by the illustrator.

The disc may have enamelling in either cells defined by spokes, as it were, of a wheel, or in an annulus around the centre which, save for 11876*, invariably has a rivet, usually grooved like a melon bead. The lower bow is always triangular and usually enamelled in triangular cells usually two and one. But other enamelling schemes are known: single plain cells, or with circles reserved in the enamel and, indeed, occasionally with no enamel. 11876* is perfectly suited to this group, but never had a rivet and the enamelling on the disc is a lozenge surrounded by vesica shapes. However, in all other respects it belongs here.

It may be that this design derives from one found on the Hod Hill (Chapter 6, part 2); however Type 8 in the Hinged-pin Colchester Derivatives (See Chapter 3, Part 5) may also be relevant. However, the real origin must lie in the Rosette, especially in the hinged versions. The Aesica also shows the degree of influence which the Rosette had even as it was passing out of manufacture (Chapter 2, Part 4).

All the measurements omit the cast-on loop. 5582 may not have been published at 1:1.

55mm 5580

49mm 5591

45mm 5581 5589* 15446 11876*

43mm 5579 5587*

42mm 5584 5588 14181 14691

40mm 5592 11874* 12156*

39mm 14180 14692 14888

38mm 14693

34mm 5585

32mm 5582

unsized 5583 5586

incomplete 5590 12391 14179 15447

Dating: 14693 Castleford, 71/4–86; 5582 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5588 Camelon, 140–160/5.

Already in being by 80 at the latest, it is guaranteed a *floruit* extending towards the middle of the second century.

Distribution: DORS 1 GLOS 1 ESSEX 1 NORF 11111 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 LEICS 11 Lincs 11111 NOTTS 1 DERBS 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 111 DUR 111 SCOT 11 Mainly in the East Midlands and East Anglia, hardly any from the south of England, the South West, Wales or even up the west side of England.

4.1b1. *Plate 86.* The head is a slightly simplified version of the last, the disc being greatly reduced in diameter

and the foot a more upright triangle. The enamelling in this sub-type is confined to a strip down the middle of enamelled lozenges with infilling triangles on each side. There are commonly almost insignificant mouldings above and below the disc and a point or a small boss on each side. The foot of the fantail has a groove across its bottom and along each side. The measurements ignore the cast-on loop.

44mm	5611
42mm	5605 5612–3
40mm	5597
39mm	5610 14889
38mm	6967
37mm	5596 5599 5602 5603* 5604
35mm	5608
34mm	5600–1 5614 11875
32mm	5598 5606
31mm	14182
unsized	5609
incomplete	5607 14183–5

Dating: 5602 Rudston, 2nd century?; 5597 Prestatyn, late 3rd–early 4th century.

Hardly a useful collection of dated items.

Distribution: CORN 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 111 CAMBS 11 WALES 1 Lincs 1111 NOTTS 11 DERBS 1 STAFFS 1 SALOP 1 YKS 1 NHMB 111 SCOT 1

The bias is definitely on the east side of England, but the emphasis on East Anglia is much weaker than it has been for the previous sub-varieties.

4.1bx. Plate 86. These are all versions of the last and with more examples some will achieve independent existence, but for the present it seems best to put all together and to divide them by //. The first two are the same size and from the same site in East Anglia. Of the next three complete ones, two are 41mm and the other 34mm, all four come from Nottinghamshire. The next three have celtic inspired designs: one of the two from East Anglia is 36mm, the other is incomplete and the third from Lincolnshire is 47mm. The last three are all different as far as can be told: 5622 is from a bad drawing, 5619 has a fine peltate form and the last, 14694, has had the enamelling replaced by a pair of vertical ridges on the foot.

5593 5621* / 5617* 5618 5620 6052 / 5615* 5616 14186 / 5619 5622 14694

Dating: 14694 Castleford, 71/4–86; 5622 Silchester, mid 2nd century.

The one from Castleford may well be early: the ridges should reflect a group of first-century brooches of the Rearhook family which have fantail feet and mouldings down the middle (see Plate 42). The dating, therefore, is in favour of this derivation which took place in East Anglia or the immediate environs.

Distribution: HANTS 1 NORF 1111 Lincs 1 NOTTS 1111 YORKS 1 SCOT 1

This again points to East Anglia at least or the East Midlands with East Anglia at most as the area of origin.

4.1b2. Plate 86. Here the circle has gone and there is now a rectangle with a row of vertical cells for enamel. The common form has a triangular foot with three triangular cells arranged two and one. The wings tend to have more mouldings than the previous forms and the central rectangle has a horizontal groove or flute at top and bottom.

5627* is exceptional. It has a sophisticated celtic-style pattern reserved in an enamelled field, the top and bottom of the central feature being more carefully made than is the case on the rest and the mouldings on the wings are also much better managed. The brooch has no provenance.

44mm 5623 5626 5627* 14695

40mm 5625* 5628

37mm 11537

incomplete 5624 12390

Dating: 14695 Castleford, 85/90–135/140.

Distribution: KT 1 WILTS 1 NORF 111 NHANTS 1 STAFFS 1 YORKS 1 HAD W 1

There are few specimens and their distribution should be read against the others of this family. In which case, East Anglia with the East Midlands is the favoured area.

4.2. Plate 87. Although very like 4.1b1, these brooches are highly elaborate and have proper trumpet heads. The disc in the middle is very small and has a rivet to hold an enamelled setting in place. The triangular foot, like the head, is covered in celtic-style relief ornament. The relief ornament is not exactly the same from brooch to brooch and it may be that the patterns were made up from elements with differing designs.

48mm 5595

46mm 14187

43mm 5594* 14188

Dating: 14187 South Shields, latest 4th century – 5th century.

Distribution: DORS 1 CAMBS 1 HAD W 2

From Dorset to Hadrian's Wall, meaningless with four examples.

4.x. Unclassified. 15377 has a disc on its bow and a narrow trumpet head ending in an oval head-plate. The lower bow is narrow and tapers to a projecting foot. 15377.

5. *Plate 87.*

Large brooches whose trumpet head ends in a semicircular head-plate with the axis bar of the hinged-pin housed in a tube along the bottom. The knops have three prominent cross-mouldings between smaller ones. The outer elements of the trio are then usually cut into to give the appearance of being petalled. Sometimes the knops are plain, but no distinction is made here for what may have been an absent

stage in the manufacturing process. Sometimes there is a zone of walker scorper decoration round the outer edge of the head, and all have or had a cast-on loop. The measurements ignore this as it is frequently broken.

82mm	5477
68mm	5481
66mm	5479
65mm	5526
62mm	5480
59mm	5473
58mm	5471* 12383
53mm	5472
40mm	9972
unsized	5474–5

incomplete 5476 5478 5482 5512

Dating: 5476 Verulamium, 125/30; 9972 Catterick, 200/20–275; 5472 Fishbourne, c.300.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 DORS 1 WILTS 111111 HERTS 1 OX 1 WALES 1 SALOP 1 YKS 1

With so many examples from Wiltshire, as many as all the others in the rest of the country put together, it must have been made somewhere in that area.

6. Like the last, but this time with a head that is triangular in section, with a marked central aris, spreading out to form a shallow head. There are two chief sub-varieties, the first with a pseudo-petalled knop as the last, the second with plain mouldings. There are cast-on loops, but the measurements again ignore these as so many are broken.

6a. Plate 87. The knop is made basically as that in Type 5.

59mm	5491
58mm	5494
56mm	5490*
53mm	5493
50mm	14167
48mm	5495
40mm	5496 5527
39mm	5492
37mm	5497

Dating: none

Distribution: HANTS 11 WILTS 111 SOM 11 GLOS 1 NORF 1 NOTTS 1

Here is the same basic distribution pattern as for the last, only more dispersed.

6b. Plate 87. Here, the knop is of three plain mouldings, the middle one larger and often with vertical grooves cut into it. All are smaller than those of 6a and it may be that the knop has been simplified to take this into account.

38mm	5498*
37mm	5499
36mm	5503
35mm	14165
34mm	5502
33mm	5501
incomplete	5504

Dating: 5504 Exeter, late 2nd century–early 3rd.

Distribution: HANTS 1 DORS 1 WILTS 11 DEV 1 SCILLY 1 GLOS 1

Slightly more spread out than the previous ones, the area is still Central Southern England.

7. Plate 87.

Very large with extraordinary features, here is the other brooch found with the famous Aesica Brooch, 5297, a giant from Perth, 5279, and a fragment of something almost equally monstrous, 5298. 5299 is only half the size of the others, but, had it been complete, would still have been a giant. The extraordinary knop of the other Aesica brooch is matched on two from Oxfordshire, e.g. 5509*. What seems to unite the group is basically sheer size with a very large pseudo-pedestal for the cast-on loop.

At the moment this is mixed group. For instance the giant from Perth belongs here by virtue of its size and the very large foot-knop, but the highly individual form of its knop and the celtic-style relief ornament on the head point in other, uncertain, directions.

174mm	5297
170mm	5279
85mm	5485
83mm	5509*
82mm	5487*
70mm	5484*
60mm	5488

Incomplete 5298 5299 5483 5486 5508

Dating: 5298 South Shields, mid 2nd century; 5297 Aesica, before late 2nd century; 5485 Chew, late 3rd – mid 4th century; 5486 Catsgore, 4th century; 5488 Ilchester, 4th century?

It seems likely that the examples from South Shields and Aesica provide better dates for the group than any, so far, from their probable homeland.

Distribution: DORS 1 WILTS 1 SOM 111 OXON 11 GLOS 1 CUMB 1 HAD W 11 SCOT 1

Once one recognizes that the Military North liked extravagant brooches, the location of the less extreme examples is likely to be where they all came from, with the single exception perhaps of the one from Perth. This, therefore, points to the area around Somerset and running up into Oxfordshire as being the more likely homeland. 5299, from Brough under Stainmore, was described by Collingwood ([155], 51, fig.10,a) as being a flawed casting and attributed on that basis, and a few others, to a manufacturing centre here.

x. Miscellaneous Trumpets. These are difficult in the sense that they have already been catered for in sprung-pin forms, and these are therefore aberrations. They are listed in order of their affinity with the chief forms with springs. 5510 has pseudo-spring found on Hybrid Colchester Derivatives.

x1. Plate 87. Bow with one continuous involute-curved profile. These belong to Collingwood's "graceful" group, see Introduction to this chapter.

5506* 5507 5520 9958 9978 12382* 14164

Dating: 5506* South Ferriby, with two Colchesters and 20 Corieltauvan coins; 5521 Rudston, 140–160; 5520 Margidunum. Antonine; 5489 South Shields, before the early 3rd century.

Distribution, NORF 1 Lincs 11 NOTTS 11 YORKS 1

In terms of the discussion at the beginning of this chapter, these are all definable as being early in as far as the form of their profile, and their distribution belongs to what may be called the core area of the origin of the Trumpet.

x2. The rest ordered according to the style of the knop.

x2.a. *Plate 87.* Knop with petalling all round = Trumpet 1a. 5510 has its hinged pin set in the middle of a roughly simulated spring modelled as a series of ridges. This normally occurs amongst early hybrids as the change is being made from an integral spring to some other system and so one would be tempted to put the date earlier than 75, but no emphasis is laid on this.

5489 5510 5515* 5524

Dating: 5489 South Shields, before the early 3rd century.

Distribution: Norfolk, North Lincolnshire?, Worcestershire and South Shields.

x2.b. *Plate 87.* The mouldings on the knop do not run round the back = Trumpet 1b. There is at least one moulding above or below, if not both sides of the knop and a proper disc in the middle.

5505 5518 5521 5523 11839* 12379–80

Dating: 5521 Rudston, 140–160.

Distribution: SUFF 1 NORF 1 LEICS 1 WALES 1 YORKS 11 HAD W 1

Mainly on the east side of England from East Anglia to the north.

x2.c. *Plate 88.* No disc in the middle = 1.2by, but not too closely; those after / have an arris.

5513 5516–7 12381* / 5519* 5522 5525 14687

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT 1 WILTS 11 OXON 1 EA 1 CAMBS 1 Lincs 1 WALES 1

No clear image emerges except that most are again on the east side of England from Kent to the Humber.

Xx. *Plate 88.* The residue. 5514* has no provenance, 5500 and 5511* are from Gloucestershire. 14168 is the same as 5360 and 12355 in 1.2by. Perhaps the most extraordinary brooch is 14861* from Sapperton, Lincs. It has a spring mounted between a pair of pierced lugs, a cast-on loop enamelling on the trumpet head recalling a member of Type 2.b, a knop made up of vertical ribs and a lower bow which is, in effect, part of a Type 2 Headstud with reserved lozenges between enamel and the usual toothing on each side. The bottom, however, has a version of the Trumpet's mouldings.

5500 5511* 5514* 12384 14166 14168 14668 14861*

Dating: 14668 Castleford, after c.180–400.

Trumpet Dregs. *Plate 88.* None of these is a Trumpet in the normal sense. The first two share one feature in common: they have small bosses. 2938* has no surviving head and the bosses are on a knop with two mouldings above and below. 6306* is now missing, it had a triple moulded knop with three small bosses above and below. There was a trumpet head with a tab above lying on the main axis. The pin was hinged, the axis bar being housed in long wings. The last is only here because it has a knop, but the rest is impossible to fit into any other category. 14191 has no knop, but otherwise would be counted as a Trumpet belonging to the double-lugged group.

2938* 6306* 9085 14191

Dating: 6306* Broxtowe, before 70/5.

Chapter 6. Continental Imports and Their Influence

Plates 88–104

Part 1. Alésia-Aucissa Series [Alesia-Auc]

These two bear a chief relationship which will become apparent when the Durotrigan Type is discussed in Part 3. For the moment it is necessary to define the point at which the Aucissa becomes a Hod Hill. In general, there is little confusion between the two, as the bulk of the illustrations makes clear, but there is an awkward, apparently short-lived, phase when they could be said to be to be neither one nor the other according to the definitions found below. The formal difference is that the Aucissa series ends when the foot-knob is no longer a separately made item fitted to the foot of the bow. The only exception is the sequence which is here called The Bagendon, after the brooches so defined by M. R. Hull in ([151], 176–82).

Perhaps the most significant difference is in the method of manufacture: the study carried out in conjunction with Riha's work on the Augst brooches revealed that the Aucissa proper was mass-produced in a way which allowed the type to be remarkably similar, despite the scores of thousands that must have been made ([617], 36–8). Briefly, and following comment in Chapter 1, Part 6, they were made using a die block for the bow, the head-plate and the foot being added later. The Hod Hill, however, was cast in more conventional ways and this explains why there is such variety. One method belongs to a factory system such that one man could dominate production; we do not know whether Aucissa was the maker or the owner of the factory. The other method was employed by many individuals who could and did explore different designs. That this was so can be seen by the sheer variety in the collection at the eponymous site [87].

All the brooches here have hinged pins mounted on axis bars in the rolled-under or rolled-over heads of the bow.

1.a. Plate 88. The Alésia and its immediate successors (Feugère Types 21 and 22a1 [270]). The head is always rolled-under to house the axis bar of the pin. The head is broad and usually tapers constantly to what looks like a pointed foot when viewed from the front, but which projects forward in the side view, usually with a rounded end. This is frequently pierced to allow an axis bar carrying a knob on each end to be fitted. Variations are few, and as so few occur in Britain, none deserves a separate designation: the sides of the bow can be shaped, 8484, or the bottom of the bow forged to simulate the separately-made knobs, 8487*. Decoration often occurs on the front, but seemingly not of a common pattern.

Once excessively rare, the numbers of Alésias known is increasingly steadily, chiefly I suspect because sites occupied in the correct period are now receiving more attention. However, the dating is still derived from general principles and can be summed up by saying that nothing significant seems to have been found to disturb the conclusion reached by Duval in his definitive article [244]. Development of the Alésia towards the Aucissa main series was probably complex, cf. 14948 which belongs to Feugère's Type 22a1, in his eyes an early version of the Aucissa.

2948 from Salford, Bedfordshire, is in a class on its own. The upper bow shows signs of being slightly domed, which would make it a member of Feugère's Type 11, save for the hinged pin. Feugère reserves 11d for just such a thing, but only has a single certain, very exaggerated, example ([270], 251) which is perhaps enough to consider that his is just as convenient a slot for an awkward items as my placing 2848 here amongst the Alésias. However, my justification is the very probable presence of a small hole in the catch-plate which would indicate a bar with a pair of knobs such as is found on the Alésia.

8481–4 8485* 8487* 8488 11695 / 2948 / 14948

Dating: 2948 Salford, 50–10 B.C.; 14948 Silchester, 40–50/60; 8482 Chichester, 2nd century; 8481 Canterbury, late 3rd century; 11695 Gorhambury, 300–350.

The type belongs to the middle of the first century B.C., the next stage in the development towards the Aucissa had happened by the end of that century.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 DORS 1 HANTS 1 HERTS 1 BEDS 1 OXON 1 SUFF 1 LEICS 1

To some measure, the distribution is what might be expected of a brooch which could only have come into Britain in the first century B.C. It is coastal and its penetration inland is signalled by the examples from what was in essence Verulamium, 11695, and Leicester, 8488, from a site which was also peripheral to the later Roman town.

From now on, all the others in this sequence had knobs mounted on the ends of the axis bar for the hinged-pin, to keep it in position.

1.b. Plates 88–89. The feather stamps: the head bears a row of feather or palm-leaf-shaped stamps and there is either a fully pierced eye or an exaggerated open C shape at each end. All occur on rolled-under heads. The bows

come in two sections, those with the Aucissa section, and those with a central flute and cast beading or punched strips down each border: the detail is not certain as all those I have recorded are from published illustrations mostly done when beading was assumed, even if it was not actually there at all right through the whole series. The second type of section is always rarer than the first. In the first group, nearly all recorded by me from original specimens have punched decoration.

1.b1. the Aucissa section: 8532–5 8536* 8537* 8538–9 11701 14002? 14981

1.b2. fluted: 8528 8529* 8530–31

Dating: 8528b Canterbury, ?pre 43; 14981 Silchester, 40–50/60; 8535a Canterbury, 175–300/320; 8529* Baldock, late 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 12 HANTS 11 WILTS 1 HERTS 12 BUCKS 1 OXON 22 EA 1 SUFF 1 CAMBS 11

There are no surprises here, as all come from the primary Late La Tène culture of the South East of England.

1c. Plate 89. Eyes: here, the bow falls into the same two styles, with the head always having eyes, but seldom pierced through, usually with a line of beading along the side next to the bow. The head may rolled under or over, but those which have an open C at each end are always rolled-under. This style stands at the cross-over from the Alésia-style head to the Aucissa-style which always has a rolled-over head. The decoration is usually beaded, not punched, and all the border ridges are similarly treated. The division into a and b is the same as for Type 2 below. The suffix u = rolled-under.

1.c1. 8520 8540–2u–7u 8548* 8550u 8551 8554–5 8556u–7 8558u 8561–3 8564u5u6u 8568 8573* 12291 12310 12469u 12470 14005 15471u 15472–3

1.c2. 8549u 8553u*

Dating: 8547u Baldock, 1–25; 8563 & 8564u Skeleton Green, c.15–25; 8545 Poundbury, 20–40 or later; ; 8549u Gussage All Saints, c.25–50; 8554 Colchester, 43/44; 8557 Skeleton Green, c.43–c.50; 8555 Hod Hill, before 50; 8520 Colchester, 61; 8546 North Cerney, Claudian–?Neronian; 8568 Barton Court, Late Roman.

The dating is consistent, which is unusual. A closing date in the immediate conquest period is almost certainly correct. Those with rolled-under heads tend to be earlier in the first century, as befits the typologically earlier stage they represent.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 11112 DORS 1112 SOM 11 GLOS 11 ESSEX 111 HERTS 111111 OXON 1 EA 11 NHANTS 111 LEICS 1 CHESH 1 YORKS 1

Most come from the counties immediately around the deepest South East.

1.d. Plate 89. The bow is narrow, generally without longitudinal mouldings. The section may be D-shaped, oval or even rounded front and back, with a face on each side. The division adopted here is simple. As it happens,

only 1.d1 at the moment has cross-mouldings on the bow proper. There is always the possibility that E. J. W. Hildyard bought in the open market an item with a dubious provenance.

1.d1. D section, inscribed: Worcester- COMV 8525*; Britain, Hildyard Coll- QLOM 8526

1.d2. Other sections: 8515–6 8518 8521 8523 8527* 14105

1.d3. 8522* 8524, the only ones with mouldings down the bow both have bead-rows. The section of the back of the bows shows that these are not ordinary Aucissas with the sides of the bow trimmed off.

Dating: 1.d.1, 8525* Worcester, 50–120; 1.d.2, 8515 and 8518 Hod Hill, before 50; 8523 Chichester, Claudian; 8516 Fishbourne, c.43–c.75; 8527* Canterbury, 70/80–100/110; 1.d.3, 8524 Chichester, late 1st century or later.

There is no reason to suppose that these should be significantly later than the conquest period, but there is nothing to show they had arrived before.

Distribution: KT 222 SUSS 223 DORS 22 WILTS 3 WORCS 1

This runs along the south coast, and the one from Worcestershire very probably represents carriage by water.

1e. Plate 89. These are non-standard Aucissa bows in the sense that the casting is too sturdy, the outer border is beaded, the head-plate is not standard or punched dots are present, not cast beading. Somewhat of an olla podrida, the impression is that all, except for the sturdy castings, 1e.2, are earlier than the main Aucissa, especially as three with rolled-under heads fall here.

1.e1. 8510 8560* 8567u* 8569–71 14001u 14003u 14018

1.e2. 8572* 14013

Dating: 1e.1, 8570 Colchester, 49–60; 8510 Harlow temple, mid 4th century; 1e.2, none.

Distribution: WILTS 1 ESSEX 111 BEDS 1 GLOS 2 EA 11 Lincs 112

Reveals little new but perhaps there is a slight spread north.

2 Aucissas [AVCISSA]

2.x. Plate 89. Oddities: these come before real Aucissas as they are closer to the last group in many ways than the type proper. They are not really grouped and only those not published are illustrated here. Those up to the first / are basically simple and are by no means members of Type 2. Those after have slighter claims to be here at all and are placed in some instances solely on the presence of a rolled over head for the axis bar of a hinged pin.

One of the two illustrated, both on Plate 89, may not even be a brooch: 8721*. The other, 14455*, is included here, despite immediate impressions, on the basis of an unprovenanced brooch in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Beldam Collection, DEP 21.B151.

Most have relatively standard sized sections, but 14605 is a very sturdy brooch whose allegiance to the Aucissa heritage cannot be in question. 14108 is a member of Feugère's Type 22b2 which is a very varied group and about which little can be said. The knobs on the ends of the horizontal members point to a pre-conquest date, possibly one related to the Alésia, see Part 1, although the head is rolled over and not under. 8500 and 8512 are practically identical. 13094 would be counted as variety of Aucissa with a central flute (2.c). but for the rolled-under head.

8490 8494 8497 8500–1 8503 8512 8513* 8517 14106–7 14514 14454 / 8491–3 8496 8507 8511 8719 8721* 8499 13094u 14108 14506 14455*

Dating: 8493 Verulamium, c.49; 8494 and 8517 Hod Hill, before 50; 8507 North Cerney, Claudian-Neronian?; 14506 Castleford, 71/4–86; 8512 Wroxeter, c.90–120 or earlier; 8492 Upton St Leonards, 2nd–3rd century.

The small amount of information fits with the distribution and dating of the identified varieties.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 11 WILTS 1 SOM 1 MSEX 11 HERTS 1 BRKS 1 GLOS 111 SUFF 1 NORF 1111 CAMBS 111 LEICS 1 Lincs 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 1 DUR 1 SCOT 1

Although none is specifically of the identified variations of the Alésia-Aucissa sequence, as a whole they obey the distribution pattern of the Aucissa, with perhaps a slight drift up and into Scotland.

2. The Aucissa itself. [AVCISSA] So dominant is this that all the preceding varieties from the Alésia onwards have usually been indiscriminately lumped together under its name which derives from the most common found on the head-plate, though it is worth bearing in mind that most in this family bear no name at all. However, the named ones come first as 2.a. There are names other than AVCISSA (TARRA, 8599, 8600; ATGIVIO/ATGIVIOS, 8601–2, ATG.VIOS, 12473; SUGG[.], 14579), but there is no variation in the design. The head-plate has a central flute with a cut-out at each end; there are bead-rows on both sides or on one side, next to the bow. Named examples have the name next to the bow instead of the bead-row. There is no relic whatever of the eyes, unless it be the cut-out at the ends of the flute. The bow has a bordering ridge, never beaded, and a raised centre always with a sunken bead-row down it. The junction between the bow and the foot is marked by a minor cross-moulding and the foot is often chamfered. The hemispherical foot-knob is always added and has a moulding round the top.

There were several dies used for the name, but without having impressions of all of them, including a great many from the continent, there is little point in trying to categorize them from published drawings. One thing is clear, however: there was no uniform attempt to make sure that the entire stamp appeared on the head of the brooch, or even to centre it.

2.a. Inscribed. Plate 90.

8574–9 8581 8583–6 8587* 8588–602 8660 12471–3 14267 14576–7 14579 14819

Dating: 8593 Canterbury, c.60; 8589 Harlow temple, before 80; 8576–7 8600 8660 Wroxeter, 55/60–90; 8602 Wroxeter, before the late 1st century; 8581 Wroxeter, latest 1st century-earliest 2nd; 8582 Wroxeter, 80–120; 8579 Rudston, before late 2nd century; 8594 Alcester, 3rd century?; 8578 Baldock, late 3rd century; 8592 Catsgore after late 4th century.

2.b. Uninscribed. Plate 90.

8514 8519 8559 8603–59 8661–5 5226 8667–70 8671* 8672–86 8687* 11696–9 12287–8 12301 12308 12312 12315–6 12474–6 12478–81 13659 14006–12 14019* 14578 14580–3

Dating: 11699 Gorhambury, before c.45; 8609–10, 8615–6, 8621, 8624 Hod Hill, before 50; 8642 Colchester, 43/44–46; 8656 King Harry Lane, unphased before 50–60; 8637 Colchester 43/4–61; 8623 Longthorpe, 43–60/65; 8519 and 8603 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 8627 Richborough, c.50; 12481 Wilcote, Claudian; 8619 Verulamium, 50–75; 15416 Fairford, Thornhill Farm, 50–100; 8653–4 8659 Wroxeter, 55/60–90; 14007 Duntisbourne, before 60?; 14583 Broxtowe, before 70/75; 8657 Braughing, 55–100; 8626 Colchester, 61–c.65 and 8652 60–250; 8663 Kelvedon, before 65; 8667 Wavendon Gate, & 11696 Gorhambury, 1st century; 8646 Alcester, 1st–early 2nd century; 8683 Cirencester, after 75; 8617 Verulamium, 80–150; 8620 & 8680 Camerton, 90–200; 8639 Chichester, early 2nd century; 8661 Wroxeter, before c.130; 12474 Norden, 2nd century; 14267 Wroxeter, 3rd century and later; 8670 Amersham, 225–250; 8686 Braughing, 3rd–4th century.

22 are before 65 as against 16 from then to 400.

These sites demonstrate fairly unequivocally that none is securely pre-conquest. The single specimen from the King Harry Lane cemetery came from an unphased grave and the dating, either proposed by the writers of the report, or revised in Appendix 1, allows it to be post-conquest with no difficulty. The end-date of the type does not immediately leap forth from the data. However, as it was the parent of the Hod Hill, and most of those on the basis of distribution alone must have passed out of use before 70/71, so the progenitor should also have been no longer seen at that date. If the Hod Hill was essentially passing out of use 70/75 at best, then the Aucissa ought to have ended c.60/65.

Distribution: KT aab SUSS bbb HANTS ab DORS abbbbbbbbbb WILTS aaaabb SOM abbbb DEV b ESSEX aaabbbbbbbb HERTS abbbbbbbbbb MSEX ab BEDS/BUCKS bbb OXON abbb GLOS aaaabbbbbbbbbb bbbbbb EA abbbbb CAMBS bbbbbb NHANTS abbbb LEICS b WARKS abbb HERE bb SWALES aab Lincs aabbbbb NOTTS bbbb STAFFS ab SALOP aaaaaabbbbb YORKS abbbb DUR b

The inscribed series is basically parallel with the uninscribed, and both show how very few travelled further than the Humber–Dee line. In fact the only substantial group in the West and north of Gloucester is that at Wroxeter where one may note that it is divided almost equally between

both varieties. More than that, those in 2.a contain most of the alternative names. However, at Wroxeter there is a problem about the military brooches which is bound up with predominance of the Aucissa over the Hod Hill and this is discussed in the report ([739], 91–4). Considering how many brooches have been recorded from East Anglia, a total of seven here seems remarkably small, pointing perhaps to a lack of penetration from the conquest to the suppression of the Icenii after the Boudicca episode.

2.c. Plate 90. This is the group that has a central flute down the bow and is a reminder that the alternative designs, available before the Aucissa developed its final form, also had a part to play in the final stages before the Hod Hill which itself occasionally used the same alternative patterns, differing from the common form of 2.a and 2.b and may have either beading down the sides, or a cast chevron.

8688–700 8701* 8702 14015 14016* 14585

Dating: 8692 King Harry Lane, unphased and 8693 Phase 3 both before c.55; 8697 N Cerney, Ditches, 40–50/5; 8691 Colchester, 43/44–61; 8688 Colchester, 49–61; 8696 Wroxeter, before c.130; 8698 Bancroft, late 1st–late 2nd century.

Distribution: SUSS 1 HANTS 1 SOM 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 1111 BDS/BCKS 1 GLOS 1111 NHANTS 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 11

There are no surprises in either the dating or the distribution: the two from Yorkshire come from the site called North Ferriby in Welton parish and are associated with Claudian occupation better known as South Ferriby on the south bank of the Humber.

3. Transitional. Plate 90. The bow tends to become broader and the central relief flatter; the head-plate is much simplified or, in any recognizable form, absent when it comes to decoration; beading can be replaced by chevrons and so on. However, the foot was always made separately and then fitted. Divided into those essentially retaining the central ridge, 3.a, and those the median flute, 3.b, the first group is sub-divided again into three:

3.a1. Sturdy castings. Distributions after 3.b:

8711–2 8726–7 8744–5 8753 8793 12483* 14014* 14024

Dating: 8711 Skeleton Green, 15–40; 8726 Chichester, 43–85/115; 8727 Harlow temple, before 80.

3.a2. Plate 90. Central ridge with bead-row or remains of one. Distributions after 3.b:

8704 8706–9 8713 8714* 8715–6 8720 8725 8728–9 8731–2 8741–3 8746–9 8751–2 8754–5 11700 11702 11705* 12304 12307 12477 12482 12487 14017 14020 14584

Dating: 8720 Bagendon, 30–45; 14017 Duntisbourne, mid 1st century; 8748 Orton Hall Farm, mid 1st century–175; 8754 Longthorpe, Claudian–Neronian; 8741 Bagendon, 50–60; 8715 Fishbourne, 43–c.75; 8713 Hod Hill, before 50; 8742 Chichester, late 1st century residual; 12482 Wilcote, ?100–125; 11700 Gorhambury, before 175; 8707 Canterbury, 350–375.

3.a3. Plate 90. These have chevrons down the middle instead of a bead-row. Distributions after 3.b.

8705 8717–8 8723* 8735–40 8750

Dating: 8735 Hod Hill, before 50; 8750 Colchester, 49–60; 8739 Wycomb, 1st century.

3.b. Plate 90. This has the central flute:

8710 8722 8724 8733–4 12290 12300 14586*

Dating: 8722 Bagendon, 45–55; 8710 Harlow temple, before 80; 8724 Longthorpe, before 60/5.

Distribution: KT 2 SUSS 1222 HANTS 11223 DORS 23 WILTS 2 ESSEX 12223bb HERTS 112223 BEDS 23 EA 112222 CAMBS 223bb NHANTS 2223b OXON 2222 GLOS 122222333bb HERE 2 WARKS 122 LEICS 13 Lincs 2 SALOP b

The spread is as before, the only real outlier being Wroxeter. As always, this is a combination of the strength of occupation and the amount of excavation carried out there. The dating which includes Bagendon points to an early date, possibly even some arriving before the conquest. The end-date is again fogged by residual items, but the arguments above concerning the end-date of the main run of Hod Hills point to c.60/65 here.

Aucissa Dregs. 11895: the bow would be taken for a rather corroded Aucissa with a bead-row down the upper bow. However, the head seems to be a tube attached directly to the head of the bow without a head-plate. 13664: the head of an Aucissa look-a-like, but corroded and very large, the head-plate has been reduced to a single ridge.

11895 13664

Part 2. The Hod Hill [HOD HILL]

The Hod Hill arrives, fully developed, at the conquest. It arrives in such great numbers that it must have been principally used in the first few years by the army, and may have continued to be a preferred type amongst the military. This will emerge as the dating and the sites from which it comes are noted. However, it would be wrong to assume that, because this seems so, every Hod Hill, or Aucissa for that matter, marks the passage of a soldier.

There is little need to labour the point that the Hod Hill is the lineal descendant from the Aucissa. The transitional forms dealt with at the end of the Alésia–Aucissa sequence, coupled with the initial Hod Hills given here, are sufficient to demonstrate it without further comment. The one feature which stands out, however, is that it is impossible to say why the older mass-production methods came to an end in favour of a looser structure. It is worth emphasising that, although the change in manufacture would suit the destruction of the older workshop system, there is no evidence that this was so. We do not know where Aucissas were made, and neither do we know where any Hod Hill was made. Tempting though it may be to see the makers following the Roman army, it is a fact that one

single merchant shipload would easily have been enough to contain all the brooches ever made and used in Britain throughout both the Iron Age and Roman periods.

The embarrassing feature of the Hod Hill family is their very fecundity; there is no difficulty in isolating small groups of apparently similar items and giving each a separate designation. The result would be a plethora of groups mainly containing perhaps five items and this would be self-defeating. What is needed is a reasonably simple classification system which will allow the few genuinely related groups to stand out against the background of slightly differentiated designs which can be ordered however one so wishes. The choice here has been to take the certain definite groups and place them in close conjunction with the elements chosen to mark the main groups. Whether this works is left to others who are free to devise a better system.

The first consideration to be faced is whether or not knobs attached to the upper bow mark separate types and, if so, whether their number and position are significant. The conclusion here, taken somewhat reluctantly, is that the answer is almost certainly that they are not. Sophisticated analysis techniques based upon as many examples as can be gathered across Europe may show this to be wrong, but such a close study is out of place here. Then there is the matter of the different treatments of upper and lower bows. Most of the latter are flat, although their shapes differ, but many are cross-moulded and it is not immediately apparent whether they are a chronologically significant group, or even a significant workshop trait. A glance at the collection from Hod Hill, which had been lost inside seven years from the conquest (Richmond 1968, 117–9), should show that these considerations are largely irrelevant.

Only the upper bow is used here as a determinant of sub-type, unless there is some other factor which demands to be taken into account. Decorated head-plates like the Aucissa and its predecessors have disappeared in favour of mouldings which tend to be repeated at the top of the lower bow. In general, all the heads are rolled-over, but I have to confess that I did not automatically note whether there was a *cast* cylinder to house the axis bar: the damaged form at the top of the overwhelming majority of brooches of this type shows that the pin was inserted at the final cold-working of the head. It is easier to make the hinged pin assembly complete with the sweated-on knobs at the end of the axis bar as a separate item and roll the head over to trap it, than to fiddle around with putting the knobs on after the pin was in place. The presence of a fully cast cylinder may be an important feature in indicating whether or not the brooch belongs to the late sequence carrying on into the second century and being transmuted into something new (see Chapter 7, part 2), and this should be a point to be followed up by a future researcher.

We begin, therefore, with those Hod Hills which betray the greatest likeness to their parents. A vexed question is how much reliance can be placed on the presence or

absence of punched dot decoration on the lower bow. Where there is no room for it, there is no problem, but when there is, the quality of observation employed in preparing published illustrations may be at fault. More often than not, poorly preserved decoration of this kind is just not noticed, just as beaded decoration on ridges is often ignored, not because it was not impressive, but because most people do not know that it is to be looked for. This means that such decorative traits cannot be used to arrive at refined sub-divisions because the sample is skewed by a heavy reliance on published illustrations. Therefore, its presence or absence is ignored, except in particular instances.

The surface finish on Hod Hills was all important. One advance on the Aucissa was the use of a silvered finish and every single brooch would have had this, at least in part. Usually, the surface of brooches recovered has suffered too much from ground conditions that it is only by holding many at an angle in good light that any trace of the original shiny finish can be seen. In rare instances, where the surface is complete, the front of the brooch can often be seen to have been differentially coated. In such cases the silver was designed to contrast with the gold colour of the copper alloy. The effect was sometimes heightened with niello inlay allowing the craftsman to create a three colour display which, coupled with punched dots and beading, could give a glittering effect. Enamelling belongs to a different strand in the development and is covered in Chapter 7, part 2, apart from its probable appearance on Type 13. Here, there is a hole in the middle of the disc and in perhaps two instances there is enough to show that there had been a cup holding enamel riveted through here.

1. There are two sub-varieties: one has a single ridge down the middle, 1a, the other a triple ridge with the central element frequently made into an undulating ridge, 1b. Both have single bordering ridges. The form of the lower bow is largely irrelevant, but none has an elaborate form, each betraying something of the simplicity found in the parents. Occasionally, the slight cross-moulding at the base of the upper bow in the Aucissa is expressed as a more prominent feature, but this, without a matching one at the head of the upper bow, is taken as being just another transferred feature from the earlier types. Those with wings are 1.a1 and 1.b1: some of the wings can be described as being incipient rather than properly formed. In both, a further division is made so that both 1a.1 and 1b.1 consist of those with wings attached to the upper bow.

The distribution of the varieties is discussed at the end of this section. The only point to bear in mind is, that while a distinction had to be made in 1.a1 between those with “ordinary” lower bows and those made up completely of cross-mouldings, because there were so many, the very few here do not warrant such special treatment. They occur after / in the list below.

1.a. Plate 90.

8703 8765–70 8772 8774–6 8779–81 8784–90 8801* 8794–6 8797* 8798–800 8802 8804–12 8814–21 8822* 8823–4

8826–7 8888 8890–1 8892 11704 11706 11708–11 11723
12282 12297 12485 12490 12495 12497 14028 14030–1
14033 14035–8 14041–2 14048–51 14588–93 14598 / 8891
9521 14032*

Dating: Only one of these has cross-mouldings all along the lower bow, it is underlined. **8821** Bancroft, Late pre-Roman Iron Age; **8890** Verulamium, mid-1st century; **8819** Verulamium, 49–60; **8888** Rushden, before 60; **8703** Cirencester, 50–65/70; **8779** Kelvedon, before 65; **8822** Wells, Flavian; **12485** Wilcote, 70–110; **14589** Broxtowe, before 70/5; **14032–3** Dorchester, 75–120; **8805** Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century; **14588** **Castleford**, c.71/4–86; **8808** Verulamium, 80–100; **8820** Baldock, 90–120; **8780** Braughing, 100–150; **8788** **Corbridge**, 139–163; **8815** Camerton, 2nd–3rd century; **8796** Bancroft, ?mid 4th–early 5th century; **8810** Cirencester, 375–410/20.

The surprising thing here is that, despite the balance of the dating evidence from other varieties of Hod Hill, none of this is convincingly early: save for the first few, the bulk were lost after c.70. Not only that, but two, in Bold above, come from north of the Humber. Out of 18 dated items, not more than four are before c.70 and only three are probably or definitely residual, the one from Corbridge being very probably residual.

That 11 are grouped between c.70 and 100 as far as the beginning of their date-ranges are concerned should surely reflect the period when these brooches were passing out of use. Is it possible that these are the true successors of the Aucissa which persists for apparently such a long time after the conquest, despite its progeny being seemingly fully developed at that time? The curve of the graph representing the approximate floruit of the brooches selected here does not represent a type arriving fully blown in 43.

Distribution: KT aa HANTS aaa DORS aaab WILTS aaaaa SOM aaa DEV a CORN a ESSEX aaaaaaab MSEX aa HERTS aaaaaaaaaaaaaa BUCKS aa OXON aa GLOS aaaaaaaaaa SUFF aa NORF aaaaaaaaaaaaaaab CAMBS aa NHANTS aaaaa LEICS a WARKS a SALOP a LINC a aaaaa NOTTS aaa YORKS a NHUM a

The small number even from the forward parts of the Fosse Way frontier zone and including the singleton from Wroxeter, founded 55/60, points to the limited date-range which the overall type had. The single item from Hadrian's Wall at Corbridge is neither here nor there. However, if the 1.a brooch had been an identifier of a military group, its exclusion from Wroxeter would be because it was not required there. It would then follow that it marks the course of the only major unit available to put down Boudicca's rabble, LEGIO XX, LEGIO XIV GEMINA probably being the main thrust of Suetonius Paulinus' attack on Anglesey.

1.a1a. Plate 91. A distinction has to be made between those whose lower bow is simple, 1.a1a here, and those which are not, being essentially cross-moulded all the way down and assigned to 1.a1b.

8759–62 8771 9097 9098* 9099–111 9113–21 9122* 9128 9130–2 9134 9135* 9148 9140 9150–1 9501 11738 12292 12347 14052 14058

1.a1b. Plate 91. The multiple cross-mouldings are on the lower bow: the two after the / display the punched-dot decoration which one tends to associate with those Hod Hills which persist to the end of the first century and change into other forms often with enamel (see 9641 etc below in 13.b).

8906 9120 9126 9136 9141* 9145 9321 9323 9326/ 9320* 9335

Dating: Those underlined belong to **1.a1b**. **8760** Baldock, 25–50; **9122** N Cerney, Ditches, 40–50/55; **9323** **Colchester**, 44–60; **9145** **Braughing**, 45–55; **9321** **Baldock**, 1st–3rd century; **9109** Chichester, Flavian; **9100** The Lunt, before c.75; **14052** Dorchester, 75–120; **9105** Verulamium, before c.80; **9101** Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century; **9126** **Fawkham**, before 100; **9120** **Colchester**, 100–150; **9128** Fishbourne, 100–280; **9110** Chichester, 2nd century; **9150** Braughing, 150–200; **8761** Baldock, 180–220; **9119** Baldock, 3rd century; **9320*** **Rudston**, c.300 and later; **9148** Bancroft, mid 4th–5th century.

The dating here to some extent repeats the same bias as that for 1.a, but the emphasis is not so clearly centred on the later first century, and graph based on this series would look more normal for a type coming in at the conquest. The distinction between 1.a1a and 1.a1b reveals that there is no chronological difference between the two, but the jury is still out when it comes to the last two listed in the latter category.

Distribution: KT aaab SUSS aaa HANTS aaa DORS a WILTS aa SOM a ESS aabb MSEX a HERTS aaaaaabb BUCKS a OXON b GLOS aaaa NORF aaaab CAMBS aaab NHANTS aab LEICS a WARKS aab LINC aaaa SALOP a YORKS b

The furthest flung of 1.a1a, as it were, is the one from Wroxeter founded 55/60. All the rest belong to the lands contained by the Fosse Way frontier zone. When it comes to 1.a1b, it is perhaps not surprising that the suspected late one comes from Rudston in Yorkshire. The distribution of the 1.a1b forms does not reflect the regional bias to be seen in the similar moulded lower bows of 4.c3 below.

1.b. Plate 91. These have the triple ridge down the middle, perhaps a more accurate reflection of the original Aucissa, the central ridge sometimes being made into a wavy ridge by punching, but more often there is beading. There are only two with cross-moulding along the lower bow, those after /, and in neither case is this very strongly expressed. **8841*** chosen for illustration has its front silvered except for the edges of the upper bow between the cross-flutes.

8831* 8832–40 8841* 8842 8844–9 8851 8855–61 8863–8 8869* 8871 8873–80 12319 12484 12488–9 12491–2 14029 14043–5 14047 14089 14091 14597 14599–602 / 8843 8862*

Dating: **8865** Whitwell, before 50; **8861** Colchester, 49–61; **8847** Camerton, Claudian–Neronian; **8863** Exeter, 50–80; **8839** Colchester, 61–c.65; **8864** Gloucester, 1st century; **8876** Baldock, 1st–3rd century; **14597** & **14601** Broxtowe, before 70/5; **14043** Dorchester, 75–120; **8832** Harlow temple, before 80; **8857** Wroxeter, 80–120; **8871** Ilchester, before late 2nd century; **12484** Leicester, late 2nd–early 3rd century; **12488** Wilcote, before 200?; **8849** Chichester, late 4th century.

The curve of the graph produced by the start dates of the ranges for these brooches is much more like one required for a brooch type coming in fully developed at the conquest than that produced from the dates for 1a above. This should demonstrate that, at base, the relationship between what may seem to be quite arbitrarily selected traits is much more complex than might have been thought on a superficial view of the material.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 11 DORS 11 WILTS 1 SOM 11 DEV 1 ESSEX 1111111 MSEX 1 HERTS 111 BEDS 1 OXON 111 GLOS 111111 SUFF 11 NORF 111111111 NHANTS 111 CAMBS 11 LEICS 11 RUT 1 WALES 1 Lincs 11 NOTTS 11 STAFFS 1 SALOP 11 YORKS 1

There are no surprises here: the ones from Wales, Shropshire, Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire are all from military sites: Usk, Wroxeter, Wall and Broxtowe. However, the one from near Maltby may be a warning against assuming that every outlier has to have come from a fort.

1.b1. Plate 91. Those with wings. It is worth noting that none has the multiple cross-mouldings on the lower bow as in 1.a1b.

5271* 8756–7 8850 8852–4 8870* 9090–6 11722 12281 14039 14046 14062

Dating: 8756 Baldock, 1–25; 8852 Wroxeter, pre-Flavian; 9090 Baldock, 90–120; 9094 Silchester, 100–120; 8757 Canterbury, 125–150.

There are really not enough to be sure that the proper date-range is being expressed. The early one from Baldock must be wrongly assigned: it predates its own parent. The example from Wroxeter must be after 55/60, when the military site was founded, to 68/9. The ones from the urban sites significantly come from a period when timber towns were being converted into stone based structures with consequently large amounts of earth displaced from early deposits.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 111 BUCKS 1 NORF 11 NHTS 1 LEICS 1 WARKS 1 Lincs 111 NOTTS 111 SALOP 1

Overall Distribution: Those of 1.a are the most numerous and widespread, extending to Hadrian's Wall and to Cornwall, but not really figuring very much in the Marches outside Wroxeter where there is only one. The very limited extent of the distribution beyond the line of the Fosse Way is a strong indicator of when the proper terminal date for survivors in use should lie: definitely before 70/75. Therefore the rather emphatic dating in the later first century is a product of a high degree of residuality. Much depends upon the agencies taking brooches to the north after the decision to take the area north of the Humber under direct rule.

When it comes 1a.1 brooches, the curve of the dating is more like a type coming in at the conquest and the distribution is more in accord with a straightforward interpretation which would see the presence of military

units in bulk being constrained largely within the general limit marked by the Fosse Way. The same applies to 1.b brooches and basically to 1.b1 brooches, the absence of the latter in the west possibly not being due to lack of discoveries. The one from Wroxeter is neither here nor there on a site where the assemblage has a marked peculiarity for the period when it was occupied by the XIV GEMINA.

2. Instead of having a central ridge or a group of three, there is here a hollow. The one brooch which shows that the origin of this group has not been imagined is 9082*, where there can be no doubt that it must be early in the overall sequence here. This is seen as deriving from the parallel type to the Aucissa which has the same feature. The hollow may be wide, but only be a flute the same width as those on each side. Of the two sub-varieties, the first, 2.a, is straightforward and 2.b is distinctive and probably the product of a single group of makers.

The principal difficulty is to distinguish between devolved members of 2.a from those which have genuinely four ribs and which are assigned to Type 4. The criterion adopted here is that, in cases of doubt, the outer edges are merely turned up and are not full ribs.

2.a. Plate 91. As defined, those after / have wings:

8957 8959–63 8966 8967* 8971–2 8980* 8983 8991* 8992 9001 9003 9007 9009 9082* 11707 11712 12486 12496 14053 14596 14607 9088 9482 9527 14595 14054 / 9491 9514 9529 14055

None has a set of cross-mouldings on the lower bow.

Dating: 9491 Colchester, 10–48; 9514 Verulamium, 55–75; 8991* Chichester, pre-Flavian; 14596 Broxtowe, before 70/75; 8957 Lullingstone, before 80; 8966 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

The early presence in Britain shows well, as well as the change in the graph of dates after 75 which should mark the end of the period when such brooches were to be seen.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 WILTS 11 ESSEX 111 HERTS 1111 GLOS 11111111 NORF 111 CAMBS 11 NHANTS 111 RUT 1 WARKS 11 Lincs 111 NOTTS 11

2.b. Plates 91–92. Here there is a single flute whose borders are frequently cross-cut. Published drawings without show a lack of observation. The two after / have cross-mouldings on their lower bows, the first being silvered there and on the rolled over part of the head.

8908* 8909 8910–2 8913* 8914–23 9076 11717 14603–4 / 8924* 9322

Dating: 8914 Gussage All Saints, mid 1st century; 9076 Colchester, 61–c.65; 8912 Verulamium, before c.75; 8909 Springhead, before 90; 8918 Chichester 1st ½ 4th century.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 11 DORS 1 SOM 1 ESSEX 111 HERTS 111 BERKS 1 GLOS 1 NORF 111 NHANTS 1 Lincs 11 CHESH 1

The dating is at the moment basically away from the earliest contexts, that from Gussage All Saints lacking precision. 8922 from Chester might be an example of the late strand in Hod Hills which runs on to new forms at the turn of the first into the second century: its casting is a little too sturdy to suit the majority of early items.

3. All are narrow and no knobs are admitted.

9605* in 12.ba of the Bagendon varieties is surely a kind of precursor.

3.a. *Plate 92*. The “classic” form is given by 8904* with its matched triple mouldings above and below the upper bow. Distribution after 3.x.

8892–4 8896 8897* 8898–9 8902–3 8904* 13661 13666

Dating: 8898 Worcester, 50–120; 8893 Fishbourne, after 80; 8902 Baldock, late 4th century.

3.b. *Plate 92*. Here the upper bow has a flat central ridge capable of receiving punch-dot or niello decoration. Each edge is formed by a thin ridge. Distribution after 3.x.

8782 8881–3 8884* 8885–7 8889 12508 9087

Dating: 8882 Verulamium, not later than 75.

3.c. *Plate 92*. There is a central ridge, usually cross-cut, which might be on occasion sunken. Distribution after 3.x.

8773 8777 8783 8803 8830* 8905 8907 8943 11721 12494*

Dating: 8905 Bagendon, 50–60; 8830* Worcester, 50–120.

3.d. *Plate 92*. The upper bow is flat, rounded, has a median arris or may be faceted. Ornament is frequently either niello or of punched dots. Distribution after 3.x.

8895 8899–901 8935–9 8940* 8941–2 8944–9 9047–55 9077* 9084 9493 9500 9517–9 9525–6 11719* 12509 14462 14628–9

Dating: 9050 Richborough, Claudian; 9084 Chichester, 43–45/50; 8949 Colchester, c.50/55–60/1; 8935 Cirencester, before 70; 9048 Verulamium, late 1st century; 9055 Scole, early 2nd century to 3rd ¼; 9047 Verulamium, 3rd century; 8937 Canterbury, 300/320–359.

There is no guarantee on this showing that many should be Flavian or later.

3.e. *Plate 92*. No definition of the difference between the upper and lower bow, save that most have an arris on the upper which just ends in the middle of the profile. Distribution after 3.x.

8925–7 8928* 8931 8932* 8933–4 14630 14816

Dating: 8927 Leicester, before 80/100; 8933 Silchester, 100–120.

3.f. *Plate 92*. The upper bow tapers outwards towards the bottom, has an arris and punched-dot ornament on each side of that. The narrow lower bow is set from the upper by a cross-flute. To some extent, the upper bow is related to the last. Distribution after 3.x.

9078–9 9080* 9495 12303 12317 14817 14982

Dating: 14982 Silchester, 40–50/60; 9495 Nettleton, before 75–100; 9080* Colchester, 75/80–c.125.

3.g. *Plate 92*. A slightly mixed group, the chief features are, in the main, a groove down the arris of the upper bow, one having a ridge. 14606 is close to 3.a, save for the groove. Those after / are variants which have no real place elsewhere. Distribution after 3.x.

6049 8929–30 9089 9504–5 11725 12503 14040 14056* 14057 14606 / 8979 9086 15474

Dating: 9505 Wroxeter, Flavian or earlier; 9086 Richborough, with 1st-century pottery; 8930 Bromham, late 1st century; 9089 Camerton, 90–200.

3.x. *Plate 92*. Oddments, the first has the central ridge of 3.c, and the other has the flat face of 3.d.

9087 9319*

Distribution: KT ddddggg SUSS addf HANTS bdeefx WILTS aabdf SOM ddgg DEV ccd ESSEX ddddddffg MSEX ddd HERTS abdddddde BEDS bg BUCKS bde OXON df GLOS aaabccddddeegg WORCS ac WALES dg SUFF c NORF aabccddddeffggx CAMBS aac NHANTS aabccdef RUT b LEICS de NOTTS b SALOP bg YORKS fg

Perhaps it is 3.d and 3.g which make the most marked showing. Kent has nothing else, likewise Somerset. Essex and Hertfordshire are heavily marked by 3.d, then follows Norfolk and Gloucestershire with weaker representation in that the other varieties are to be found there as well. 3.g is not particularly early which would suit its peripheral appearance. On the other hand, 3.d seems to be early.

4. These have almost square upper bows, sometimes elongated laterally, with multiple ribs, usually with wings and often with fully moulded lower bows. There are few matching designs and the division between sub-groups is quite arbitrarily based on the number of ribs running more or less the full height of the upper bow, the wings frequently having extra vertical mouldings.

4.a1. *Plate 92*. Three ribs, plain lower bow. Those after / have at the top of the lower bow the marked mouldings which form subdivision 2 in the following sub types of 4.

9127 9129* 9133 9137 9139 9142 9144 9146–7 9171 9234 9267 9304 9511 11728* 12511–2 / 9357* 11732

4.a2. *Plates 92–93*. Cross-moulded lower bow:

9112 9124* 9125 9143 9289 9301–2 9313* 9316* 9334 9340 9473* 11733 11742 12510 13663 13665 14070 14619–20

Dating of both, those of 4.a2 are underlined:

9137 & 9304 Hod Hill, before 50; 9316* Chichester, Claudian; 9142 Colchester, 44–60; 9112 Colchester, 49–61; 9171 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 9234 Colchester 54–60; 11742 Gorhambury, before 60; 11742 Gorhambury, before 60; 9129* Longthorpe, before 65; 9139 Brough-on-Humber, c.125; 9340 Richborough, before 3rd century.

This series of dates is as neat a demonstration of an early group as could be wished for. All save the last are earlier than 65. If one were to apply normal rules concerning the onset of residuality, then the period 55–65 at least would have to be proposed for the time when these were passing out of use. The other feature is that these tend not to be simple brooches such as those forming 1.a, and the very different emphasis of the dating of those must indicate that the whole Hod Hill range cannot be given a blanket date, as I have been guilty of having done in the past.

Distribution: KT 2 SUSS 2 HANTS 1 DORS 111 CORN 2 ESSEX 1122 HERTS 1122 OXON 122 GLOS 122 SUFF 2 NORF 12222 CAMBS 11111222 RUT 1 STAFFS 2 SALOP 1 YORKS 1

4.b. Four ribs, divided into those with plain lower bows, 4.b1; those with more than one moulding under the upper bow, 4.b2; and those with completely cross-moulded lower bows, 4.b3. This is the common type in Hod Hills, falling as it does between some of the more specific stools chosen so far for the type.

4.b1. *Plate 93.* Plain lower bow:

8763 8951 8955–6 8964–5 8968 8970 8978 8984–5 8988–90 8996–9000 9004–5 9008 9010–1 9013–4 9016 9152 9154–5 9157–9 9160* 9161–4 9167 9170 9172–7 9179–80 9183 9184* 9189–91 9194 9196 9198–200 9203 9207 9211–4 11713 11715–6 11724 11737 12306 12493 12498–500 12513–4 12516–7 13614 14021 14072 14081–2 14084 14086–8 14090 14092 14094 14463 14594 14608–9 14995 15383

4.b2. *Plate 93.*

9156 9166 9168* 9182 9185 9187 9193 9201 9488 9490* 12284 12295 14061 / 8952–4 8958 8967 8974 8975* 8976–7 8982 8986 8994–5 9002 9006 9015 9165 9178 9181 9169* 9186 9188 9192 9195 9197 9205 9210 9221 9291 11727 12515 12518 14065 14085

4.b3. *Plate 93.* cross-moulded lower bows:

9153 9206 9208–9 9212 9285 9290 9297* 9305 9318 9336 9344 9349* 9351 11734 12299 14071 14075* 15456

Dating of all three, 4.b3 is underlined and 4.b2 is in italics:

9183 Maiden Castle, 25–50; 8974, 9290, 9305, 9344 & 9488 Hod Hill before 50; 8998 9192 Colchester, 44–8; 9187 *Richborough, Claudian*; 14093 *Dragonby, mid-1st century*; 9172 *Hardwick Park, 40–65*; 9207 *Silchester, 45–65*; 8952 *Longthorpe, Claudian-Neronian*; 9155 *Verulamium, 49–55*; 9164 9186 *Waddon Hill, 50–60*; 9351 *Colchester 54–60*; 8984 9198 *Wroxeter, after 55/60*; 9195 *Lincoln, 60–70?*; 9221 *Canterbury, Neronian-early Flavian deposits*; 15456 *Wroxeter, 60–90*; 9000 *Baldock, 70–90*; 9190 *Colchester, 75–100*; 8953 *Exeter, 75–80*; 9318 *Harlow, temple before 80*; 14995 *Silchester, 80–125*; 9205 *Wroxeter, before c.90*; 9153 & 9157 *Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century*; 8999 *Baldock, 90–120*; 9166 *Camerton, 1st century*; 9188 *Leicester, 1st–4th century*; 9174 *Little Chester, before 125*; 9178 *Leicester, before 125*; 8956 *Verulamium, mid-2nd century*; 8763 8954 *Harlow temple, before 175/200*; 9193 *Chichester, Antonine or later*; 9187 *Verulamium, 170–225*; 12518 *Wilcote 2nd century*;

14463 *Catterick, 200/20+; 8997 Colchester, before 300; 9002 Braughing & 9158 Nettleton, 4th century.*

Not quite so clear cut as the dating for 4a, nevertheless the four examples from Hod Hill drive home the fact that these elaborate forms are early: six are later than 60 with a clear break from the nine which are earlier.

Distribution: KT 12222223 SUSS 2 HANTS 11111112 DORS 111222333 WILTS 1111123 SOM 2 DEV 2 ESSEX 111222333 HERTS 111111122333 BERKS 2 BUCKS 1 OXON 111122 GLOS 111111111111111111 2222222 SUFF 1111223 NORF 11111111111111233 CAMBS 111222222333 WKS 12 NHANTS 1111 LEICS 11222 RUT 2 SALOP 1123 HERE 1 WALES 122 STFS 1 Lincs 1111122223 NOTTS 11112 DERBS 1 LANCS 1

There are a lot of 4.b1 from Gloucestershire and Norfolk. Could these bear part of the argument put forward for 4.c3?

4.c Five or more ribs. This time, these are divided into three groups. There is a greater possibility that pairs, even trios could be found, but the problem is the reliability of published drawings. Any illustrator can miss vital details. However, it is true that, if all brooches were to have been drawn by a single competent illustrator, the chances are that the number of matches would have been greatly increased.

4.c1. *Plates 93 and 94.* Plain lower bows:

8758 8764 9018–20 9022* 9023 9123 9138 9215–9 9222* 9223–4 9227–8 9230–1 9233 9236–42 9274* 9520 11714 11718 11720 11731 12305 12311 12501 12519 12521 14059 14083 14611–2 14616 14985 15384

15385 is added here although so heavily accreted that the number of ribs cannot really be checked.

4.c2. *Plate 94.* An intermediate with a distinctive clutch of mouldings at the top of the lower bow:

9017 9225–6 9229 9235* 9232 9315* 9480 12286* 12502 13656 14613* 14618 14818 15475

4.c2x. *Plate 94.* Those with more than five ribs:

9314 9330 9358* 9476 9479

4.c3. *Plate 94.* Those with cross-moulded lower bows:

9020 9024 9243* 9260 9268 9283–4 9286 9288 9292* 9293 9296 9298–300 9311 9317 9337 9342–3 9345 9346* 9347–8 9350 9352 9354–5 9475 9494 11729–30 11736 12298 14073 14076

4.c3y. *Plate 94.*

9333* 9481

Dating: Those in 4.c2 are in italics and those in 4.c3 are underlined. Those added as x and y have these letters appended:

9238 *Leicester early-mid 1st century*; 9299 *South Cadbury, c.45*; 9216, 9260, 9286, 9343 9293 9479x 9481y & 9480 *Hod Hill before 50*; 9298 *Skeleton Green 40–5*; 9229 *Nettleton ?45–65*; 9023 *St. Mawgan in Pyder, 45/50?–150*; 9219 *Waddon*

Hill 50–60; **9288** Colchester 49–61; **9350** Colchester 54–60; **9337** Wroxeter after 55/60; **9242** Longthorpe before 65; **14618** Broxtowe before 75; **9233** Colchester 75/80–.125; **9314x** Verulamium, 75–105; **11730** Gorhambury late 1st–early 2nd century; **9284** Baldock 90–120; **9476x** Colchester, before 100; **9227** Chichester early 2nd century; **14985** Silchester, 125–3rd century; **9317** Chichester 3rd–early 4th century; **9330x** Chichester, mid 4th–early 5th century.

Again, there are eight from Hod Hill, making 16 before 65 and eight afterwards with only the one from Broxtowe being equivocal. The last three must be residual and the chances are that the dating here is really a repeat of that for 4a.

Distribution: KT 113x SUSS 13x HANTS 13 DORS 11123333xy WILTS 11122 SOM 113 CORN 1 ESSEX 11123333x HRTS 12333x BEDS 1 OXON 2 GLOS 1111111122333333 SUFF 1 NORF 111123333 CAMBS 111112233333 NHANTS 2 LEICS 11 HERE 1 WALES 12 Lincs 11233y NOTTS 22 SALOP 113 YORKS 3 NHUMB 1

There may be a tendency for 4.c1 to be more in frontier areas such as the Marches and the northern Fens and north than was the case with other types. These include one from Northumberland. 4.c2 also looks a little peripheral. When it comes to 4.c3, there is an extraordinary emphasis on Gloucestershire, divided between Cirencester and Kingsholm.

Here one can enter into the realm of near fantasy: it could be argued that Waddon Hill replaced Hod Hill, but the flow of 4.c3 might show that that unit went to Cirencester, and was brigaded with the Legio XX. But that is surely to push argument beyond its legitimate bounds, even if the parallelism on other grounds did not escape John Wachter ([711], 59–60). To press headlong on, Legio II did not move, Legio IX was licking its wounds: it was Legio XX and part of Legio XIV which dealt with the Boudiccan rebels, and there are a lot of examples of 4.c3 from Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. The clutch from Essex could well have belonged to veterans left behind when Legio XX left Colchester.

4.d. Six ribs. These are divided as before, although it might be argued that there are not enough for such rigour.

4.d1. *Plate 94.* Plain lower bows:

9202 9245* 9246 9249 9498

4.d2. *Plate 94.* Moulded top of lower bow:

9244 9247* 9248 9309 14615

4.d3. *Plate 94.* fully cross-moulded lower bow:

9294 9307* 9310 9353 9506 14621

Dating: Those in 4.d2 are in italics and those in 4.d3 are underlined:

9294 Waddon Hill 50–60; **9202** Thetford after 61; **9310** Chichester pre Flavian; **9248** Harlow temple 80–early C2; **9295** Wycomb late 1st century.

Not enough to confirm the impression given by the three

previous categories, though nothing actively against it.

Distribution: SUSS 3 DORS 3 SOM 13 WILTS 1 ESS 22223 GLOS 133 HERTS 2 BRKS 1 NORF 11

Even with so few, those of 4.d3 tend to suggest the western bias of those of 4.c3.

4.e. 7+ ribs. They are few and they really form a non-group.

9308 9477–8 14069

Dating: 9478 Harlow temple mid 4th century.

4.x. The rump from all those sorted for the previous groups, those after the first / have fully moulded lower bows which could belong to any of the categories with those given above. That after the second / is probably from a 4.b2 brooch.

8987 15476–7 / 9306 9325 / 9282

Dating: 15477 Colchester, 54–60.

5. The chief feature of most is a triangle., broad at the top and tapering to the bottom, with a rounded front in the centre of the upper bow on each side of which is, usually, a pair of beaded ridges ending with a wing made up of the usual boss and cross-moulding. They are divided according to whether there is the rounded front (5.a) as described above, or there is a beaded ridge down the middle (5.b). 12318 was almost certainly very worn.

5.a. *Plate 95.*

9250* 9253 9255–8 9261–3 9269* 9270–1 9278–9 9281 12283 12318 12505 13657

Dating: 9253 Hod Hill before 50; 9261 Colchester 43/44–61; 9262 Chichester c.45–60; 9252 Waddon Hill 50–60; 9255 Dorchester-on-Thames 80–90; 9271 Canterbury 100/110–125; 9263 Werrington 4th century.

5.b. *Plate 95.*

9251 9259 9264–5 9272–3 9275–6 9523 12522* 12523 14063–4 14066 14068 14610* 14614

Dating: 9260 Hod Hill before 50; 9276 Waddon Hill 50–60; 9273 Richborough, 50–80; 9264 Verulamium c.50–70; 9259 Wroxeter, after 55/60; 14614 Broxtowe, before 70/5; 9275 Verulamium 75–105.

Distribution: KT ab SUSS aa HANTS a DORS aab WILTS a ESSEX aab HERTS aabbb BUCKS a OXON aaa GLOS bbb SUFF bb NORF b CAMBS aaab NHANTS abb NOTTS ab SALOP b YORKS a

The 5.a form is noticeably behind the line of the Fosse Way frontier zone, while 5.b is clearly within that zone as well as at Gloucester-Kingsholm and Wroxeter. This shift points to a later start for 5.b and its appearance in Norfolk and Suffolk might be due to the ravaging of the Icenii after the Boudiccan débâcle.

5.c. *Plate 95.* The curious feature here is that the triangle is inverted, and all have cross-moulded lower bows, where these survive.

9277 9312* 9327* 9332 9338–9 15357

Dating: 9332 Hod Hill, before 50; 9277 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 15357 Silchester, 40–50/60 or 80–125.

Distribution, separated from the previous two for clarity: HANTS 1 DORS 111 GLOS 1 ESSEX 1 BEDS 1

Apart from the one in Gloucestershire, these are more like 5.a than 5.b.

5.x. A few relatively close relatives which cannot securely be fitted into the two designated categories:

8280 9341 9507 9513 14627

Only 9507 from Wroxeter has any kind of site date, and there it must be after 55/60.

6. *Plate 95.* The upper bow is fully cross-moulded and, on occasion, a good deal of the lower bow. There is usually a large group in the middle which gives some form to the series. 9045 is I suspect a late first-century product. The last, after /, from Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire, is completely cross-moulded in the same style as that found on Rearhooks of Odd a Type and also on hinged-pin Colchester Derivatives of Type 8a, both of East Anglia and the west side of the Fens.

9025–28 9029* 9030–41 9042* 9043–6 9515 12296 12504 14102 14623–4 14625* 14626 / 14095*

Dating: 9038 Fishbourne 43–c.75; 9039 Verulamium mid 1st century; 9037 Verulamium 49–55; 9046 N Cerney, Ditches, 65–75; 9025 Alcester 1st century–early Antonine; 9515 Colchester c.50/5–75/80; 9034 Caerleon 75–110; 9044 Nettleton later 1st–early 2nd century; 9027 Canterbury 270–90.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 11 HANTS 1 WILTS 11 DEV 1 ESSEX 11 MSEX 11 HERTS 111 OXON 1 GLOS 1111 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 11 WORKS 1 LEICS 1 WALES 1 CHESH 1 DUR 1

Widespread, the one to note comes from Binchester in Durham which fits in with the tendency for the date-range to spread beyond 70–75 without a break, although the type is unlikely to date after 100, and not necessarily after 90.

7. *Plates 95–96.* Related to the last group no doubt in some way, it is the very strong horizontal element, often with a boss at each end, which is the unifying feature. 9064 is another example of a brooch which has a home elsewhere, being provided with the iron rods and knobs which are supposed to be the defining feature of the Bagendon, Type 12 below. 9472* at first sight has little to do with this group, but another from Birtton, Bucks (9474) is almost precisely similar save for the horizontal ridge joining the two lateral knobs. The last four are oddities and the last of these, 9522*, is here because it has two horizontal emphases, although the two circles hardly qualify for this group.

9056–60 9061* 9062–6 9067* 9068–73 9074* 9075 9472* 9474 9486 9489 13615 14077–80 14453 14622 14984/ 9331 9487 9522* 9534*

Dating: 9059 9062 9065 & 9073 Hod Hill before 50; 9486 Richborough, Claudius-Nero; 9489 Verulamium 50–75; 13615 Abergavenny 55–60; 9058 Nettleton later 1st–early 2nd

century; 14984 Silchester, 260/70–5th century; 9064 Baldock late 4th century.

The relatively heavy emphasis on the period from the conquest to c.60, with little sign of a genuine tail of survivors in use, points to an early range in the overall *floruit* of the main sequence.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 1 DORS 1111 ESS 111 WILTS 111 GLOS 111 WALES 1 HRTS 11 BCKS 1 EA 11111111 CAMBS 111 NHTS 1 LEICS 1 NOTTS 11

The number in Dorset arises from the exceptional circumstances governing the end of the fort at Hod Hill. Thereafter, it is the number on the eastern side, specifically in Norfolk and on the western margin of the Fens, which needs explaining. These should be related to the presence of the Iceni and the suppression of Boudicca's revolt.

8. This is the last group of what are formally Hod Hills. Those which follow are strictly derivatives of a different sort, Rosettes or Langton Downs. These few examples are divided into four depending on the style of their common feature: they all have voids deliberately incorporated into their designs. Again we come across the problem of the Bagendon with its iron rods and copper alloy knobs: 14067* belongs here as a brooch type, and there as a decorative technique.

8.a. *Plate 96.* Here, there are loops on each of the upper corners of the upper bow which is usually triangular. The lower bow is often cross-moulded. However there are so few examples that to create subdivisions as before is a little ridiculous. The published drawing of 9359 should be corrected to look like that of 9378. Distribution after 8.d. 9359 9361* 9370* 9372–3 9377–8 9380–1 11739 14067*

Dating: 9373 Hod Hill, before 50; 9359 Wroxeter, 55/60–70; 9377 Nettleton, 4th century.

8.b. *Plate 96.* These have holes on each side of the upper bow, usually triangular, but this is not *de rigueur*. The upper bow usually has a beaded central ridge between plain borders, but this is not essential. Distribution after 8.d.

9362–3 9364* 9365–9 9376 9379 14060 14617

Dating: 9362 & 9365 Colchester, 49–61; 9367 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 9368 Baldock, 50–70.

8.c. *Plate 96.* The upper bow is a voided triangle. Distribution after 8.d.

9360 9375* 14384

Dating: none.

8.d. *Plate 96.* A combination of 8.b and 8.c:

9371* 9374

Dating: 9371* Baldock, 25–50.

The overall dating shows that these belong, as might have been guessed, to the elaborate forms found early in the conquest period. There is no hint here of any dragging on to the end of the first century and a crisp terminal date of 65/70 would suit all of them.

Distribution: KT abb DORS aab WILTS aa ESSEX bbd HERTS bbd GLOS abbbc EA aaabb CAMBS a Lincs c SALOP ac

There are no surprises.

9. *Plate 96.* All have a disc in the middle, the common form with marked cross-mouldings above and below, but there are two with a ribbed bow joining the disc to the head-plate. The hole in the disc should once have secured a separately-made cup almost certainly red enamel and this is what the published drawing of 9393 shows. In effect, this is a descendant of the Rosette married to the basic form of a Hod Hill. The principal type is represented by 9382* and is so standard that it smacks of mass production when compared with the generality of Hod Hills. However, there are variations and the one from the King Harry Lane cemetery, 9394, is a warning that not all need be after the conquest.

9382* 9383–95 11735 12285 14103

Dating: 9394 King Harry Lane, Phase 3; 9387 Hod Hill, before 50; 9391 Chichester, early Flavian; 9389 Haddon, late 1st–early 2nd century; 9384 Worcester, 120–240.

The single example from a pit in the fort at Hod Hill secures the early date of the design. The same is true of the example from the King Harry Lane cemetery, but the date is a matter of interpretation: see Appendix 1. Like others which have an early start in Britain, the example from Chichester may be at the very end of the period when examples were survivals in use.

Distribution: SUSS 1 DORS 1 WILTS 11 ESSEX 11 HERTS 11 WORCS 1 GLOS 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 111 NHANTS 1 LEICS 1 NOTTS 11

10. All are single designs from top to bottom; the first two sub-varieties should have derived from the last Langton Downs in common use, hence the absence of a division between upper and lower bow.

10.a. *Plate 96.* This has reeding and is most frequently fitted with a separately-made foot-knob. Those after the first / end in a squared foot like true Langton Downs, and those after the second / have cast-in foot-knobs. Distribution after 10.f.

9402 9403* 9404–14 9417* 9418 9419* 9420 12289 14098–9 14631 / 14096* 14101 / 9415 9416*

Dating: 9405 Nettleton, later 1st–early 2nd century; 9410 Verulamium, 70–100; 9411 Nettleton, 4th century.

If it were not for the technically archaic way of making the foot-knob, the dating as it appears here would be taken as a sign that this was not one of the earliest of the Hod Hills. However, it is always possible that the technique belonged with the brooch rather than only to a period of general practice.

10.b. *Plate 96.* The reeding does not taper inwards towards the bottom, and there are incipient wings, distribution after 10.f.:

9457–8 9459* 9460–65

Dating: 9457 Verulamium 105–130; 9463 Silchester Trajanic-Hadrianic.

Again, there is no sign of an early date.

10.c. *Plate 97.* The reeding is simplified and tapers to the foot, and there is a marked cross-moulding at the top. 9516* is a little anomalous, but has no other home unless it is put in a special category of one. Distribution after 10.f.

9421–7 9428* 9516*

Dating: 9424 Colchester, 44–8; 9516* Baldock, 4th century.

The first sign of an early date, the strong cross-moulding at the top may be an indicator.

10.d. *Plate 97.* Like 10.c, but without any strong mouldings down the length of the bow, often plain or perhaps with an arris at the top, and the cross-mouldings at the top are more variable in style. The variety of detail suggests many craftsmen were making them. Distribution after 10.f.

9429 9430* 9431–2 9433* 9434–45 9446* 9447 11741 13522 14097 14100 14997

Dating: 14997 Silchester, 50/60–80; 9442 Chichester, early 2nd century; 9440 Canterbury, 150–175; 9434 Neatham 3rd–4th century.

There are no early dates here.

10.e. *Plate 97.* Somewhat like the last, the mouldings at the top are more prominent and the bow is perhaps more subordinate. The last is a variation all on its own as it has no companions. Distribution after 10.f.

9448* 9449–56 11740*

Dating: 9453 Camerton, Claudian-Neronian; 11740* London, early 2nd century.

No comment.

10.f. *Plate 97.* The relationship with what has gone before is obvious, but the bow is now shaped, at best, like an oak leaf:

5275 9396–7 9398* 9399–401

Dating: 9396 Verulamium, 320–400.

No comment.

Distribution: KT bccddddddeefff SUSS dd HANTS aabccddd DORS e WILTS aaabd SOM aeee DEV d ESSEX abcccc MEX aaabdee HERTS abccccff BEDS/BUCKS dde OXON ae GLOS aabcccccddeefff WORCS a EA aaabdeeff CAMBS ee NHANTS aaaa LEICS dd WARKS a Lincs abd STAFFS d SALOP a DUR a

It is hard to interpret the distributions when there are three conditions which apply. First, there are those which seem not to be early, 10.a, 10.b, 10.d; second, a sign of an early date, 10.c; and third, two groups about which no real comment on the dating can be made, 10.e and 10.f. Of these, perhaps 10.c is the most restricted, but that might just be a product of the numbers recorded.

Perhaps the surprising feature is not that there should be so many in Kent, 11, but that there should be so many

in Gloucestershire, 12. In a way this parallels Type 12.a2 in the Bagendons (Type 12) and it is faintly possible that both represent a military presence in the lands of the Bodunni right at the start of the conquest.

11. *Plate 97*. Here by courtesy because of the way in which the head of the brooch is managed, the upper bow has a triangular section and ends below in a pair of cross-ridges above a step back to the fantail lower bow. All the ones collected by me are unvarying in their details. These are possibly the inspiration for the Type 7 hinged-pin brooches (Chapter 3, Part 5).

9467 9468* 9469–71

Dating: 9471 Leicester, early-mid 2nd century.

Distribution: MSEX 1 GLOS 1 EA 1 LEICS 11

There are not really enough to confirm that they are not to be expected along the south coast, the Marches or the north of England.

12. **The Bagendon** is a type identified by M. R. Hull ([151], 176) who determined that the chief feature was the use of iron bars carrying beads and knobs, or knobs alone through parts of the brooch. Thereafter, the use of series of projections simulating these, albeit badly, provides another strand. The truth is that the boundaries are blurred, not only in development, but in what else truly defines a type. Firstly, Hull was right to see the decorative feature as occurring firstly on Aucissa-like brooches, but he illustrates (*ibid.*, figs 34–5) the very reason why it is difficult to be sure that it is a type in its own right. Attentive readers will have recognized that he included designs which stand as separate groups in their own right, the decorative trait being just that. As the examples gathered here under the overall name of the Bagendon Type are looked at in the following passages, the affinities of single specimens or groups with what has passed in review already will be brought out again.

The technique was fairly obviously skilled, the iron rods having to be hammered through the casting. The matter of whether or not the brooch was cast or forged cannot be resolved without knowing which examples were sampled (*ibid.*, 193): the Aucissa-style would have been forged, but those of standard Hod Hill form (*ibid.*, fig. 34,3,5, fig. 35,2,3, fig. 36,1) should have been cast. It does not really matter how the brooch was formed, the technique could be applied to either. What we may be looking at is price differentials based on what is today called “added value”. Not all examples will have been positively identified. Most brooches are corroded to some extent and in many cases the presence of holes through the bow will have been obscured. The best indicator is probably the presence of a nearly square section in the lower bow.

12.a. All have obvious affinities with the Aucissa, having had, where the foot is well enough preserved, separately-made foot-knobs, and almost without exception, having rolled-over heads for the axis bar of the hinged pin. They are divided into three groups.

Although it may be a matter of chance that all the examples of 12.a2 recorded by me have versions of the basic Aucissa bow section, those of 12.a3 type include a fair proportion of bow sections with a flute down the middle. Even if examples of this occur in future in 12.a2, the proportional difference is likely to remain the same. The presence of the flute tends to make the bow too thin for bars to have been driven through without showing.

One appears to have had a stamped inscription on it – 9573 (Wedlake 1982, 121, fig. 50,15): || VR ||| (in 12.a3 below).

A note of caution is needed: some of these brooches would, had it not been for the iron rods and knobs, have been included in other categories dealt with above. Feugère does not separate these brooches from the rest of the Hod Hills ([270], Pls 141–46 *passim*), and in this he is almost certainly right.

12.a1. *Plate 97*. Bows with beads in the slots as well as outside, although the examples recorded have lost the outer ones. Distribution after 12.a3.

9541 9548 9549* 9551–3 9554* 9555–60 14025

Dating: 9558 Weekley, 25–mid 1st century; 9559 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 9541 Bagendon, 43/5–47/52; 9549* Worcester, 50–120; 9551 Colchester, 54–60; 9556 Canterbury, Neronian; 14025 Dragonby, with 2nd century pottery; 9557 Verulamium, before 150?

Virtually guaranteed to be earlier than c.65/70 by the complete breakdown in the sequence in dating, these belong to Feugère’s Type 22d which he decides probably dates between 10 and 60. This would accord with the limited British evidence, given that it is very hard to be precise before the events of 43.

12.a2. *Plate 97*. Unslotted bows with added knobs. 9544 from North Ferriby was obviously destined for someone who wanted the biggest brooch to be seen in the region. Distribution after 12.a3.

9537–40 9542* 9543–7 9550 9561 9562* 9566 14968

Dating: 9537–8 Bagendon, 20/25–43/45; 14968 Silchester, 40–50/60; 9566 Colchester, 43/4–48; 9539–40 Bagendon, 43/45–47/52; 9562* N Cerney, Ditches, 40–50/5 9543 Old Winteringham, before 75; 9547 Harlow temple, before 120; 9545 Canterbury, 100/110–300/320.

The number from Bagendon gives the reason why Hull identified this as a different type, and in this single instance it works. The dating is very early and there should be little doubt that such brooches had arrived by the time of the conquest. Again there is a breakdown in the dated sequence, this time possibly showing that none had survived in use as late as 55/60 at the latest. 9566 belongs to Feugère’s Type 22e and he gives it the range c.20–55.

12.a3. *Plate 97*. With projections simulating separately-made knobs. The last have been included as there is no deterioration in their quality, as much skill having been expended on their bows as on any in 12.a2.

9563* 9564–5 9567–73 9574* 9575–82 11703 12293 13655 13658 14027 14635

Dating: 9569 Bagendon 20/25–43/45; 9572 Richborough 50–80; 9576 Silchester 65–120; 9582 Canterbury 175–300/320; 9571 Harlow temple mid 4th century; 9573 Nettleton late 4th century.

As might almost be expected, with what could be described as a derivative type rather than one which has adapted because the section is too thin to accept iron rods, the dating is more diffuse. There is no clear early break in the dating sequence.

Distribution: KT 12233333 SUSS 33 HANTS 223 DORS 1 WILTS 3 ESSEX 112233 MSEX 33 HERTS 133 OXON 1 GLOS 122222333 EA 133333 NHANTS 123 LEICS 1 WARKS 13 WORCS 11 Lincs 12 LANCS 1 YORKS 2

The greatest concentrations of all three sub-varieties lie fairly obviously in Kent, Essex and Gloucestershire where the excavations at Bagendon produced the type specimens. Thereafter, there is East Anglia and here the division between the sub-varieties is of interest: a single specimen of 12.a1, then a clutch of 12.a3. If the latter are to be properly dated as being later than either of the other two, then this can be interpreted as representing the entry of the Roman army intent on suppressing the last traces of Boudicca's rebellion. The one from Lancashire should perhaps be discounted as that was bought on the modern commercial market where provenances may not be always what they were said to be.

12.b. These are, in the main, Hod Hill types and the particular varieties placed here are noted in each instance. They have, however, been divided into two main groups: 12.b1 with the usual two-part bow design, and 12.b2, those with a single design from top to bottom (cf. Type 10 above). There is seemingly a single exception and this has a triangular upper bow with its base across the top and comes in two modules. One is very thin (*e.g.*, 9608) and suits the slight sections used before the fully developed Hod Hill became prevalent, the other belongs to the later strand and has a marked central feature between the two parts of the bow (*e.g.*, 9602). The related Hod Hill types without knobs are given in () brackets.

12.b1. Plate 98.

9254 9598 (8.a); 9599–600 (4.c3); 9601* (4.x); 9602 9603–4 9605* 9606–7 9608* 9609–13 12980 (3.); 13667 (7); 14022–3 14633 14634* (5.a),

Dating: 9603 Puckeridge, *c.*25–Claudian & 9612, 40–65; 9611 King Harry Lane, Phase 3, *g.*233.3; 9608* Chichester, *c.*43; 9599–600 & 9606 Hod Hill, before 50; 9607 Harlow temple before 80; 9601* Chichester late 4th–early 5th century.

The emphasis on the early beginning of these ranges is marked. This should mean that the end-date of 65 for 9612 and before 80 for 9607 should be narrowed to before *c.*55. The actual date of 9611 is open to interpretation, see Appendix 1.

12.b2. Plate 98. These may be the linear ancestors of those gathered together as 12.c1.

9590 9597*

Dating: 9590 Bagendon, 43/45–47/52 & 9597*, *c.*50/55–55/60.

These appear to be almost as early as the previous ones, but the limited number of dated examples is a disadvantage.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 111 DORS 1111 ESSEX 111 MSEX 1 HERTS 11111 GLOS 122 SUFF 1 NORF 1 WARKS 1

The centre of the distribution lies in Sussex–Dorset up to Essex–Hertfordshire. Those at Bagendon must have arrived at the conquest if not before. The rest may represent dispersal of those surviving in use.

12.c. All Hod Hills, each with a series of projections which resemble in a general way the separately-made knobs of the previous type, they are again divided into the two main styles of bow design. In this case, the examples of the two-part design recorded by the writer are all members of Types 1 and 2. The dating of the brooches belonging to this designation is not early and it can be taken that examples were frequently to be seen at the time when the Type 2 Headstud was becoming established (Chapter 4, part 2). 9328 qualifies because of the knobs on the foot. 9583* qualifies as it is slotted, although there are no beads.

12.c1. Plate 98.

9328* 9516–7 9583* 9584–6 9614 9615* 9618* 9619 14026 14638

Dating: 9617 Baldock, 50–70; 9584 Wroxeter, not before 55/60; 14638 Broxtowe, before 70/75; 9619 Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century.

On this showing none needs be as early as the conquest.

12.c2. Plate 98. The basic design has cross-mouldings at the top and wings on each side of the upper bow, but there is also a devolution which loses both. 5276 is in () because it was not drawn, being identical with its pair, 9593.

(5276) 9587 9591* 9593–6 13620 14636 14637*

Dating: 13620 Abergavenny 55–60; 9596 Richborough 80–100.

Distribution: KT 12 WILTS 1 SOM 2 MSEX 2 HERTS 11 BEDS/BUCKS 1 EA 1122b CAMBS 112 RUT 22 LEICS 2 SWALES 22 Lincs 1 NOTTS 1 SALOP 1

No strong image emerges, the pattern being fairly like that of a great many Hod Hill varieties and sub-varieties.

As might be expected, these are developed Hod Hills and therefore they betray no bias at all other than occurring more or less throughout the province where the type is most common, with the possible exception of the lower Severn Valley and the lands between the Wash and the Humber.

Dating of the Bagendon: The prime question concerns the connection between the technique and the Alésia which also had knobs mounted on a bar run through part of the body (this Chapter, Part 6). In truth, there does not appear to be very much. Feugère dates the Alésia in most of its manifestation from the middle of the first century B.C. to the appearance of the initial Aucissa series which, to him, represents the change from two knobs arranged

laterally to one mounted on the end of the bow and this must be somewhere in the last quarter of the same century ([270], 306, 312, 323–4). However, there does not seem to be an example of the early “Aucissa” series, those with rolled-under heads (this Chapter, Part 6), which uses the decorative technique. Until a connection can be demonstrated, it should be imagined that it is a reinvention, and the use of *iron* bars points that way: one could conceive of the holes being made with iron tools, but the use of iron bars has no particular virtue in the making of a class of objects which, otherwise, is overwhelmingly based on copper alloys.

13. The “late” Hod Hills. Those which have clear affinities with demonstrably late first and earlier second century brooches, but whose relationship with the bulk of the main Hod Hills is incontestable. Hardly a watertight definition like some of those to be found elsewhere in this book, but which will become clear as we go through the stages which give rise to both a British and continental series of designs. The former is covered here, the latter will be found in Chapter 7, part 2.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of what I mean about the demonstrable links and the obviously later strands is given by looking at 9620 and 9621*, Plate 98, both below. The first is a Hod Hill in all respects; it is on the face of things a member of Type 4.a2, 4.b3 *etc.*, with squat rectangular panel for the upper bow and a fully moulded lower bow. But it is all but identical with the second which has an enamelled upper bow with two wavy reserved strips in it. Even these strips themselves are an echo of a fairly persistent feature in the decorative repertoire of the makers of the Hod Hill. The point about late Hod Hills is made by a clutch recovered from second century burials in Belgium (*e.g.* [104]). Although it can be argued that those which occur with coins of the 140s or later were old when buried, it is asking a lot to try and make them as old as the bulk of Hod Hills which, on British evidence alone, must be earlier than 70/75. One even comes from Dura Europos, a site which runs, in Roman hands, from the third quarter of the second century to the middle of the third ([309], 61, pl. 15,122).

The continental evidence shows some marked traits. Firstly, a predilection for very broad lower bows replete with punched-dot decoration, and for strongly moulded upper or lower bows combined with, on the upper bows, almost square panels which can bear a range of punched-dot or nielloed designs (*e.g.*, [104], 63, fig. 11,4, 68, fig. 14,3). There is one feature which stands out, the great care over finish: unlike the mass of Hod Hills which frequently give all the signs of being cheaply made, these are crisp and have, where it is present, relatively carefully detailed beading. These features show on 9620 and 8872*, Plate 99, and also, although the forms are slightly different and further away from “standard” Hod Hills, on 9503* and on one without a provenance (Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 48 [943* in 13.b]). We

are moving further along the path which leads up to the derivative forms: the niello decoration on the last is found again on one from Richborough, 9492* which has the other feature which marks part of the late developments, a marked arched upper bow coupled with a straight foot which leads through 9645*, Plate 99, in 13.b to a distinct type dealt with in Chapter 7 (Part 2, Type 2.a).

More proportionately of these brooches are illustrated than was the case for the bulk of the Hod Hills because they are relatively rare compared with the earlier ones and, not unnaturally, can be confused with those. However we begin with 13.a, the one which leads to the main British version. Most have lost the rolled-over head of the parent and have unequivocally British wings, and occasionally the tab or cast-on loop of the native types. Those belonging to 13.b contain in themselves more than one design, but this is not the place to start categorising as there are, on the whole, not enough examples. Some, such as 14640*, Plate 98, had applied white metal trim which itself seems not to have been in general use before *c.*125 (see Appendix 2).

13.a1. Plate 98. Continental habit, a common feature is the ribbing which gives the chief bulbous element the appearance of a melon bead. The upper bow has become an enamelled panel with two wavy reserved lines, and this is the typological successor of the same effect produced by punched dots (11894*). The lower bow of the early form illustrated by 14378* is the main one through most of the series, only breaking down on 14640*.

9620 9621* 9622–4 9626 11894* 14378* 14640* 14643

Dating: none other than by way of an example from Saalburg founded in the late first century and abandoned *c.*260 ([77], 9: 80, *Taf.* 5,325).

13.a2. Plates 98–99. British habit, these range from those recognizably derived from 13.a1 to those which belong to more varied types found in the Continental Plate brooches of Chapter 7, Part 2.

9625 9627–9 9630* 9631 9632* 9633* 9634 9635* 9636–9 15451

Dating: 9628 Camerton, before 180.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 2 WILTS 1 SOM 2 SCILLY 222222222222 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 112 CAMBS 11

The great number from Nor’Nour is a salutary reminder of how very few have been found elsewhere in Britain and supports the case that that collection owed a lot to a lost cargo. It is tempting to argue that 13.a2 was made in the South West, but many more find-spots on the mainland are needed to demonstrate the case.

13.b. Plate 99. Here is gathered the residue. All are recognizably continental and many are forms found generally in Chapter 7, Part 2, but more closely related to the Hod Hill than practically all those placed under Continental Plate. The / marks the change from one group to another. At this stage it seems of little value to create

separate full categories for such a disparate collection. Those in larger type and in Bold are dated.

8872* 9329* 9492 **9503*** 9641–3 14074 **14986** / 9485 9496 9644* **14642** / 9646–8 9649* 9651 **9652** 14639 / 9645* 11892 / 5385* 9640 9650

Dating: 14986 Silchester, 80–125; 14642 Castleford, 85/90–135/40; 9503* Ilchester, mid-late 2nd century; 9652 Silchester, c.175 and later.

It should be no coincidence that all the dated examples, including the singleton from 13.a, are all effectively later than the first century.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 1 HANTS 11 SOM 111 HERTS 1 BUCKS 1 GLOS 1 NORF 111111 CAMBS 111 Lincs 11 YORKS 1

They lie mainly on the eastern side with a drift along the south coast.

X1. Unassignable fragments with a few others, 8950 is silvered, 9533 has an inscription. The next three are marked cross-mouldings on the upper bow of too extravagant a character to figure in preceding groups. The last two are just odd.

9266 9512 9528 14983 / 8950 9533 13662 / 9483–4 9535 / 9524 12520

Dating: 9484 Hod Hill, before 50; 14983 Silchester, 40–50/60; 9535 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Xx. These need no description. Many look as though they could be assigned to previous categories, but this fails in the attempt. The distribution is given as a matter of academic rigour than as a matter of conviction.

Dating: 9484 Hod Hill, before 50; 9486 Richborough, Claudian-Neronian; 9535 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Distribution: KT x SUSS x HANTS 1x DORS 1x WILTS x SOM 1 ESSEX x MSX 1x HERTS 11x BUCKS 1 GLOS 1xx SUFF b NORF 1xxxx CAMBS 111 NHANTS x LEICS x Lincs b YORKS b

None is recorded from the north of England, the Midland Plain or Wales and its Marches north of Gloucestershire or Lancashire.

Fragments to ignore, all catch-plates:

Batch 1 has almost straight lower bows: 9081 9499 9509 9531–2

Batch 2 has a lower bow tapering to the foot-knob: 8981 9083 9530 14460

Batch 3 has a basically lozenge-shaped lower bow: 8993 9510 9536 12506 14104

Batch 4 9502 has a small group of cross-mouldings at the top; 14459 is completely cross-moulded.

Dating of Hod Hills

The Hod Hill in its many varieties was the descendant of the Alésia–Aucissa series and arrived in Britain with the Roman army in great numbers. None has as yet been

convincingly published from a pre-conquest context. There is no example of a straight-forward Hod Hill in the King Harry Lane cemetery ([675], see Type 12.b1, 9611). A possible early Hod Hill from Skeleton Green, the only one in that collection, came from an equivocal context ([566], 141–2, fig. 72.55, see Type 4.c3, 9298), and one from Baldock dated to the first quarter of the first century must be wrongly attributed as it would then be earlier than its parent ([674], 120, fig. 47.112, see Type 1.b1, 8756).

One feature of the distributions is the occasional fairly strong presence overall in East Anglia, which as far as the specimens noted by me are concerned, means Norfolk, the homeland of the Iceni, Suffolk being weakly represented in the Corpus. What is very hard to establish is whether or not there is a higher number in Norfolk than is normal, the Iceni being relatively successful in keeping out “foreign” brooch types. That this is possible is suggested by the strength of the home-grown brooch type, the Rearhook (see Chapter 3, Part 3). However, it is only the following which seem to occur in abnormally high numbers in Norfolk: Type 1a, also prominent in Hertfordshire and, to a lesser extent, Essex; Type 3, which may seem to be a bit of a ragbag collection, but also occurs in the other two counties. That suggests that 3x represents a real entity and that these mark a specific military group. This is discussed a little more fully in Chapter 11.

The basic distribution of the type shows that almost all had been lost before c.70, hardly any being still in use when the Roman army advanced into northern England. However, the attentive reader will have noted that the picture is not uniform and that there are some elements in the analysis above which do not suit this simplistic image. The following basic analysis of date ranges shows that the types dating to

before perhaps 55/60 are: 1.a, 1.a1b, 1.b, 2.a, ?2.b, 3.c, 3.d, 4.b, 4.c, 7, 8, 9, 10.c-d, 12.a1–3, 12.b1–2

before perhaps 60/65 are: 1.b, ?1.b1, 2.a, 2.b, 3.d, 5.a, 5.c, 10.e, 12.a3, 12.c1–2

before perhaps 65/70 are: 2.a, ?2.b, 5.b, 12.c1

before perhaps 70/75 are: 1.a1a, 3.b, 6, 12.c1

before perhaps 80/90 are: 3.a, 6, 10.a-b

those later than 90/100? are: 6, 10.a-b, 11, 13.a1–2, 13.b1

Inconclusive or no dating yet: 4.d-x

This series of dates shows as clearly as possible that the whole Hod Hill range cannot be given a blanket date, as I have been guilty of doing. At the risk of repeating myself, although the overall distribution of the type has led to just such a blanket date from being applied, the question arises of why are there so few Hod Hills in the north when clearly there were types which could have been carried there. I deliberately ignore those which occur in the southernmost part of Yorkshire, as they should have been subject to ordinary trade from Lincolnshire. Either the right kind of site has not yet been excavated, or there was a general

tendency for later members of the family not to travel far. There is only one from Castleford which otherwise would seem to have been an ideal site for later Hod Hills to appear, but their place was taken by the Headstud. Is there any merit in the thought that the chief elements of Roman or Romano-British society were confined largely to the military, that units used to uniform also adopted a narrow range of brooches amongst themselves, that those units moving north already had other forms of brooch as unit identifiers, and thus was the Hod Hill subjected to exclusion?

Part 3. The Durotrigan Type [DURO]

Once called the Strip Type, the name derived from Collingwood's attempt to provide, literally, an A-B-C of brooches. A glance at the illustrations here (Pl. 100) will show why he chose the designation, but it was at the expense of the rest of the family.

These brooches were made from sheet which has been either folded or rolled and then cold forged to their final shape. In essence, all have very thin sections and the rolled-under head is almost *de rigueur*, the very small number of copper alloy ones without this, 10 in copper alloy and 16 in iron to 2006, emphasising this. The designs are various, and at least two major strands can be seen, the Langton Down and the Alésia-Aucissa sequence. It is because the latter provides the more important information about the date of the beginning of the type that the whole group is placed here.

The entire family is a striking example of how a single work-shop tradition could churn out designs of more than one kind at the same time. To divide the products on ordinary typological grounds is to lose sight of not only that, but also of the essential integrity of the family. What is especially striking is that there does not seem to be a single element of what might be called a native spirit: the origins seem entirely continental. In chronological terms, the important feature is that imitation began before the change from rolled-under to rolled-over heads near the beginning of the first century: the rolled-over head is the hall-mark of the Aucissa proper and the Hod Hill.

The basic dating of the Durotrigan family relies on the typological development from the perceived original continental types. The dating, other than in general terms which are given below, relies essentially on the sites on which examples occur in numbers. Perhaps the most important of these is South Cadbury, and specifically the deposits associated with the massacre in the South West Gate [811]. Unfortunately the report is less than helpful when it comes to the date of this and the matter is discussed in Appendix 3. The conclusion is that a date of A.D. c.45 plus 2 years and minus 1 is the most likely and this is used in the dating sections below.

We begin, therefore with the Alésia-Aucissa relatives, noting other influences when necessary. There is a general absence of fitted knobs, and the question of dating is left until the end, only noting the pointers along the way.

1. Alésia-Aucissa series. All are copies, one way or another, of the sequence running from the Alésia [244] up to and, presumably, including the Aucissa itself. The copying is not slavish and it is a matter of chance as to whether the workman left out eyes because he wished to, he forgot, or they were no longer required. The series here begins with those having good eyes, through those with minimal ones to those without any (1.a); the sequence is further ordered, after the eyes have been dealt with, by the closeness of the bow design to the originals: imitation beading down the bow first, then wavy lines (1.b); next come versions based on the central flute, distinguishable because the walked-scorper ornament is in the grooves on each side (1.c); and finally there are those which cannot be so ordered (1.d, 1.e).

The style of the foot varies between close copies and small fantails, and there is a degree of ambivalence about how to treat the mouldings at the base of the main bow. Sometimes these are barely indicated, in other instances, the maker has paid some attention to reproducing the original. The illustrations chosen seek to show the range, and it should not be assumed that exact matches are all that frequent. Only one brooch here seems to have an attempt at the feather or palm-leaf stamps of the Alésia-Aucissa Type 2, 6710*. A brooch from Baldock, which might have been assigned to Type 3, had a separately-made foot-knob which qualifies it to be put here, 6849*.

1.a. Eyes. *Plate 99.* These occur with a variety of bow designs, 6683* copying to some measure the Aucissa-style layout and 6685* the version with central flute and sunken decoration on each side. 6724* has a convex centre with a groove down each side. The feet tend towards one of two styles, either close to the Aucissa, 6711, or with small fantails, 6685*. All the catch-plates are solid. Distribution after 1.e.

62mm	14112
58mm	6711
56mm	6721
52mm	14111
50mm	6682 6683* 6686
48mm	6715
44mm	6685* 6724* 15478
38mm	6706
unsized	6722–3 6728 14109

Dating: 6706, South Cadbury, c.45; 6722 Halstock, before 50; 6721 & 6711 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 6723 & 6724* Halstock, before 60? & before 60.

1.b. Plates 99–100. Imitation Aucissa bows defined as having beading, 6736*, or attempts at it, which changes to the more easily created wavy ridge, 6720*. The bulge in the centre of the bow is hardly attempted, 12191* being a rare occurrence, and the effect is enhanced by the groove down each side. However, with 6737–8 and 6687, the suspicion must be that these were directly copies of Aucissas, the absence of a central groove preventing their being assigned to the next category. The feet remain as before, but there is one separately-made foot, 6849, and

the apparent pointed foot of 6720* and 6847 may once have sported a similar one. 6705* is very large and not only sports a bead-row across the head, but also has walked-scorper decoration in the flutes on either side of the wavy line. Distribution after 1.e.

69mm	6705*
66mm	6697
58mm	6689 6703 6716 6720* 6738 6751 12184
56mm	14110
54mm	6687 6731
52mm	6826
48–50mm	6694 6736* 6824 6833 6849 12183 12189 12191* 14113
unsized	6732 6752 6737 6739 6752 6839 6847

Dating: 6705 6716 South Cadbury, three examples, c.45; 6689 6731 Hod Hill, before 50; 6732 6739 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 6751 Camerton, 55–90; 6824 Wroxeter, 80–120; 6697 Whitton, before 300/340.

1.c. Plate 100. These follow the chief alternate design of the Aucissa: a central flute with beading or a sunken chevron on each side, here usually with beading but occasionally walked graver work. 6726 is here because the incised lines on the head may be a conscious attempt to imitate at a remove the feather stamps found on pre-Aucissa brooches, and 6725* has a properly formed foot-knob, but lacking the cross-moulding. Distribution after 1.e.

62mm	6702
60mm	6713–4 6725* 6726 6733
58mm	6701
57mm	12716
56mm	6690
54mm	3525
52mm	6707
49mm	6709 6727 6730*
45mm	6691
43mm	6699
40mm	14587
unsized	6692 6695 6704

Dating: 6707 South Cadbury, six examples, c.45; 6690 & 6692 Hod Hill, before 50; 6726–7 Waddon Hill 50–60; 3525 Dorchester, 75–120.

1.d. Plate 100. The treatment of the foot shows that all of these are unequivocally imitations in some form of the Aucissa, from 6718*, with its layout recalling 1.c, to 6712* where the intention may have been to copy one of the pre-Aucissa designs which has more than one punched or beaded row down the middle of the bow. Distribution after 1.e.

64mm	6712*
58mm	6708 6735 14859
56mm	6698 6734
52mm	6718*
48mm	6700
44mm	6696 6729
unsized	6693

Dating: 6700 6712 South Cadbury, two examples, c.45; 6735 Maiden Castle mid 1st century; 6691 Hod Hill before 50; 6693 Waddon Hill 50–60.

1.e. Plate 100. 6710* may lack the foot, but the head gives its relationship away. All five here copy to a great measure a type related to the Aucissa, which has a very narrow bow.

67mm	6710*
57mm	6754
55mm	6606
52mm	6719
unsized	2961 6717* 15371

Dating: None as yet.

Distribution: KT b HANTS b c DORS aaaaaaaa bbbbbb ccccccc ddd ee WILTS aaa bbbbbb cc dd ee SOM aaaa bbbbbb ccccccc dddd ee HERTS b OXON cde GLOS cce GLAM b NHANTS b SALOP b

The apparent heavy weighting for Somerset is entirely due to one peculiar deposit at South Cadbury whose date is discussed in Appendix 3. The real centre lies in Dorset: the brooch is Durotrigan. This may seem to be a sweeping statement, but the distribution of the others of this family will underline this, and the dating of the origin of the type also seals the matter.

2. Plate 100. Greatly in debt to the Aucissa, here the upper bow tapers outwards towards the bottom and is finished off with a copy of the lower bow of the Aucissa, e.g. 6747*. There is an exaggerated form in which there is an expansion at the bottom of the upper bow, e.g. 12190*, and these are underlined in the listing below. The origin of the form is obscure. Perhaps they are inspired by some of the more peculiar Alésias ([270], Type 21, pl. 112, 1444–1453), and the forward facing foot of the illustrated example is certainly close to the foot of that type. However, a likely source for the first is the Kragenfibel (see Chapter 2).

56mm	<u>6742</u> <u>6749</u>
54mm	<u>6740</u> 6743–4 6748
50mm	6745–6 6747* <u>12190*</u>
44mm	<u>6741</u>

Dating: 6742–6 6747* 6748 Hod Hill, before 50.

Distribution: DORS 11111111 SOM 111

Only Hod Hill and South Cadbury have produced any quantity, the first from collecting from the site shortly after it was ploughed for the first time, the second as a result of large scale excavations. Both sites yielded remarkable collections and the date of the South Cadbury assemblages is awaited with interest.

3. The Nauheim Series. Plate 100. This recalls the Nauheim, the best example being perhaps 6770*. In this the division into the two distinctive parts of the Nauheim proper is quite clear: the triangular upper bow with border and central decoration stopped at the bottom, and the very narrow lower bow. None seems to have imitated the framed foot. The designs run from the close copy cited above down to one or two which may seem doubtful, but all stages are illustrated.

84mm	6817*
70mm	6770*

68mm	6816 12192 14949
66mm	6825 13095
63–4mm	14950
62mm	6768 6814 6820 6841 11576*
56mm	6818 6827 6830*
54mm	6684 6761 6819 6821–3
52mm	12180 14947
35mm	6828
unsized	2974 6753 6815 6842 6844

Dating: 14950 Silchester, 25–15 B.C.; 14949 Silchester, 15 B.C.–A.D. 40/50; 6818 Maiden Castle, 43–70; 6814 Poundbury, mid 1st century; 14947 Silchester, 50/60–80; 2974 Dorchester, 150–250; 6770* Wilcote, late 3rd–4th century.

The two from Silchester set the correct scene in as much as one would be tempted to put Nauheim Derivatives proper with these kinds of design in the same period, even if such dating for them is discussed in Appendix 3.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1111 DORS 111111111111 WILTS 1111 SOM 1 DEV 1 CORN 11 OXON 11 GLOS 1 LEICS 1? DERBS 1 LANCS 1

This is much wider than for any of the groups already reviewed, but the numbers in Dorset and Wiltshire show that they are centred there.

4. The *Drahtfibel* Series. Plate 100. Rod bows, a loose term adopted although there was no consistent attempt by the makers to make anything quite as regular as a proper rod. However, if it is fair to see in Type 3 the influence of the Nauheim, it should be reasonable to detect the presence of the alternative style in imported brooches with framed catch-plates and four-coil-internal-chord springs. With 6597* there should be no problem, and any which have decoration on the bow have been banished in keeping with the utterly plain appearance of the original. What is noticeable is that it is in this group that pierced catch-plates first appear. There are not many: fretted work, 6610–1 6836*; multiple round holes 6769*.

62mm	6605 6611 6769* 15372
60mm	6601 6604
56mm	6610
52mm	6836*
50mm	6607
48mm	6834
42mm	6597*
34mm	6609
unsized	6602 6608 6612 6613

Dating: 6769* Colchester 10–43/44; 6609 Colchester 49–61; 6597* Halstock before c.60?; 6611 Nettleton late 1st–early 2nd century; 6610 Nettleton before 260.

Distribution: HANTS 11 DORS 11 WILTS 111 SOM 1 CORN 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 1 GLOS 11 YORKS 11

Having defined the overall type as Durotrigan, it can be seen from this that these are fairly weak in its homeland.

5. The Langton Down series. The continental original here is the Langton Down. The designs are presented in sequence. First come those which have a reasonable reproduction of reeding (5.a), which means that there is

some attempt at articulation and do not have just a random set of grooves. Then come those which splay out towards the bottom (5.b). Last come those which, in truth, more or less copy the standard bow designs discussed under the Alésia-Aucissa series above as much as derive from the Langton Down, but run everything to the foot of the bow. These are divided into those which are straight-sided with two or more reeds (5.c), those which taper to a pointed foot with two or more reeds (5.d). The rest fall into 5.e.

5.a. Plate 101. Articulated mouldings and not plain grooves. Included here are those which have decoration, generally walked-scorper work, applied selectively in a definite scheme. 6776* is unusual as it is demonstrably a casting whereas very few in this family are. Distribution after 5.e.

63–4mm	6640 6660*
57mm	6630 6635
49mm	6641*
38mm	6679
35mm	6680
unsized	6620 6633 6636 6650 6653 6658 6765 6776

Dating: 6620 Ower, early 1st century; 6641* South Cadbury, c.45; 6660* Gussage All Saints, mid 1st century; 6658 Waddon Hill, 50–60

5.b. Plate 101. These splay out towards the bottom. 6662* has markings at the top which might reflect the mouldings at the top of a Langton Down. Distribution after 5.e.

54–5mm	6651 6663 6678
52mm	6623 6652 6676
48mm	6677 6798
45mm	6674 6681*
42mm	6662* 6672
33mm	6675
unsized	6673

Dating: 6681* South Cadbury, c.45; 6651–61 6662* 6672–4 6798 Hod Hill, before 50; 6623 Waddon Hill, 50–60.

5.c. Plate 101. These are more or less straight-sided and have two or more reeds. There is a danger in looking through the whole of the available candidates for both this and the next sub-type that, as it can seem that there is a seamless merging of the two, the dividing line may change. However, the true division is between those which can carry the ornament to the foot in a gradually narrowing bow, and those which become pinched and suffer some simplification. Distribution after 5.e.

63mm	6669
60mm	6783
55–6mm	6615 6625 6643–4 6646 6656 6667 6796* 6797 12188
52–3mm	6618–9 6628 6634 6645 6656 6659* 6665 6671
50mm	6655 6661 6664 6760* 6787
48mm	6629 6642
46mm	6614 6631 6666 6670
42mm	6626 6668
36–7mm	6801 6949
35mm	6788

unsized 6616–7 6624 6627 6632 6637–9 6647–8 6657
6786 6793 6802 6807 6808–9 12181–2 12185–
12187

Dating: 6638 6643–4 6646 South Cadbury, four examples, c.45; 6783 Ower, before 25/30; 6669 6797 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 6655 6665–8 6671 Hod Hill, before 50; 6659* Poundbury, 40–70; 6670 Camerton, mid 1st century; 6793 6796* Gussage All Saints, mid 1st century; 6618 6656–7 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 6949 Bagendon, 50–60; 6624 Camerton, 55–90; 12182 Norden, 2nd century; 6801 Camerton, 150–200; 6664 Whitton, before ?160; 6616 Catsgore, C4; 6631 Nettleton, 4th century.

Whatever else appears under other sub-varieties, this one at least seems to be guaranteed to be of pre-conquest origin and, with 16 before 60 and which can be contrasted with only five covering the rest of the Roman period, the case is made for a terminal date of 55/60 for the last survivors in use.

5.d. Plate 101. These taper, more or less, to a pointed foot and have two or more reeds or grooves. Distribution after 5.e.

71mm	3070
65mm	15382
63mm	6784 6799 6806
60mm	6785 6804 6810* 6848 14533
57mm	2989 6757 6790
55mm	6789
53mm	6800
51mm	2965 6805
48mm	6791 6795
41mm	6794
unsized	6781 6811–3 6846*

Dating: 6785 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 6804 Gussage All Saints, mid-1st century; 6784 Gloucester, pre 70; 6757 Exeter, c.75–80; 2965 Dorchester, 75–120; 6813 Exeter, late 1st century; 6781 Tewkesbury, 140–160; 6789 Dorchester, late 2nd–4th century; 2989 3070 Dorchester, 250–350.

5.e. Plate 101. These all have single elements down the bow, be it a flute or just cross-cutting. There is a high proportion here of wavy ridges (suffix w in the list below), allowing that what some show is the failed attempt to create that: 6621–2 6755. There has been little need to refer to catch-plates before, principally because the uniform style of the family is to have solid ones. However, here are a few exceptions: 6773 has a dog-leg bar and 6850 has fretting. Both are large and this may point to two things: they are early, it was only on large ones that the catch-plate was likely to be large enough to justify the effort.

81mm	6850
74mm	6773
60mm	6756 6772 6831
57–8mm	6759w 6766*
53mm	6771*
48mm	6622w 6851
43mm	6762
38mm	6755w
32mm	6603
unsized	6621 6763w 6767 12193

Dating: 6850 South Cadbury, c.45; 6772 Braughing, 45–55;

6622, 6755 6773 Hod Hill, before 50; 6763 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 6771* The Lunt, before c.75.

Distribution: HANTS c dd e DORS aaa bbbbbbbbbb cccc
cccccccccccccccccccc dddddddddd eeeee WILTS bbbb
cccccccc ddd eeee SOM aaaaaaaa b ccccccccccccccccc
dd ee DEV ddddd CORN a SCILLY a ESSEX c HERTS
e GLOS a c dddd SWALES c e EA e CAMBS b WARKS
a e LANCS e

The large number of 5.a from Somerset all come from one site, whereas each of those in Dorset come from separate sites. 5.b and 5.c are most at home in Dorset; unlike those from Somerset, they are not so completely dominated by South Cadbury, and there is a good enough spread to demonstrate the Durotrigan origins of the family. The less orthodox designs also support this conclusion. Devon appears in strength for the first time with a clutch from Exeter, which may well show that 5.d is basically later than the conquest, or that was the only style available around there. It may look as though 5.e is a non-type, if all the distribution is looked at. However, 5.e almost certainly contains elements which belong to other aspects of what is called here the Durotrigan Type.

6. The Rest made from a Copper Alloy. All have decoration which cannot be fitted into the main categories above. No group stands out and the basis of division is the style and placing of the ornament, moving from complex to none.

6.a. Plate 101. Decoration top and bottom, and also between. 6782* is unprovenanced and was in a private collection, the other two are published: 6845 ([262] 134 f.3); 6775 ([749], 137, fig. 58,2). 6835 (Exeter, unpublished) is here for, although most of the bow is hopelessly corroded, the head is very like that of 6782*. Distribution after 6.d.

66mm	6782*
56mm	6775 6845
unsized	6835

Dating: None is dated.

6.b. Plate 101. Decoration confined to the upper bow. Crosscuts *etc.*, 6600 6779; notches, 6598–9; circular stamps, 6774*; grooves with walked-scorper work, 6777 6803; grooves, 6654 6778; expanded head, 3903* 6780. Distribution after 6.d.

79mm	3903*
66mm	6600 6774*
56mm	6599 6777
50mm	6654 6803
38mm	6598 6778
unsized	6779 6780

Dating: 6599 Hod Hill, before 50; 6778 Nanstallon, 60–80; 6598 Somerton, & 6803 Nettleton, 4th century.

6.c. Plate 101. Decoration on the lower bow, although the central ridge on 6764 may have worn away on the upper part. 6840* has one cross-cut over three incised Xs. Distribution after 6.d.

Distribution: KT a HANTS b DORS a WILTS bb SOM ab ESSEX abb HERTS abb OXON aabb GLOS abb NHANTS bb LEICS a NWALES a LINCS b NHUMB a

Only three can be said to be within the heartland of the Durotrigan family, the others being all peripheral. When it comes to 8.b, the same picture emerges, except for Somerset where an excavation at Shepton Mallet (to be published) has effectively biased the picture. The unfortunate truth is, however, that we are never likely to know whether that was a complete aberration or not.

Part 4. The *Augenfibel* and Relatives [AUGEN]

The *Augenfibel* “Eye brooch”, the illustrations say it all.

1.1. *Plate 103*. Obviously, it has eyes. In common with all the brooches in this section, it has a Colchester spring system (see Chapter 1, Part 3). The wings are, as always again, minimal and plain. The brooch design is in two parts: a bow proper with a well-arched profile recurving to join a long foot. The bow has a flat platform at the top, which has the eyes. Below that the bow may be plain with an arris, or have a bead-row down the middle and sometimes has a bordering ridge. At the inflection in the profile is a cross-moulding. The foot has a central arris and one or two inverted Vs incised into the bottom part, sometimes with an extra line underneath. Occasionally there are eyes on the lower bow: 13857.

6241–6 6251* 13857 14299

Dating: 13857 Verulamium Folly Lane, mid 1st century; 6241 & 6244 Colchester, 49–61.

Distribution: KT 1 MSEX 1 WILTS 1 ESS 11 HERTS 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHUMB 1

Never common in this country, the limited distribution might indicate that it had largely passed out of use by the arrival of the Roman army, which should have been the chief agency bringing it into the country. The item from Northumberland is probably better discounted. The fact that the closest derivative form is much more common here strongly suggests that, in typological terms, this is the correct view, and it is supported by the available dating.

1.2. *Plate 103*. In practical terms, this is the same as the last, but lacking the eyes. The variations remain the same, but bordering ridges occur sometimes on the foot as well. Two have been recorded by the writer with plain bows (6200 6225) and these may be regarded as transitional to the next type where ornament on the bow is absent.

6200 6212–7 6218* 6219–20 6222–4 6225* 6226–35 12302 14515–6 15425–8

Dating: 6223 Rushden, 45–60; 6214 & 6224 Colchester, 49–61; 14515 Broxtowe, before 70/75; 6232 Haddon, late 1st–early 2nd century; 6226 Towcester, c.100; 6228 & 6229 Baldock, 180–200; 6217 Orton Hall Farm, 225/250–300/325; 6220 Haddon, 4th century.

Distribution: SUSS 1 ESS 111 MSEX 1 HERTS 11111

GLOS 11 HERE 1 WORCS 1 SUFF 1 CAMBS 11111111 NHANTS 11 RUT 11 NOTTS 11 DERBS 1

Although to be found in the Severn Valley and near the south coast, the main area is that covered by Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Rutland. None has been recorded by me from East Anglia which is surprising given the inherent bias in the whole Corpus. The dating has a break at about the time of Boudicca's rebellion and thereafter the items could be described as having been residual by then. If there is any value in the thought that Roman brooches were not generally to be seen in the lands of the Iceni before the suppression of the rebellion, a suggestion made under some of the varieties of Hod Hill, then the virtually complete absence of this type may be the best indication that it had ceased to be in use by 60. It may be that this brooch was favoured by the IX HISPANA (see under the next) and its apparent absence from Lincolnshire is also indicative of its early date.

1.3. *Plate 103*. The same as before, the brooch is now emaciated and plain, apart from the cross-moulding at the point of inflection in the profile. One example has a small boss on the face of each wing (6197*), and this may have had a greater influence than that might suggest (see Chapter 3, Part 6).

6186* 6187–96 6197* 6199 6206 6211 12568 13858–9 14820 15429–30

Dating: 13858 Dragonby, Neronian-Flavian?; 6187 Baldock 90–120.

Distribution: KT 11 WILTS 1 ESS 11 HERTS 1 GLOS 11 CAMBS 1111 NHANTS 11 RUT 1 LEICS 1 WARKS 1 LINCS 11 NOTTS 1

The spread of this type is wider than that of Type 1.1, but compares well with the more numerous examples of 1.2. There is also a slight bias towards the east side of England south of the Humber.

1.4. *Plate 103*. The wings are larger and the upper bow is now projected far forward which means that the recurve is more marked and more of it occurs on the foot. The point of inflection is now marked by a knop running right round the bow. Beading on the bow may be found, along with bordering ridges on the foot. One instance has a bead-row at the top of the foot as well as two “eyes” made up of dot-and-circle motifs (6202). In effect this brooch type is the same as the Pannonian but without the trumpet head. 14998 has a series of slightly diagonal marks on each side of the lower bow.

6198 6201 6202* 6203–5 6207* 6208–9 11873 12565* 12566–7 14517 14998

Dating: 6198 Richborough, 50–120; 14998 Silchester, 50/60–80.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 SOM 11 MSEX 11 HERTS 1 OXON 1 NORF 11 LINCS 1 YORKS 11 DUR 1 CUMB 1

The picture here is very different from what has gone before. These are significantly later, if the sites in the north

are any guide, and the date-range of the dated specimens which has come my way allows this.

Oddments. *Plate 103.* There are two which are much more P-shaped than the previous groups, yet have mouldings of a more complex kind than to be found on the *Augenfibel* 1.1 and 1.2, and which are fitted with foot-knobs closely resembling those on Aucissas (6236–7). Neither is dated. And there is a simpler version (6298) which may have a flute (6297*), even with beading down it (6296), which refuses to cohere properly. Another form which has a thin rounded bow with marked mouldings running all the way round at top and bottom (6293–4) may also have a fantail foot (6295*). Thereafter there is a much more upright form without any recurve (6238–9) to which the *Dolchfibel* belongs (2921), and finally two which cannot be easily assigned to anything: 6304–5, the last having had a separately made spring mounted on a single lug.

2921 6293–4 6295* 6296 6297* 6298 6236–9 6304* 6305

Dating: 6294 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 6296 Baldock, 120–50; 6304* South Shields, mid 2nd century.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 11 HERTS 1 GLOS 11 LEICS 11 YORKS 1 DUR 1

Discussion: The *Augenfibel* seems to have derived via the *Kragenfibel* and early Rosettes with Colchester-style springs. One may relate their eyes to the appearance of these on the middle stages of the Alésia-Aucissa sequence. The *Augenfibel*, like the eyes on those, does not seem to have really survived as late as the conquest, hence their relative rarity in this country.

Part 5. The Pannonian, Norican *etc.* [PAN]

1. The Pannonian. The main features are the Trumpet head which narrows behind to join the wings; the knop, frequently triple-moulded with a bulbous central part; the very short upper bow with its high arch compared with the long foot with its marked recurve which has a fully moulded knob at its end; and the catch-plate which may be long and pierced or short and projecting a long way. The spring is usually of the Colchester Type (see Chapter 2, part 3). 2952 from Metchley is distorted by having been partly melted and bears only a passing resemblance to a Pannonian: if it is a brooch, then this is its home.

1.1. Plate 103. The catch-plate is fretted.

2952 6252 6255 6269 6278*

Dating: none.

Distribution: the three with provenances come from London, Old Sarum and the Roman fort at Metchley.

1.2. Plate 103. The catch-plate has one or two circular holes. There is a tendency for the foot to turn up, but this is only apparent on those which have two holes, the singleton with one hole having a straight foot. One at least has an arris rising from the knop which then divides to form a flat face on top: 6286.

6254* 6256 6258–9 6261 6267 6271–2 6286 6290* 14518

Dating: 6272 Richborough, 50–80; 6286 Colchester, 50/55–60/1; 6261 Richborough, late 1st century.

Distribution: no fewer than four come from Richborough.

KT 1111 ESSEX 1 EA 1 SUFF 1 CAMBS 1 WARKS 1 SALOP 1

The number from Richborough is excessive and most belong to the eastern side of England. How this relates to Legio IX which came from Pannonia is not clear. The type should have been almost out of use by the conquest and none has come so far from Lincoln which would fit the dating of the foundation of the fortress. One may note that the one from Wroxeter, 6290*, could not really have arrived there before 55/60.

1.3. Plate 104. Solid catch-plates with the top edges sweeping in a curve down from the back of the foot.

6253 6257 6262 6270 6279 6289*

Dating: none.

Distribution: DEV 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 LEICS 1 Lincs 1 CUMB 1

These reach further afield going as far as Exeter (6279) and Nether Denton (6262), and Lincoln; the date should be later than that of the previous varieties.

1.4. Plate 104. The catch-plate now projects at right-angles from the foot and there is a tendency for one moulding to project rather like a plate. The foot-knobs also sometimes stick out at right angles. Some have faceted heads (6263–5), and these tend to have walked-scorpion ornament on the catch-plates. Arrises appear more often (6277 6266 6284) and at least one has a hinged pin (6274).

6260 6263–8 6273* 6274–5 6284–5

Dating: none.

Distribution: HANTS 1 MSEX 1 BERKS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 1 SCOT 1?

Again, there is a tendency for the east side of England to be favoured, but they are in reality very widespread.

1.5. Plate 104. A form in which the single knop is replaced by two separated by a short length of the foot; the catch-plate has a large piercing immediately next to the foot. Only one has certainly been recorded from Britain (6281*), and another without a provenance is in Leicester Museum (6280).

6280 6281*

Dating: none.

1.6. Plate 104. The trumpet head spreads out to either side and develops points (6287) and even returns to give the appearance of the terminals found on some anchors (6288*). With only two records and one unprovenanced, the distribution has no meaning.

6287 6288*

Dating: none.

Comment While the *Augenfibel* and its relatives covered in Part 3 can be seen as having arrived logically from the Germanies at least, there is little doubt that the only political connection between Pannonia and Britain was the removal of Legio IX, but there is no real connection on the ground in Britain between the Pannonians here and the known passage of the Legion. It seems to be more likely that the brooches represent traders and adventurers from the upper Danube area than any real military presence. This might just account for why there is so little dating evidence here for them.

The Norican [Norican]. *Plate 104.*

So-called because it was common in Noricum which lay on the south bank of the Danube (modern Austria and Slovenia), it has the Colchester-style spring system as seen on *Augenfibeln*, its chief characteristic being the collar at

the top of the straight part of the bow's profile which binds a broad strip of metal bent to form a C whose ends face forward. Excessively rare in Britain, only one from a proper archaeological context has come my way: from Folkestone in Kent, 14910*. 6299 was bought on the open commercial market and 6301 comes from a collection noted for its foreign content. Another not recorded here is in the Hildyard Collection (No. 215) which again has too much foreign material for this to be trusted.

6299 6301 14910*

Dregs [NOR DREG]. *Plate 104.* 5923 looks as though it ought to be a Norican with the lips on the bow, but it is hinged and apparently of small size. 12559* ought to bear some relationship with the Pannonian, but what it was precisely is hard to say.

5923 12559*

Chapter 7. The Plate and Related, and Dragonesques

Plates 104–134

The brooches gathered into this chapter are immediately recognizable as those which are not of the same types as those found elsewhere in this book, but this does not mean that they are not diverse. In fact it is hard to think of a better collective name for those in Parts 1 to 3 than the one which has been devised. Here are those which are purely flat plates, whether round or in the outline of objects, animals with or without human adjuncts. The “related” of the title is intended to cover those brooches which can be described as being bossed, and so are not strictly plate-like. This covers the British series pretty well, but it is in the Continental brooches of Part 2 that the greatest diversity is to be found, and which stretch the ability to provide good and useful definitions.

Part 1. British

The chief features which make these British are, firstly, the distribution which shows by overwhelming numbers that these were made in Britain. Secondly, how the spring is secured. Whereas it is the almost universal habit of continental brooches to have hinged pins, British brooches have an almost equal predilection for sprung-pin pins. These are in two styles, a bilateral one mounted on a single pierced lug, or one between a pair of these.

The brooches themselves cover more than one category. They occupy all of Part 1, make an honourable appearance in Part 3 and, in another form whose pin owes rather more to the Penannular than to any other, all of Part 4. Here, though, is gathered all of pure plate form, essentially a plain plate usually without significant relief, as well as all of bossed types in which the emphasis is laid on the prominent central feature. Then there is a small clutch of brooches which have significant relief, but no boss as it is usually understood, the central area being raised, as it were, on a pedestal.

1. The Repoussé Disc. The circular plate, fitted with either a hinged pin or a bilateral one mounted on a single pierced lug, has applied to the front a thin sheet with a relief design made by pressing into a die. One of these discs has been found at Creake in Norfolk ([353], 100, fig. 4) and is for creating a version of the triskele, the most popular design. Those with sprung pins are given the suffix x in the lists below, but the absence of this does not necessarily mean that a hinged pin is a certainty, for some brooches

were published without a description of the pin-fixing arrangement and without a side view.

This was first identified as a specific type by Goodchild [327] when he distinguished a group whose decoration derived from coin types. One was the *Adlocutio* reverse of Hadrian of 134–7 on which the emperor on horseback addressed, with arm raised, a group of soldiers bearing standards. The three designs he illustrated (*ibid.*, pl. 1, b–d) represented three different armies identified by name, that of Mauretania being the only one with a prominent eagle on display on one of the standards. The other coin type of the same date showed the personification of Mauretania in a tunic and holding one or two javelins leading a horse.

There is good evidence that there were several dies, but the illustrated items are not represented in a good enough fashion for the exploration of these to be useful in this context. There is also the variable condition of many, if not most, of the surviving accessible pieces.

However, it is clear that the same workshop also produced other designs and these are reviewed below after the two coin types have been listed. The average diameter of the disc is also given.

1.a. Plate 104. Mounted figure with soldiers. The horse rears and the mounted figure, very poorly depicted, has a shield. In the foreground is an eagle with wings open and with its head to the right. Facing the horse is a file of soldiers holding shields and carrying pears or pikes. All is placed within a beaded border. 10558* is the illustrated one of three from Cold Kitchen Hill ([195]; [327], pl. 2a). 10561* has a major variant: the mounted horseman has no shield and the horse is at rest. There is only one soldier, but he may have been wielding a weapon; the lower part of the disc is lost. Distribution after 1, the rest.

32–3mm 4166 4189 10552s 10553 10554s–5s 10556–7
 10558s* 10559s 10560

29mm 10561*

Dating: 10560 Wigginholt, dated 125–166; 10552 10554–5 Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?

1.b. Plate 104. Mounted figure alone facing right. Only two have been recorded by the writer and it is by no means certain that they come from the same die. The four from Wiltshire and the three from Norfolk come from temple sites (see Chapter 11 for the effect of religion on the survival of brooches). Distribution after 1, the rest.

29mm 10563 10564*
27mm 10565

Dating: None as yet.

1.c. Plate 104. Walking figure with horse. Distribution after 1, the rest.

40mm 10562*
35mm 10551
31mm 14746

Dating: None as yet.

1.d. Plate 104. Head, staring eyes, lugubrious expression, in reality a *tête coupée*? The hair has one strand in the middle, the rest being swept out round the ears and represented by single long ridges. 15360 has no head, but the shape of the corrosion inside the beaded border best suits the former presence of one. Distribution after 1, the rest.

29mm 10566* 10567–8
27mm 15360

Dating: None as yet.

1.e. Plate 104. A central raised annulus is surrounded by seven heads: from the temple site at Chedworth. Distribution after 1, the rest.

35mm 10569*

Dating: None as yet.

1.f. Plates 104–105. Triskele. There are various dies most of which can be distinguished by the motif placed between the coils of the triskele itself. The die itself, 12585*, has three raised dots. 10579 from Coventina's Well is only described and 10585 is said to be a triskele, but the drawing is not too convincing. Distribution after 1, the rest.

8304 is a die for a triskele repoussé plate from Hanworth, Norfolk.

40mm 10581
35mm 10570 10576
33mm 10585–6
32mm 10571 10589* 12585*
29mm 8304 10579s
28mm 10588
27mm 10577* 10578
25mm 8244 10572 10574–5 10580 10582–4 10587

Dating: 10578 Higham Ferrers, 2nd–3rd century?; 10583 Vindolanda, early 3rd century?; 10585 Caerleon, late 3rd century; 10589* Verulamium, later 3rd century.

1.g. Pentaskele. The brooch listed here is very poorly preserved and might just be a triskele, but its size probably fits this category better. Distribution after 1, the rest.

40mm+ 13180

Dating: None as yet.

1.h. Plate 105. Other. 10590s appears to have had a concave-sided square in the middle with a trefoil lobe on each corner, and with a variety of single motifs, fitted

to the curve of each face, with beaded borders. 14757* looks like another, but has a cross-moulded foot. 14438 is almost complete and has a beast apparently moving to the right. The style, along with the fill-up elements consisting of ring-and-dot and dots, bears more than a passing resemblance to Iron Age coin types. There is a mane or collar indicated by parallel arcs and the same is used to suggest an extensive rib cage. On the head is what appears to be an ibex style horn. 14917 has a pulvinated border between narrow ridges, the centre being too broken up to see what the subject might have been. Distribution after 1, the rest.

45mm 10590s
c.33/34mm 14757*
c.32mm 14438
23mm 14917h

Dating: None as yet.

The rest. These have lost their decorative plates. 10602* has a loop and a very short foot with remains of a composition under the now missing plate and which has traces of what might be a triskele. 12587 might also have had a triskele design.

40mm 10592s
39mm 10602* (Supplementary Plate 1)
35mm 12588
34mm 10596s
33mm 13183s
32mm 8198s 10597s 13181s
30mm 8320 10591 10593–4s-5
29mm 10600
27mm 10598–9s
25mm 8325 10601 11644 11767
23mm 8307 12587

Dating: 10593–4 Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?; 8325 Godmanchester, late 2nd–early 4th century.

Distribution: KT cf SUSS a HANTS fx DORS ax WILTS aaaad SOM dx SCILLY dh ESSEX f MSEX bb HERTS cf OXON d GLOS effx SUFF aaahx NORF aaaffghxxxxxx CAMBS fxxxxx NHANTS fffhx SWALES ffYORKS fffxxx Hum-HW bf DUR fffxx CUMB fff NHUMB ff

As the only evidence for manufacture comes from Norfolk, it is perhaps not surprising that the type spreads through the south from east to west. But it seems to be absent from the Midlands and the Marches, in fact, it only appears in the north on military sites. This may reflect on the dating: there appears to be none from the Antonine Wall, but plenty at South Shields.

None is obviously early second century, all could have been made after 150, and almost all show a strong tendency to carry on into the earlier third century if not actually being later than 200. However, apart from religious sites, none should have been seen significantly after 250. It is here that the distribution aids the limited dating evidence: one should take it that the large number from South Shields belongs to the strongly attested Severan occupation.

2. The Applied White Metal Trim. The title gives this away. Here are gathered all those circular plate brooches which once had enamel inset into the plate showing through an encrustation of decorated white metal repoussé sheet. The thinness of this accounts for why it has largely disappeared, leaving at best a slight discoloration from the solder used to keep it in position. A purely British technique, it was used on a large variety of brooches: zoomorphics, shapes of objects, certain classes of Trumpet, Almgren 101 and Knee Brooches. Appendix 2 is devoted to the dating of the technique. There is one group of plate brooches of circular form which is left out of this category: those of Type 3 which is a single school using both round and oval shapes and which is quite distinct from this group.

Virtually all have sprung pins; those with the suffix have hinged ones. The spring was mounted in two ways: between pierced lugs, or arranged on either side of a single one, the latter having the suffix *s*.

2.a. Large Enamelled with reserved motifs. Each has a reserved annulus in the middle and a series of reserved motifs, usually circle-and-dot, between that and the rim. However, there are other designs and each is given its own designation. In general, the type is so rare on the continent (cf. Cologne, [260], 102, *Taf.* 13, 1–III.21) that there is no need to consider the continental evidence.

2.a1. Plate 105. Circle and dot. The central cell is so frequently empty that it might be asked what it was used for. The answer is almost certainly the same as that which applies to the enamelled end of the Round/Oval series, Type 3. Where there is evidence for enamel in the centre, there is also a reserved large dot. 10614 has a second, very small, annulus in the central one. All the information available points to the pins having been sprung and mounted between pierced lugs.

37mm	9844 10616
34–5mm	10603 10606–7 10609 10611–2 10614–5 11605*
32–3mm	10604 10605* 10608 10610 10613 11604 12600 13236

Dating: 10604 Newstead, 80–c.200 (Hartley 1972, 54); 10611 Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?

2.a2. Plate 105. A variation on the last in that the separate dot and circle has been displaced so that it becomes joined to the outer edge, 10618, then the dot disappears and the circle is reduced to a semicircle, 11603*. The latter variation has a series of projections round the periphery. There is a group of small brooches of 23mm diameter, which almost certainly belongs here, in which the central reserved annulus is increased in diameter and the semicircles attached to the inside of that. An even smaller one has six loops which all join to leave a six-pointed figure in the middle with a central reserved dot: 10773*. That is reflected in a larger brooch in which there is a broad surrounding flange with a lobe set with enamel on the main axes and a pair of smaller plain ones between: 10769*. Finally there is one which is a combination of the 2.a2 with 3.a2, a

plain outer zone and a three-arc version of the present variant in the middle: 10778. Saalburg: [260], 105, *Taf.* 13, 5.III,24

A rare survival is the applied trim over the central cell on 13239* which also has a variant form in that the enamel zone round the centre has gone.

35mm	10778*
31mm	10618 11603*
27mm	10617 10619–20
25mm	13239h*
c.23mm	10623 10780 13242s
21mm	9589s 10773*
unsized	9703 10622 11666
	10769* lobes attached to periphery

Dating: None dated as yet.

2.a3. Plate 105. The central annulus is filled with enamel except in 10628 which has a flat-topped stud, but around that in the ring are four voided kidney-shaped motifs. All have squared projections on their main axes.

32–3mm	10624 10625* 10626–7
30mm	10628

Dating: None is dated.

2.b. Plate 105. The disc is small, the pin is usually sprung, either mounted on a single lug (suffix *s* below), or between pierced lugs, but hinged pins are known (*h* below). On the disc is a central reserved spot surrounded by a concave-sided hexagon on whose cusps are small circles. In a very few cases, the encircling figure actually follows the outer edge of the main reserved zone: 10656*. One example has an eight pointed figure in the middle: 12596.

23mm	10673s 12589s 12594
22mm	10657s 10658h–9s–60 10664s 10667s 10669s 11599s* 11601s 12590s–1–2s 13212–3s 13218s 13222s 13224s 13226 14323–4
20–1mm	9802 10655h 10656s* 10662–3 10665–6s 10668s 10670s–2 10674s–5 12593 12595 13221 13225
19mm	10654 10661 11600 12596 13214

Dating: 10656* Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?; 10666 Ilchester, late 2nd century; 10657 Canterbury, 270–290; 10667 Gloucester, late 3rd century?; 10674 Lullingstone, latest 3rd century; 10673 Stonea, late 3rd–4th century; 10655 Canterbury, 350–375.

2.c. Plate 105. The design has a central annulus, often filled with enamel and sometimes with a reserved dot, with a chevron between that and the edge. There is a reserved dot in the base of each inner point. Both systems of sprung pin are present, and only one with a hinged pin, suffix *x* in list. 10647* provides a warning that not all these brooches need be round: it is oval but belongs here because of the chevron forming a circular zone around the central annulus which has a large reserved dot. The space at each end of the oval has a reserved dot in it. 10653 may show a direct connection with 2.d as the points of the chevron touch the outer rim, and in 10720 the chevron is reduced to a series of triangular cells around the outer edge, each with a reserved blob at the point.

9704 has no other home yet and is matched by 11638* which seems to have had a single lug for a bilateral spring. Here the central circle is filled with four cells.

38 × 29mm	10647*
34mm	11638*
32mm	9704
27–28mm	10637s 14325
25mm	10720
23mm	10638s 10642 11608 10643s 10644
22mm	10634s 10636s 10641s 10645s-6s 13217s 10653h
20–1mm	10632s-3s 10635s* 10639s-40 15479
unsized	9705

Dating: 10638* Ewhurst, 120–200; 10639 Catterick, 170/80–200/20; 10647* Verulamium, with 3rd-century coins; 10644 Vindolanda, mid-3rd century.

2.d. Plate 105. The chevron has now joined the outer rim to form a six-pointed star which has a small reserved dot in the middle. There is a set of small projections round the edge, one on each point of the star and another in between. Only sprung pins have been recorded by the writer so far. The diameters are of the main disc.

19mm	10648 10650–1
18mm	10649* 10652 13223 14328

Dating: none as yet.

2.e. Plate 105. The enamelled triskele and related. The pin-fixing arrangement uses all three systems; hinged are indicated by the suffix h and the bilateral spring on a single lug by an s. The triskeles are reserved metal and are not complex, merely a loop dragged out to one side. There is a reserved dot in the middle, except on 10686 where it is enamelled. 10689* has a reserved spiral form of triskele. There are several pentaskeles and these have p as a first suffix. The ends of each arm tend to have a circular reserved area for rosettes or similar. In 10689*, the reserved areas, including the middle one, are opened to take enamel. The most complex triskeles are two, 10687* and 10688*. In the first the loop becomes a leaf form joining the outer edge and with a reserved dot between; on 10688 the leaf form is now a complete ivy leaf lying in the enamelled field.

31–2mm	10573p 10687* 10688*
26–7mm	10677 10680* 10684s
23mm	10678s
22mm	9767s 10686p 10689*
21mm	10679 10681 11602s 12606 13216ps*
19–20mm	2878s 10676s 10682s–3 10685ps

Dating: 10683 Nettleton, early 2nd century; 10687* Colchester, before c.250.

2.f. Plate 106. The disc has a cell lying across the diameter which splits a central annulus such that it forms a D in each sector. All have projections round the periphery and some have a reserved dot in the middle.

21mm	10691
19–20mm	10690 15480
18mm	10692s 10693* 14738–9
17mm	10694–5 12605

Dating: None is dated.

2.g. Concentric zones with a series of reserved dots in one of them. There are major variations and each has a place of its own. We move from simple to not so simple to more complex. The presence of hinged pins and bilateral ones on a single lug is marked respectively as before by h and s as suffixes.

2.g1. Plate 106. One zone: there is usually a reserved annulus in the middle, but also a circular cell usually empty and sometimes with a single dot, 10717 having both. 10710 has a small annulus round a hole which may have once held a stud such as that found on 11606*. 10719* has a kind of enamelling rare on British brooches; the zone between the circle of reserved dots and the rim has a series of triangles alternately pointing in and out from the centre set in the basic matrix of the zone. 10721 is another reminder that oval forms are to be expected, even if they are only an integral part of Type 3. Distribution after 2.gx.

26–7mm	9701s 12609
24–5mm	10719*
22–3mm	9679 10712s-3 10718 12601 12602*
20–1mm	10709 10714 10717h 13215s
20x16mm	10721s
19–20mm	9737 10711s 10999 11606s*
18mm	10710 13227s
17mm	10715 10716s
unsized	9807 15461

Dating: 10716 Overstone, before mid 2nd century; 10719* Higham Ferrers, 2nd–3rd century; 9701 Catterick, before 200/20; 10715 Colchester, before 250; 10714 Chichester, 3rd century; 13227 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century; 10709 Verulamium, late 4th century plus.

2.g2. Plate 106. There are two zones with the reserved dots in the inner one round the central reserved annulus. 10732 betrays the direct relationship with Type 3 by having the remains of a black or very dark blue-purple glass cone in the central cell. 10738 also has the remains of a cone. 12603 and others also provide hints of things to be found in Type 3 as the central cell stands above the general surface of the plate. Distribution after 2.gx.

34mm	10732 10739 12604
32–3mm	9699
30–1mm	10724–5 10727 10733 10738 13237 13238*
25–6mm	10726h 13243 13245 15462
24mm	10746
23mm	14330
22mm	10723 12603

Dating: 10733 Watercrock, 120–200.

2.g3. Plate 106. Basically as the last, but using scalloped edges to one or other of the enamelled annuli. Commonly, it is the edge of the outer rim, but on 12608 it is both margins of the inner one. 10730* has a applied boss with a nipple rising from a beaded base. It also has its catch-plate and pin fixing lugs made separately and then soldered on. 10731 has the remains of a glass cone in the centre. Distribution after 2.gx.

40mm	12608
38mm	10729 10745* 14329

36mm	10735
33–4mm	10734 10736
32mm	10730* 10731 13234*
30mm	10722 12607
28mm	10737
25mm	10810
23mm	10728

Dating 10736–7 Newstead, 80–c.200; 10730* Colchester, c.250–300; 10728 Ravenglass, 350/370–400 plus; 12607 Ash, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

2.g4. Plate 106. This variant introduces a new twist: the centre rises as a shallow concave cone from a single annular enamelled zone, with reserved dots, whose inner edge is dagged to form a spiral and the outer one is scalloped. The spring is mounted between pierced lugs. There is, for a change, no suspicion that there had ever been any applied white metal here, but the relatively early date of 10744, if it can be trusted, may point to an early phase in the overall group. Distribution after 2.gx.

0mm	10740*
33mm	10744
27–8mm	10742
25mm	10741
24mm	10743

Dating: 10744 Nettleton, 69–117.

From now on we move into the usual group of brooches in which there are very few specimens known of any one design and three has been set as the limit for definition, the rest are also rans until more examples are recorded.

2.g5. Plate 106. The disc is small, has a ring of reserved dots set in a single zone round either an enamelled central cell or a hole which was intended to carry a separately made stud: 11008*. The chief variation on the plate itself is the introduction of a set of reserved triangles running from the middle to join each of the dots: 11004*. All, however, have a small loop on top and a projection beneath which has the catch-plate mounted behind. Biesmes ([104], 79, fig. 24,8). Distribution after 2.gx.

16mm	11001 11002h 11004* 11005–6 11008*
14mm	11003? 11007

Dating: 11002 Boxmoor, before 160?; Biesmes, early 3rd century.

2.g6. Plate 106. A central reserved dot is surrounded by a ring of smaller ones. Around the edge of the brooch is a series of projections. Distribution after 2.gx.

18mm	10747 10748s* 11607
16mm	10749s

Dating: 10748* Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?

2.g7. Plate 106. Around the central reserved annulus is a multi-lobed figure sometimes with reserved dots inside and with a series of projections round the periphery. Distribution after 2.gx.

26mm	14327
24–5mm	10771*
22mm	10770

21mm	10772
20mm	14326 14740–1

Dating: none.

2.g8. Plate 106. A reserved six-point figure has a reserved dot between each point, the outer edge of the enamelled field is scalloped and there is a series of small projections around the outside. There may be a central stud. Distribution after 2.gx.

24mm	10768h
17mm	10766s* 10767s

Dating: none as yet.

2.gunc. The Ruck, all singletons:

10757s 10765* 10774 10776s* 10777 10779 10970s 11610 12598* 13219* 13220s

Dating: none.

2.gx. Plate 106. Circular disc with small projections and two annuli for enamel round a central cell, in this instance also for enamel. Apparently no companions.

14742*

Dating: none.

Distribution KT 123bbbce46 SUSS 248 SURR c HANTS 12bc DORS be9*# WILTS 12 bbbbcce45778*! # SOM bb SCILLY ccee8 ESSEX ce468* MSEX 2de HERTS 11c48 BEDS/BUCKS 1aeef* BERKS 1eee OXON 3! GLOS 123bbbgbbdf456# SUFF 123bcee48** NORF 1111222 bbbbbbccccccddeef24444456899*! #### CAMBS 12bbbbb cccceff5577## NHANTS bceff4467# RUT f LEICS e WARKS f# HERE 5 SWALES 13bcc44 NWALES 5 Lincs 2bbb4489# NOTTS bbbdf45 DBS 45 SALOP 4566 YORKS ce44556 DUR 13bbe556 NHUMB 122b55566# CUMB cf566# SCOT 166

2.g1 = 4, 2.g2 = 5, 2.g3 = 6, 2.g4 = 7, 2.g5 = 8, 2.g6 = 9, 2.g7 = *, 2.g8 = ! and the rest = #

2.a is largely absent from the Midlands Plain, the Marches north of Gloucester and the whole of northern England except for Hadrian's Wall, and there is one from Newstead. As for 2.b, the same is true, but with a tendency to divide into two areas, that running west from Norfolk to the western fen edge, and then an area in the lands on the south side of the Bristol Channel. A small cluster in Kent may indicate that it made its way westwards by sea. The pair of 2.c brooches from Nor'Nour may point that way and the trickle of 2.c in other counties in southern England could well indicate a coastal trade pattern which is made the more believable by the lack of penetration of any in the Midlands Plain, the Marches proper or in the Pennines or the west side of those. In contrast, 2.g4 is southern England in its spread. The lesson is probably that all small brooches are likely to be found in the lowland areas of England, but only the large ones are likely to have appealed to the market in the north, and this suggests that its market may not have been was not made up of ordinary people.

2.d and 2.e are not really numerous enough to see if there is any departure from the pattern apparently

established for the preceding variants. There is a faint suggestion that 2.f moves slightly west from the western fen edge. 2.g2 is the first of these brooches which develops a definite northern presence. Whether this is a chronological indicator is hard to say. However, this is the first type to reflect what is to appear in Type 3. The last is also true of 2.g3 which has an even greater emphasis on the north, including two from Newstead.

The areas where these brooches were not selling, either because no one wanted them or more likely because they did not get there, are:

SURR (1) DEV CORN HERE (1) WORCS NWALES
(1) LEICS (1) STAFFS LANCS

This is essentially the inland areas and coastal districts running north from the Bristol Channel. This is particularly marked when it can be seen that most of these areas are well represented in the distribution of other mainly second-century types.

3. The Round/Oval group. This is the only type which consistently uses two rounded shapes, the circle and the oval or ellipse. The interesting feature is, in fact, the use of the ellipse, a figure notoriously difficult to set out convincingly by geometrical means. The developed type has a centre setting usually of glass, but sometimes of metal and, in the case of 3.b5 with metal bosses, studs and ribs. However, in the earlier stages enamel may be found in the middle as well.

The brooches are divided into the following groups:

- 3.a1 Enamelled, oval with one zone round the centre
- 3.a2 Enamelled, round with one zone around the middle
- 3.a3 Enamelled, round with two zones
- 3.a4 Enamelled, round, as the last, but with projections round the edge
- 3.b1 Gilded oval, with one zone of stamping round the middle
- 3.b2 Gilded oval, with two zones
- 3.b3 Gilded, round with one zone of stamping
- 3.b4 Gilded, round with two zones
- 3.b5 Gilded, round with ribs and or studs in the middle
- 3.b6 Gilded, the rest

The whole series is poorly dated and rather than give the information under each group, it is summarised at the end. As we go through the British examples the general lack of dated examples becomes startlingly clear.

When it comes to measuring ovals, the long dimension comes first, and the examples are ordered by that.

The Enamelled Series

3.a1. Plate 106. Oval, with one zone of enamel, usually in two colours, one occurring as small blocks set in the other: red in blue, white in blue, red in black, yellow in blue. The central setting is usually empty. Only one is enamelled and that has a reserved spot: 10787. 10799 has an enamel-like material in the middle, but it could be the remnants of a paste intaglio. A very few have the

central setting in place, usually a paste gem of a head in its own copper alloy setting which had been soldered in place. Two detached *en cabochon* settings survive, 12629 and 14748 and it is assumed that they belong to this sub-type. The gilded series has a built up setting as part of the base casting. Distribution after 3.a variant.

The pin is sprung, in either manner, the single pierced lug is given the suffix s. On occasions, the catch-plate is at right angles to the axis of the pin, in the manner of some Knee brooches, c in the lists below.

33 × 28mm	10834
32 × 26mm	9908s 9929s 10835*
31 × 26mm	10783cs
30 × 26mm	14748
30 × 26mm	10792s 14331
30 × 25mm	10784 10791s 10839cs
30 × 23mm	10798s
30 × 22mm	10782 10796s
29 × 24mm	10786
29 × 23mm	10802s
28 × 24mm	10785
28 × 23mm	10789s 11615s*
28 × 22mm	10800s 10801 11613s
28 × 21mm	10837
27 × 22mm	10795s 10797s 10799s 10838s 13253s 13255s–6s
27 × 21mm	10787 10794s 11612s 13252s 13257cs
27 × 20mm	12614s 13254s
27 × 19mm	10788s
26 × 21mm	10793s
25 × 21mm	10790s
? × 26mm	13251c
central settings	10832–3 10836* (Supplementary plate 1) 12629

The bars across the listings mark approximate boundaries in the sizes. Because most of these were taken from published drawings, there are two possible variations in each drawing. Firstly, the illustrator may have made a mistake in size; secondly, the printer's reduction may not have been accurate. Even so, if there is any reality in production, the most popular sizes, those which suited the pockets and needs of the purchasers, should become evident. In which case, the 32 × 25mm limits might mark one such, 30 × 23mm another, but there should be little doubt that 28 × 21mm must have been one. What can be seen is that there was a tendency to have a "fat" oval, e.g. 30 × 26mm, and a "thin" one, e.g. 27 × 19mm. Therefore, pure sizing by taking both dimensions is a little hazardous and all that is suggested here is that there is a general point to be made, and no more.

Dating: 10798 Nettleton, mid 2nd century?; 10783 Kidlington, ?3rd century; 10800 Derby, before 300?; 10799 Canterbury, 350–375.

A pathetic collection of dates from such numbers.

3.a2. Plate 106. Enamelled, round, one zone round the central cell, these are excessively uncommon, unlike the oval, which itself has no known two-zone examples. As the latter are so rare, it might be that they should not be here

at all, but there is no obvious place as yet to put them, if not here. All four have their sprung pins mounted on a single pierced lug. Distribution after 3.a variant.

30mm 10803s
28mm Bichenbach ([251], 52, *Abb.*1,9)
19–20mm 10775s* 12599s

Dating: none.

3.a3. Plate 106. Round, two zones around the middle. 10781* is a rare survival as it has most of the repoussé sheet cover for the central cells showing part of a helmeted head. Otherwise, the evidence for what filled the central cells is confined to a metal cone, 10822, or the remains of a boss said to be of enamel mixed with gold dust, 10823. There is a mixture of sprung pins, and s is used again to mark those with single pierced lugs. 10814 is described as having yellow enamel in the middle. One from Heidelberg was published by Exner ([260], 115, *Taf.*17, 10.III.58). 13228 may not belong here: it had a cast on loop and a hinged pin. 11010 has three zones, 10818 has the same with a reserved dot in the middle surrounded by enamel. Distribution after 3.a variant.

35–6mm 10806 10820 12612 15481
33mm 10815–6 10818–9 11010 15460
31–2mm 10781* 10805 10808–9 10825 15359
30mm 10814 10817 13228
27–8mm 10804 10813s 10823s 13233
24–5mm 2463 10811 12613
23mm 10812 10821–2 10824
unsized 9845

Dating: 10781* Dover, c.190–210; 12612 Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

3.a4. Plate 107. Mainly like the last, but with a set of projections around the edge. 10753 has a metal cone in the middle and extensive traces of applied white metal trim, and 10764 shows that the what might be taken to be an older style could also be seen: a reserved dot set in enamel in the central cell. In 10759 the central annulus has been closed and narrowed to form a wide reserved dot. The one which does not conform with the basic definition is 12645 which has only one zone around the empty central cell. The projections here are enamelled. Distribution after 3.a variant.

27mm 12645h
25–6mm 6364s 10756s 10760s
24mm 10752–3s
23mm 10750s 11609s*
21–2mm 2836 10754–5 10761–2 10764s* 13229 13231s-2s
20mm 10751 12610s
17–8mm 10759 10763

Dating: 10750 Camerton, 300–380; 12645 Gilton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

3.a. Variant. Supplementary Plate 1. A pelta, but belonging in technique here. There is a central oval cell with remains of a repoussé sheet plate with a beaded border, and the bilateral spring was mounted on a single pierced lug. 10840*

Looking at the sizes of these brooches in relation to their distribution, there is nothing distinctive in any class with the exception of 3.a3 where military sites tend to be represented by larger brooches than is usual.

Dating: The summarised dating below shows how pathetic it is, especially when other classes of brooch are looked at. Appendix 2 sets the evidence for the dating of the use of white metal trim roughly covering the 100 years 125–225. We cannot automatically assume, however, that all brooch types using it were in being at the beginning or the end. The very lack of a solid second-century body, coupled with its absence from Scotland, that is the Antonine Wall and Newstead, suggests that Type 3 may in the end be later than 150 in its inception, and the pressure on the third century in this, and as will be seen in the dating of the gilded series, means that we may be looking at the very last British brooches made for the indigenous population.

3.a1. 10798 Nettleton, mid 2nd century?; 10783 Kidlington, ?3rd century; 10802 Richborough, before late 3rd century; 10800 Derby, before 300; 10799 Canterbury, 350–375. **3.a2** None is dated. **3.a3** 10781 Dover, 190–210; 12612 Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery. **3.a4.** 10750 Camerton, 300–380; 12645 Gilton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Distribution, the enamelled series, 3.a1–variant. KT 1133344 var HANTS 1134 DORS 4 WILTS 111111133333 SOM 334 SCILLY 133 ESSEX 11 MSEX 4 HERTS 1 BERKS 13 OXON 113 SUFF 11334444 NORF 111111111333444 CAMBS 1111111222334 NHANTS 1344 8.b4 RUT 4 LEICS 44 HERE 3 NWALES 3 Lincs 1334 NOTTS 1 DERBS 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 133 LANCS 3 CUMB 1 NHUMB 13334

Surprisingly, apart from Wiltshire, there is a lack of 3.a1 in the South West: it is thinly represented in the Midlands Plain and the Marches, but appears fitfully on Hadrian's Wall. All three British examples of 3.a2 come from the Lower Nene Valley. As for the other two, there is still poor penetration of the Midlands and the Marches proper. The pattern here is a marker for the distribution of the gilded series 3.b and, because there are fewer of 3.a, the picture is clearer.

The Gilded Series

3.b. The gilded series stands out for three reasons. Firstly, the fact they are gilded. Those brooches of 3.a aimed at a silvery finish set off with colour, while these rely only on gold and a central “gem” for colour. Secondly, they are crisply made and tend to have a far higher quality surface than almost any brooch after the earlier second century. Thirdly, of all types of brooch made after the first century, these employ stamps as a matter of course. The common case is that the front is gilded and the back has a silvery finish, the two possibly going together as part of the gilding process. However, 10900 is unusual in that it is gilded on both sides, and the metal has a very red hue which might just indicate that this item had been mercury-gilded on a copper base. Although the gilding does not survive, 10927 also has a very red base metal.

Although the conclusion here is that all Type 3 brooches

are of British manufacture, the design is not exclusive. A gold brooch set with a sard intaglio from the Villa Borghese in Rome could be loosely classified as having one zone of decoration with an elaborate outer border and is dated by the British Museum as being first to third century (BM, 1772.0314.185).

The stamps are almost certainly not in the moulds, but applied after the surface has been gilded and in one instance then filled with niello: 10935. In one other respect those of 3.b differ from those of 3.a in that only one pin-fixing arrangement is used, the bilateral spring mounted on a single pierced lug. Sometimes an extra cabled moulding is introduced, 10849.

The stamps call for some comment. Figure 2 shows all those identified by the writer. They are arranged in loose groups, of which the first is the S which has two forms, well-defined and ill-defined (Fig. 2.1,2). They are used mainly as bands but may also have their ends hooked together to make a long drawn-out string. To follow the curved theme, we have two horseshoes, the second with cross cuts, and an ordinary arc (Fig. 2.3–5). The first is sometimes placed facing outwards and with a plain dot or one consisting of a circle with boss (Fig. 2.6 or 7.8) placed to close the loose ends. The second is simpler and usually has arcs rising from an edge (Fig. 2.5). [Figs 1 & 2 are at the beginning of Volume 2, as the contents list makes clear.]

Apart from the simple S, the commonest form is represented by Figure 2.9, a raised saltire in a sunken square and is mainly found in series, but is sometimes half-lapped. Belonging to this is a stamp of the same form only divided by a vertical line (Fig. 2.10). The next variant is like the first, only the motif lies in a sunken area following the arms and is usually employed as a saltire (Fig. 2.11).

Next are the variations on triangles. The recessed triangle with a raised dot in the middle (Fig. 2.12) and the sunken triangle with a raised one attached to one side (Fig. 2.13) are the simplest forms. The more complex are the simple sunken lozenge (Fig. 2.14) and the sunken triangles placed apex to apex (Fig. 2.15). An example of the former has niello infill and this is a reminder that this may have been more common than may be supposed on surviving evidence. Use of the latter may have been exclusively to produce the effect of raised lozenges.

Thereafter, there are only miscellaneous forms. We begin with a simple bar stamp (Fig. 2.16) which is followed by an exclamation mark (Fig. 2.17) then a simple L (Fig. 2.18) and finally here a complex bar which is better explained by Figure 2.19. The next is like the first in this group, only with a pair of wings sprouting from the top (Fig. 2.20). Figure 2.21 is the same only without the stem. Figure 2.22 is a version forming a chevron.

The last three are just odd: Figure 2.23 is a bar flanked by three small triangles in a row; the next, 24, is a recessed D-shape with a raised dot. The last, 25, is like the dexter half of a shield with a raised dot in chief, then a fesse and under that a diagonal running away from the centre.

The central cell is frequently empty, otherwise is commonly fitted with a glass cone, plain or flecked with

colour – 12627, or even marbled, 11621 in red, green and yellow. There is also a bead, 10898, and another with a bun in yellow with red spiral stripes topped by a clear green boss, 10901. Paste intaglios occur showing the connection with those of variants 3.a, standing figures often reduced to stick-men. However, Hercules appears and what seems to be a winged figure in front of an unidentifiable feature: 10931. 10894 and 11619 have an eagle displayed.

3.b1. Plate 107. The plain oval, gilded, with one stamped zone round the central cell. Distributions after 3.b6.

36 × 26mm	10859
32 × 25mm	10831 10846 10849 10857
31 × 23mm	10852 13274
30 × 22mm	10855 10864 10866 12628
29 × 23mm	10841 10842*
29 × 22mm	5555 13263
29 × 21mm	11621 12627
28 × 22mm	9945 13260
28 × 21mm	10851 10856 10858
28 × 20mm	10867
27 × 21mm	10847 10861 10863*
27 × 18mm	11614
26 × 19mm	10845 10854 11623
26 × 18mm	10860
26 × 17mm	10850
25 × 21mm	14749*
25 × 19mm	10853 13258
25 × 18mm	10062 10844 11622–3 12626
24 × 18mm	2701 10843 10862 11625–6 12625
24 × 17mm	11618 11624
23 × 18mm	14333
22 × 20mm	10865
22 × 17mm	9944 10848
21 × 17mm	13275
unsized	13270

There is less evidence for deliberate sizing here, there being an almost unbroken succession of small stages with only the dubious 36 × 26mm standing out as being markedly different.

Dating: 10845 Brancaster, 3rd century?; 10855 Fishbourne, late 3rd–early 4th century; 2701 Caernarvon, early–mid 4th century.

3.b2. Plate 107. Oval, gilded, two zones round the middle. As might be imagined, the extra zone means a larger brooch and frequently extra ornament: punched dots on the outer rim of 10870 10883; cabling on the ridge between the two zones and on an extra moulding round the central cell; An S stamp around the outer face of one from Esch ([420], 108, fig. 26). Distributions after 3.b6.

42 × 32mm	10885
41 × 31mm	13272
39 × 30mm	10875
39 × 28mm	10889
36 × 28mm	Esch 10893 13259
36 × 27mm	10878 Vechten ([420]109, fig.27)
36 × 26mm	10881
35 × 29mm	10872
35 × 27mm	10880 10886 12630 13262

35 × 26mm	10879
34 × 27mm	Esch*
34 × 24mm	10868
33 × 27mm	10870 10891 14750
33 × 26mm	10869 10871* 10873 10884 15482
33 × 25mm	10888
32 × 24mm	11620* 14873
31 × 25mm	10887
31 × 24mm	10876
31 × 23mm	10877 13271
29 × 23mm	10890
unsized	10882

There is a clutch based on 33 × 26mm, and another at 36 × 27mm. The leap to 39mm suggests a group there and the two the head of the list mark another. At the other end of the scale, 31 × 24mm may mark another group.

Dating: 10870 Manchester, c.160–earliest 3rd century; 10873 Dorchester on Thames, post Antonine?; Esch*, N Brabant, x 2, ?225–250 ([420], 108, fig. 25 & fig. 26); 10872 Maxey, late 3rd–4th century; 13272 Kingscote, late 3rd–early 4th century; 10868 Nettleton, 360–70.

3.b3. Plate 107. Round, gilded, one zone round the central cell. Distributions after 3.b6.

37mm	12615
35–6mm	10894
33	9943
30mm	10830 10910 10918
28–9mm	10904 10917s 12616
27mm	10895 10898 10916 13247 13249
26mmq	10905 10912 10919
25mm	10896–7 10899 10903 10911 13264–5
24mm	10907–8
22–3mm	10900–1 10902* 10906 10909 10913 11617 11619* 11627
21mm	10920 13266 14332

Dating: none.

3.b4. Plate 107. Round, gilded two zones round the central cell. Distributions after 3.b6.

46mm	1049
44mm	12618
43mm	10946*
41–2mm	12617
39–40mm	10928
38mm	10944 11628 12621* 13267
36–7mm	10925 10927 10935–6 10939 10941–2 13268
35mm	10827 10921–2 Wierden 10926? 10930–2 10934 10937 10943 11616
34mm	10940
33mm	10924 10929
31mm	10828
29mm	10923
28mm	10826 12619
22mm	12620
unsized	9942

Dating: Wierden*, Netherlands ([251], 80, f. 28,28) 2nd ½ century and 3rd century; 10921 Hockwold cum Wilton, ?late 2nd century and plus.

3.b5. Plate 107. Round, gilded, here there is only one zone with a stud fastened in the middle from which radiates a set of ribs, four, five or six, some with fluted or divided tops. 10955 consists of the ribs only from one of these. Distributions after 3.b6.

31mm	10947*
29mm	10948–9 12623
28mm	10959
27mm	10953 10957 13261
25–6mm	10951–2 10954 10956
24mm	9950
22–3mm	10023 10950 10958 14751 14908
unsized	9994 10955

Dating: 10959 Inworth; 250/60–370.

3.b6. Plates 107–108. The rest of the gilded series. Here is a mishmash of designs, some of which will in time become individual variants. These are arranged in batches with the oval ones placed first as before. These are numbered for convenience only in this section by lower case roman numerals.

i. Oval, gilded, three zones, the middle one interrupted by four settings on the main axes for glass bosses.

10960* 10961–2

ii. Oval, gilded, three zones only round the middle cell.

10874 10892*

iii. Round, gilded, three zones, note only 10945 here has room for stamps in the middle one, the other three only have a wide flute between the ridges.

10829 10933 10945 11629*

iv. Round, gilded, one zone, but it is a flute bordered by beaded mouldings.

10914* 10915

v. Round, gilded, one zone, but the centre is filled by a metal cone rising from a hollow with chamfered edges.

10938 10963–4 12622* 12624 13269 13273* 14334

Dating: all that has gone before arranged as a single sequence: 10870 Manchester, c.160–earliest 3rd century; 10873 Dorchester on Thames, post Antonine?; Wierden*, Netherlands ([251], 80, f. 28,28) 2nd ½ 2nd century and 3rd century; 10921 Hockwold cum Wilton, ?late 2nd century and plus; 10845 Brancaster, 3rd century?; Esch*, N Brabant, x 2, ?225–250 ([420], 108, fig. 25 & fig. 26); 10959 Inworth; 250/60–370; 10855 Fishbourne, late 3rd–early 4th century; 13272 Kingscote, late 3rd–early 4th century; 10872 Maxey, late 3rd–4th century; 2701 Caernarvon, early–mid 4th century; 10868 Nettleton, 360–70.

None of the dating favours a beginning in the earlier parts of the second century, and none really points to the fourth. The bulk indicates the third century, six before 250 In essence, and six later of which only two are solely fourth century. Other dating from the continent is one from Augst found with third-century pottery ([617], 88, *Taf.* 13,309) and three from Saalburg and Zugmantel, sites basically abandoned c.260 ([77], 110 Nos 1132–4, *Taf.* 29). In terms of ordinary occurrence on sites, the period of use would run from the latest second century to the

middle of the third century, a few perhaps surviving later. This would suit what appears to have been the introduction of mercury gilding [810].

However, specialists in dealing with finds from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries tend to date all such brooches to the fourth century. Thus Tania Dickinson [221] in looking for an origin for Early Anglo-Saxon disc brooches lit upon the gilded Romano-British series. She refers to the commonly held belief that they were fourth century, although noting the difficulty in dating them to the end of Roman Britain (*ibid.*, 49–51). She, nevertheless, took their presence in Anglo Saxon graves as a demonstration that they were late fourth century, and, furthermore, that those graves must be very early Anglo-Saxon. She cites more third-century examples from the continent. However, she gives an airing to Hull's view that Saalburg and Zugmantel might have been re-occupied later and ends by mentioning two from Newgrange in Ireland where they occur as single finds along with earlier Roman finds.

Roger White in dealing with those in the cemeteries he studied ([759], 29–30) recited Dickinson's view along with my own [399] on an example from Spong Hill, Norfolk. That report was written several years before and, as the reader will have appreciated by looking at the assembled dating evidence above, the position has changed, the picture is clearer, and a late date is now unacceptable. It is not possible to quote the Newgrange examples as being part of a collection of late Roman coins and jewellery: they were isolated finds and cannot derive any benefit by being loosely associated with the exclusively late finds from the site. The example from Nettleton came from a temple site and there are comments about brooches found in late contexts on such sites in Chapter 11. The gilding on these brooches would have made them very noticeable on the surface of a Roman site and so have contributed to the disproportionate number found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

Distribution, the gilded series, 3b1–7. KT 1234446 SUSS 1 HANTS 1111223333444556 DORS 3355 WILTS 111222356 SOM 22345 SCILLY 13 ESSEX 15 HERTS 2 BEDS 6? BUCKS 234466 BERKS 2344446 OXON 1234 GLOS 1246 WCS 5 SUFF 11356 NORF 11111111111111 2222222233333333 4444445555666666 CAMBS 111222333333334444444446 NHANTS 11244556 RUT 4 LEICS 2 WARKS 34456 HERE 115 NWALES 1 Lincs 123344 NOTTS 1123 DERBS 3 STAFFS 1 SALOP 66 YORKS 111 LANCS 2 DUR 12334 CUMB 1455 NHUMB 1146

What is noticeable is that, while almost every part of the country is represented in some way, there is remarkably little penetration of 1–4 in Wales, the Marches and effectively the whole of the Midlands. This is accentuated by those which skirt round the south-east and go into Hampshire and Wiltshire through Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. Whereas it was possible to think in terms of coastal trade for the dissemination of Type 2, the lack of any in Scotland, when they seem to be well

represented on Hadrian's Wall, suggests that the gilded brooch and occupation of the Antonine Wall are possibly mutually exclusive, with the Hadrian's Wall examples being later than the abandonment of the Antonine Wall.

4. Raised Field. Plate 108. In effect a round one zone brooch, the central cell is raised and given a greater proportional diameter. There are no stamps and the only enamel is on the pedestal. The edges of both that and the outer rim are cross-cut or sometimes cabled or have punched dots. There is a series of projections round the periphery, usually six, but much depends on the diameter of the brooch.

That this is a British design, despite the appearance of millefiore, is shown by the presence of at least one bilateral spring mounted on a single lug, s in the list below. The connection with brooches of Type 3 is tenuous but real: 10697* has the same spring system, cabling and punched dots, 10699* has punched dots, and there is cabling on 12611. The enamelling is more advanced, in a way, than that used on sub-type 3.a, there being millefiore and circular dots incorporated into the field, though there was an echo of 3.a on 10706 in the alternation of two colours. That, and 10707, have small holes in the middle, and these reappear now and again. 13244* has reserved loops which appear on sub-type 2.a2, and deep blue glass beads on the projecting lugs. Some, mainly the larger ones, have an enamelled annulus round the top of the pedestal. 10706–7 have lugs with dot and circle stamps of the type common on Continental examples.

37mm	10699*
34mm	10705
30–1mm	10973 13246
27–8mm	10703–4 10707 10979s
25mm	10697s* 10700–1 10706
23mm	10698s
22mm	10696* Supplementary Plate, 10702
20–1mm	12611 13244*

Dating: 10973 Wakerley, possibly Antonine-Severan?; 10702 Canterbury, 175–350; 10699* Chichester, earliest 3rd century; 10697* Stonea, late 3rd and 4th century.

Distribution: KT 111 SUSS 1 SC 11 MSEX 1 BDS 1 HRTS 1 WILTS 1 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NF 1 CAMBS 1 NHTS 11

There is a lack of emphasis on the north, the Midlands Plain and the Marches not figuring. The two from Nor'Nour may indicate that those in Wiltshire and Gloucester probably arrived by water borne trade.

5. Dished Cone. Plate 108. All have hinged pins and the weight of numbers in Britain guarantees that this is where it was made. All are circular, all have a concave-sided cone rising from the bottom of a dish whose outer edge is also a concave curve. All have a series of projections round the outer edge, almost invariably six. On top of the cone is a flaring bead round a recess in the middle of which is a small circular boss. Variations consist of one or two grooves

or ridges in the bottom of the flute round the boss. Large versions have an enamelled annulus round the edge (e in the list below), and these have eight projections. 11103 has a cabled ridge in the bottom as well, and 11110 has the enamel with nothing to border it on the inside.

43mm	11099* 15483e*
37mm	11100e
35mm	11102e-3e
33mm	11105e*-6 11110e 11112 11117 12952 13279-81
31-2mm	2930 11091e 11093-4 11095* 11097-8 13285
29-30mm	11092 11114 11116 11118 11119*-20 11594-5e 12642 13283 14373
28mm	11096 12953
26-7mm	11121e 13276 13282 Dura Europos
25mm	11101 11104 11107-9 11113 11115 13284 13286
unsized	10086 11095de 10125

This group can be subdivided according to the degree of elaboration inside the dished part. Four sub-groups are offered:

5a. Plain or with one or two lines incised just above the base of the cone. The published ones which seem to have no lines probably have them only they were hidden by corrosion or missed by the illustrator.

10086 10125 11091-411097 11101 11108-10 11114-7 11119* 11120-21 11594-5 12642 12952-3 13276-8 13280-4 14373

Dating: 11120 Verulamium, pre-Flavian; 11108 Caerleon, 212-222 A.D.; 12953 Caernarvon, Hadrianic-Antonine; Dura Europos, 165-256 [309], 40, pl. 9,21; 13278 Kingscote, 225-325; 11114 Derby, before 300; 11117 Caerleon, 4th century; 12952 Caernarvon, early-mid 4th century.

5b. A single raised ridge replacing the incised lines in the last.

11095* 11098 11113 13279 13285-6

Dating: 11095* Buxton, late 1st-early 3rd century.

5c. These have a double ridge lying at the base of the hollow inside

2930 11096 11099* 11104 11107 11112 11118

Dating: 11118 Verulamium, 2nd century.

5d. A ridge round the base of the cone may be beaded or cabled, the space between that and the outer rim usually filled with enamel.

10091 11100 11102-3 11105*-6 15483*

Dating: 11100 Wroxeter, before c.120; 11106* Gadebridge, 2nd ½ 2nd century.

The full range is from before c.70 (11120) to the middle of the fourth century. For reasons which are explained in Chapter 11, Part 1, no native brooch was being worn after about the middle of the third century, and 275 is perhaps as far a limit as any. Circular or near circular brooches in particular would not have been tolerated in the fourth century outside a very specialised social circle and the pagan priesthood. Therefore, looking at the latest brooches

which are likely to have been genuine survivors in use, in 5.a, Kingscote, 225-325, and Derby, before 300, could easily be accommodated to the suggested limit. Therefore, there are nine brooches which lie between the later first century and the postulated final date, and only two which are later and can be discounted. The date-range may, if the one from Verulamium is discounted, run from 70/80 at the earliest to 225/250. The general range, however, is likely to be mainly second century into the third.

Distribution: KT ad HANTS a DORS ax WILTS acc SCILLY aa HERTS acd MSEX a OXON ac GLOS aaaaaaabbbc SUFF abd NORF aaadd CAMBS ad NHANTS aacc SWALES aaa NWALES aa NOTTS a DERBS aabb SALOP ad CHESH a HAD W a

A little patchy, but it was obviously marketable in South Wales and Gloucestershire, which suggests that the Bristol Channel was the artery, especially with the two at Nor'Nour, and the Severn would account for the ones at Wroxeter. There was also a centre disseminating them in the east.

6. Domed Boss. All have a shallow domed bossed centre on whose surface is a set of radiating cells for enamel. All have hinged pins and the sheer quantity in Britain ensures that it is British in manufacture. There are several variants and we move from simple to more complex. There is a reasonable chance that all were once tinned or silvered on the front face, but this does not survive often enough for this to be asserted.

6a. Plate 108. The dome is surrounded by a groove and there is a loop above the hinged pin, a boss in front of the lower part of the catch-plate, and a smaller boss on each side. The dome usually has two rows of very narrow triangles and the colours tend to be red and blue alternating. The dimensions represent the diameter of the central boss: the outer edge is frequently damaged, and the brooch should have been roughly in proportion, therefore any changes in size should reflect themselves in changes in the boss itself. 11156 11157 and 13199 have the spaces between the lower row of triangles filled with another set reversed. In addition the boss of 11157 may actually represent the outer edge of the brooch itself. Distribution after 6.x.

29mm	11137 15457
24mm	11144
21mm	11133 11579
20mm	8509 11122-3 11136 11138 11140 11150 11152 11155 11577*-8 11580 11584 13185 13194-5 13199
18-9mm	11124-5 11129 11131-2 11134-5 11137 11139 11142-3 11145 11147-9 11151 11153-4 11156 11581-2 12631-3 12634* 13184 13189 13191 13193 13197
17mm	11130 11141 12635
15-6mm	11146
unsized	8326

Dating: 13193 Dorchester, 75-120; 11137 Wroxeter, c.100; 11146 Harlow, c.120-200; 11133 Strageath, 142-158; 11139

Canterbury, mid 2nd century; 11140 Camelon, c.143–65; 11136 Alchester, 3rd century and later.

6.b. Plate 108. The dome now has three rows of triangles and rises without the groove from a narrow border which has the same emphasis on the two main axes, but has either a scalloped edge between these or close-set minor projections. 11177 has the innermost row converted into a small version of the four-lobed pattern found in 6.g, and in 11176 has a slightly different design in the centre. Distribution after 6.x.

28mm	11176
26mm	11172 11177
24mm	13196
22mm	11171*

Dating: 11171* Carlisle, 105/15–125/35.

6.c. Plate 108. The boss of 6.a is married to a broad border which has a row of inward-facing triangles and a scalloped edge. The emphasis on the horizontal axis disappears, but the projection at the bottom is much bigger and is usually enamelled. Occasionally, for example 11170, the double row of triangles on the dome is reduced to one, but there are not enough to justify a separate category. Distribution after 6.x.

22mm	11173
20mm	11585 13186
19mm	13190*
17–8mm	11174–5
16mm	12636
15mm	11170

Dating: none.

6.d. Plate 108. Here, the bordering flange has lost its enamelled triangles and scalloped edge, the latter being replaced by prominent rounded lobes, usually eight in number, each of which bears a stamped dot and circle. Distribution after 6.x.

20mm	9204 14768
19mm	11181 13192
18mm	11178–9 11180* 11182–3 12637 13188
16–7mm	11184

Dating: 13192 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 11181 Newstead, 80–c.200; 13188 Hacheston, 4th century.

6.e. Plate 109. The boss tends to be bigger and only ever has one tier of triangles. These are laid out more carefully so that the bars between each are reduced to a single thickness. The base of the triangle can be concave, convex or straight. The large lobes of 6.d are present, but there are also those which have the scalloped edge of 6.c, only bigger and given enamelled cells. The circle and dot stamps may be on the flange rather than on lobes: 11167, but that has lost its outer edge so that it is unknown if they lay in a line of scallops, though the way in which they are close-set suggests that they had been. That particular example also a flat boss with a cabled edge, which might favour a place in Type 4, but its style belongs here and is wholly

incompatible with that of 4. 11164 is an illustration of the fact that it is the style of the boss which dominates, for here the lobes and the scalloped edge have gone and there is a plain border with a slight ridge round the outside, and on 9295 there is a line of rectangular enamelled cells round the boss. It will be seen that two actually have oval bosses. Distribution after 6.x.

31 × 26mm	11587*
27mm	11166*
26mm	11164
27 × 27mm	11583
25mm	11165 11168
22mm	11161 11163 13187
20–1mm	11160 11586
197mm	11159 11167
15mm	11169
unsized	9295

Dating: 11159 Ravenglass, c.130–c.200.

6.f. Plate 109. A return to 6.a, but only one row of triangles which may surround a wide flat top in which lies an annulus round a small boss, 11128 12638*. These are on the whole too eclectic to be added in with the rest of 6.a and to be noted there: 12639* has the big triangles noted on 6.e. Distribution after 6.x.

19mm	12638* 12639* 14370
18mm	11127–8 11162 11189 14372*
17mm	13198
16mm	11126
unsized	8502 8495

Dating: 11126 Lincoln, after c.350.

6.g. Plate 109. The boss has four lobes, sometimes round an enamelled annulus, and these may be pointed or have enamelled crescents or circles at the end. One, 11588*, has a silvery front, except in the groove round the boss, and what appears to be niello in the cusps, but an orange-red enamel in the annulus. Two brooches have been added here, even though they lack the simple style of the rest: 11187* has a combination of the lobe and the triangle – there are eight triangles, four of which have an enamelled lobe set in the apices, while the other, 11191, has four lenticular cells laid round the periphery, each divided by two parallel bars. Distribution after 6.x.

24mm	11187* 11191 12398
19mm	11185 13210
18mm	11188 11190 11588* 13209

Dating: none.

6.x. Ostensibly a member of 6.e but is not a complete circle, one axis being extruded to form a tear shape.

14368*

Dating: none.

Dating overall: 13193 Dorchester, 75–120; 11181 Newstead, 80–c.200; 13192 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 11137 Wroxeter, c.100; 11171* Carlisle, 105/15–125/35; 11146 Harlow, c.120–200; 11159 Ravenglass, c.130–c.200; 11133 Strageath, 142–158; 11139 Canterbury, mid 2nd century; 11140

Camelon, c.143–65; 11136 Alchester, 3rd century and later; 13188 Hacheston, 4th century; 11126 Lincoln, after c.350.

There is no necessity for any to have been made after 150/75, and the lack of any good tail running into the third century more or less confirms this.

Distribution: KT aaa HANTS a DORS a WILTS dg SOM aaef SCILLY a GLOS cfg SWALES a ESSEX aa MSEX aabee BEDS e BUCKS ae OXON ae WARKS a NWALES d SUFF aabcddefg NORF aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa bcccccddeeffffggggx CAMBS aaaadddf NHANTS addg RUT d LINC5 aaaadef STAFFS e SALOP a CHESH f YKS adeeg CUMB abe NHUM aa SCOT aaad

The first point to make is that the initial compilation of the Corpus omitted plate brooches, so the heavy emphasis on Norfolk is to some degree false. Even so there is a heavy emphasis on 6.a which appears not to occur in the Midlands Plain, the Marches or on the western side of the Pennines south of Hadrian's Wall. 6.b and 6.c are not numerous and have a limited distribution favouring East Anglia, even allowing for the distortion in the number of brooches from Norfolk. 6.d, on the other hand, hardly more numerous than either of the previous two, appears in the west and the north. 6.e shows a further trend to a more widespread distribution, all the more marked because the number in East Anglia no longer overawes the rest of the country. While 6.f might be thought as a local variant of 6.a, its widespread distribution shows that it is not really that. If an area of origin and general manufacture had to be specified, it would be East Anglia, not on the basis of the vast number from Norfolk which is entirely a product of a bias in recording, but because of those in Suffolk and Northamptonshire where the Nene formed a natural route to and from the east. This is an area which is under-represented in the index so the great array of variants there strongly suggests that Norfolk should not be entirely discounted, the two together forming the basis for the case for East Anglia.

7. The Petalled Boss. The dome with the groove directly recalls Type 6, and the broad flanges of 6.c and 6.d are present although with different ornament. 11158 shows the kinship well with the triangles on the boss. However, the chief characteristic of the whole group is the use of an enamelled lobe which recalls the petal of many a flower. The domed boss commonly has four to six of these, radiating from a small boss in the middle so that the flower analogy is not inapt, with infilling cells around the periphery. The broad flange has the same design and there are three projections on each side between a cast-on loop above the lugs for the hinged pin, and a large lobe with an annulus, usually with a recessed dot in the middle, covering the lower part of the catch-plate. This is the main type, with 11158 already cited being the sole exception recorded so far, and in 7.a below. There are variants and these follow. The diameter is across the flange.

7.a. Plate 109. The main type described above. Distribution after 7.variants.

36mm	11196
33mm	11194
31–2mm	11192–3 11198 11201 11203–4 12640* 13207
28–9mm	11158 11195 11197 11200 11202 11205 11207–8 13203–5 14371
25mm	13201
unsized	9356 11206 11212

Dating: 11198 Watercreek, c.110–c.140?; 11192 Leicester, mid 2nd to early 3rd century; 11207 Carlisle, 150s–160s.

7.b. Plate 109. Half of the design of 7.a is retained, but the lobe covering part of the catch-plate is now increased and given its own design, either four petals or a concave sided diamond with infilling lenticular cells; the projections on the curved part develop enamelled annuli or a full dot and circle. The other half is squared by having a full row of petals across the end, with another next to it interrupted by the boss. The straight edge is given a projecting loop at each end so that a bar run between the two can carry an etui set, 11216 (Hattatt 1985, 169, fig. 69,603). The width across the squared end is given. 11219* 12641 are variants, the boss having, on the first, been reduced to a semi-circular cell. In the second, the boss and the semi-circle have gone and there is a rectangular panel with two rows of triangles, in place of the semi-circle, a remnant of a celtic-style decoration. Distribution after 7.variants.

34mm	9324 11214
30–1mm	9282 11216–8
29mm	11213 13200 13202
28mm	8498 11215 11219* 13208*
unsized	12641

Dating: 11217 Tripontium, 3rd–early 4th century

7.c. Plate 109. A disc with one or two rows of petals, 11589 has a small boss in the middle, 11211 has one row of petals and a full flower in the middle, and 11210 has a concave-sided diamond in the middle with infilling lenticular cells filling out the periphery. The last would have been assigned to 6.a, except for having the petals. Distribution after 7.variants.

32mm	11211
30mm	11210
28mm	11589*

Dating: 11210 Harlow temple, before 175/200.

7.d. Plate 109. This variant falls within the Related part of the title of this part of the chapter, it having a bow and a narrow trumpet head. However, to have put it with Trumpets and to have created a special category for it would have divorced it from its true kin, as the petalled disc reveals. Distribution after 7.variants.

6174–6 9149 11590 11591* 12194 13206

Dating: none.

7. Variants. Plate 109. 11186* from Chester, known to the writer only through a pictorial view published in 1862, finds its place here and it is a great carbuncle of a thing. Two of its four rows of enamelled cells are interrupted by

small bosses. The form and the remains of the appendages over the head of the pin and the bottom of the catch-plate unequivocally place it here. Its size allows two of the rows to be interrupted by four circular bosses.

11186* 11291*

Dating: 11291* Chester, Flavian-Trajanic.

As might be expected for an elaborately enamelled brooch, the available dating evidence points to the second century. Although the earliest dated examples show an origin possibly at the very end of the first century, the main *floruit* runs through the second. However, manufacture may have ended before 200, the survivors in use perhaps running into the earliest third.

Distribution: KT aab WILTS abb SOM d ESSEX bc MSEX b HERTS ad GLOS c SWALES a SUFF abbbcd NORF aaaaabbbcd ddd CAMBS dd LEICS a WARKS b LINC'S a NOTTS aa SALOP a STAFFS a CHESH avv YORKS a CUMB aa NHUMB a

There is a thin spread of 7.a generally from Hadrian's Wall to Kent, but whether the lack of any in the deep South West is significant is not yet known. Adding in the other variants, the same picture emerges: a weak distribution along the south coast and nothing really in the deep South West or in the Marches and the lands immediately east of those areas, except for Wiltshire and two from Chester.

8. The Pelta and Related. The basic plate is a pelta. The first group has a very deep pelta and it is just possible that it represents a shield. If so, it should be in Part 3, but the others are not close enough to the basic model for this to be sustained.

8.a. Plate 110. The typical brooch is 11220*, the most extraordinary is 11229 and this is almost matched by 11228*. Both come from the same site, Durobrivae on the Nene, and it may be that they were made there: manufacturing centres frequently produce oddities which do not find their way into the general market. The sizes are the diameter of the main plate. 11226* has a line of enamelled petals round the curved edge which recalls Type 7 and might indicate close links between the makers of each: these may only be another product of the same manufacturing group. Distribution after 8.c.

60mm	11229
44mm	11228*
35mm	11220*
34mm	11223 11224 13250
32mm	11221–2 11225 11226*
unsized	14761

Dating: 11224 Baldock, 150–180; 14761 Castleford, 180–400.

8.b. Plate 110. A crescent with a boss on each point. Some have projections on the outer edge while one has a dagged pendant hanging from the centre of the inner edge and all have different enamelled decoration, two having rectangles and triangles mixed, another reserved lozenges on each side of a peltoid figure. The last has a vegetable form of a bud with a leaf on each side. 14761 is only one

end of a crescent. Distribution after 8.c.

6688 6885 11227 11230–1 11232* 14348

Dating: none.

8.c. Plate 110. Crescent, simple form with plain enamelling and fitted with a bilaterally sprung pin either mounted on a single pierced lug, or between a pair of these. As there are so few, no subdivisions are made in the numbering. The first one has a single dividing bar more or less concentric with the inner curve. The second has a similar single bar but it is slewed so it runs from the outer end at one point to the inner at the other. There follows a single field with three reserved spots in it. The last is a singleton with a single cell and a blob on the surviving point.

11338 / 11340 11341* / 11336 11337* / 11339

Dating: 11337* Canterbury, early 2nd century; 11338 Studland, c.120–earliest 3rd century.

Distribution: KT c DORS c WILTS a MSEX bbb HERTS a OXON a SUFF b NORF acc CAMBS aa NHANTS ac LEICS a WARKS b LINC'S ab YORKS ab NHUMB a CUMB c

Extraordinarily, three of the five 8.b known come from London.

Unclassified. Plate 110.

The first is not a regular geometric shape. The flat plate has a white metal applied plate with a repoussé figure basically in the shape of a reversed S. The spring is mounted between two pierced lugs and is guaranteed to be British. The second is an enamelled wheel.

12677* 15453*

Part 2. Continental [PL CONT]

This is the most difficult range of brooches to deal with. The variety of design is immense, principally because the workshops producing them seem to have been long-lived and to have used a whole repertoire of single elements which were combined to form a bewildering variety of designs. While it would certainly be useful to analyse the full suite of designs available, and so attempt to sort out all strands, the truth is that these Continental brooches are sufficiently uncommon in Britain for this not to be useful. It is best left to specialists on the Continent itself.

Nearly all are enamelled and many have insets of glass, small dots or millefiore. In this, one can see a reflection of a similar preference for polychrome effects found on British brooches. The dating available shows that the taste was broadly contemporary, as a review of the sections on dating below will reveal.

There is one detail which may escape the casual reader: Continental workshops very seldom used the sprung pin. That was the almost exclusive preserve of those making brooches in Britain at this time, although the hinged pin was not despised.

I have opted for a simplistic approach. One of the commonest features of these brooches is not their overall

design, although that has been, and still is, a major factor, but the use of one particular terminal; that forms the starting point for the divisions I give below. Thereafter, brooches are grouped according to particular overall designs or the range of quirks they display. I choose to begin with a highly distinctive terminal, not because it is the earliest, but because there is no logical place to put it in what I perceive to be the overall development. The logical connection running from first-century brooches to those forming the main second-century series lies with what I call here Type 2. The introductory text to that will make it clear that those which follow Type 2 owe more to that than to the aberrant group called here Type 1.

Important: The danger of dealing with these brooches is that they were not part of the initial collecting policy when the Corpus was started. Therefore the bias towards East Anglia arises because their cards were made out when a flood of metal-detected items began to arrive. The result is that the rest of the country is under-represented. Any comments on distributions must be read bearing this in mind. Even so, there may be fundamental truths, but they can only be checked by a systematic search for examples from the north and west.

1. The presence of a zoomorphic terminal which can be likened to a bird or a snake. Whichever it is supposed to be does not really matter. It has bulging eyes, usually a well defined snout and frequently markings which can be taken to be either feathers or scales.

A simple order has been imposed on these. In the beginning, typologically speaking, came those with a head reminiscent of that found on the Hod Hill (Chapter 6 part 2), then came, I have decided, those which still show a difference between the head and the foot, and lastly those which are symmetrical.

1.a1. Plate 110. The head is either rolled over to hold the axis bar of the hinged pin, or simulates that. The bow designs vary, but are basically lozenges, and first come those which retain an arched bow. Distribution after 1.a5.

8461 8466–7, 11646*

1.a2. Plate 110. The designs, either a disc or usually a triangle, directly recall Hod Hill designs (Chapter 6, Part 2). 8453* may not be British, but it is included to show what may be an early form of the head which is found on a brooch from the Welland at Stamford, 8463 in 1.a4. Distribution after 1.a5.

disc = 8464*; triangle = 8248 8251 8451–2 8453* 8458* 8470 11647 12662 14383 14387 14770–1

1.a3. Plate 110. The bow is occupied by a lozenge. Distribution after 1.a5.

8241 8454–7 8468 11653* 14388 14390 14769 14772

1.a4. Plate 110. The bow is made up of other shapes of which none is frequent. 8473 and beyond have a marked right angle at the top with fairly elaborate mouldings on the flat head. Distribution after 1.a5.

8240 8463* 8471 14389 / 8469 8473 11654*

1.a5. Plate 110. Variant with lenticular, lozenge or circular bodies provided with symmetry across both axes, sometimes the same on all four, such as 8371*, with terminals on the long axis deriving from the one which defines this type. All have a raised centre with enamel, except for 8371*, and in this owe a lot to those whose dominant feature is precisely that and are found under Type 3.

8362–4 8365* 8366–9 8370* 8371* 8372–3 8383 8386

Dating: 1.a1 none, but one from Dura Europos should date between 165 and 256 (Frisch and Toll 1949, 41, pl.9,24). 1.a2: 8248 Colchester, 2nd or 3rd century. 1.a3: 8455 Colchester, Trajanic; 8468 Shipham, 2nd century?; 8457 Chelmsford, 140–170; 8454 Camerton, before 180. 1.a4: 8240 Hockwold cum Wilton, probably 4th century. 1.a5: 8369 Harlow temple, c.120–200; 8365 Verulamium, 155–160.

The best evidence comes from 1.a3 and, if this is to be taken at face value, the type covers the second century from the beginning to c.175. The brooch from Colchester in 1.a2 is too vague to be useful while that in 1.a4 comes from a temple site and so has to be treated with considerable caution (see Chapter 11, Part 3). The two from 1.a5 support the general trend of 1.a3.

Distribution: KT 4 SUSS 45 DORS 5 WILTS 2 SOM 33 SCILLY 4555555 ESS 222335 MSEX 34 HERTS 55 BEDS 2 BERKS 5 OXON 2 GLOS 235 SUFF 345 NORF 111222334445 CAMBS 223 NHANTS 2 LINCS 4 CHESH 3

The area covered is really that of a line drawn from the Severn mouth to the Humber. The only area outside that is Cheshire, the Scilly Isles counting as part of the Severn. This is not the first time that the Scillies show an affinity with Gloucester and its hinterland, though it may be noted that the items are all of 1.a5 and this may reinforce Fulford's suggestion that the collection from there may have been the result of a shipwreck [312].

1.b. Plate 111. The head recalling that of the Hod Hill has gone. Instead there may be a variety of plates, but the chief feature is that the brooch is asymmetrical about its horizontal axis. The circle, triangle and lozenge are again found, but there are not enough to justify subdivision. Had there been, it would have followed the same categories as for Type 1, except that I have yet to note one with an arched bow. The crescent, solid or enamelled, makes its first appearance, but it need not have been applied to this group first.

8247 8249 8460 8465* 14391 14773*

Dating: none as yet

The distribution is neither here nor there except to show that it is more widespread than that of 1.a.

1.c. The brooch is now symmetrical about both axes.

1.c1. Plate 111. The commonest form has a lozenge in the middle. Distributions after 1.c3.

8211–4 8218* 8223 8228 8243 11655* 14403

1.c2. Plate 111. The circle, oval and lozenge. The last is symmetrical about both axes and consists of a

voided square set lozenge. One example, 11304, has the appropriate terminals; the other two do not, a valuable reminder that rigid divisions are not always possible. Distributions after 1.c3.

8429 8234–5 8236* 11302 11303* 11304

1.c3. Plate 111. Other shapes. Perhaps this is not a real category. For instance, 8158 with its strongly arched bow is a member of 2.3a, except for the terminals, and the same might also be said of 5204 which bears more than a passing resemblance to 2.3b while 12664 has no real home.

5204 8158 8237* 8238* 8309 12661 12665* 14394 14400–1 14775 14789 / 12664*

Dating: 1.c1: 8213 Harlow temple, c.200. 1.c2: 11303* Chichester, after early 2nd century. 1.c3: none.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 12 HANTS 12 WILTS 3 SCILLY 123 ESSEX 13 MSEX 112 HERTS 2 OXON 12 SUFF 333 NORF 12333 CAMBS 33 Lincs 3 YORKS 3

The distribution is markedly in the South East: there is one north of the Humber and none west of Oxfordshire except for one in Wiltshire and those at Nor’Nour. There may not be many, but this is still a very closely defined area for a brooch which is basically second century in period.

2. The uniting feature is the terminal in the form of a bead and real. This, as will be seen, derives from the foot-knob of the Hod Hill which may be described as a bead with a ridge across the top.

2.a. Plates 111–112. Here are the transitional brooches from the Hod Hill to the collection which belongs to the second century. These are arranged in a rough order from good imitations to those which are further removed. All, however, have most or some of the elements found on the eclectic parent (Chapter 6, Part 2). What really marks these brooches out from the parents is the use of enamel. This material was not unknown on the Hod Hill, but was restricted seemingly to what called Type 13, but it is now expected.

The series opens with an apparently disparate group which actual encompasses the last remains of true bow brooches and the beginnings of the groups which may or may not have a vestigial bow: the centre has a flat back stepped up from the terminals on which the hinged pin and catch-plates are mounted. For a good range of what the Continent has produced in this line, consult [260]. The first group defined by / and / is a distinct type and may in time deserve a clearer separation from the ruck. 8477* is perhaps the most extreme example and, with its moulded flat top, recalls sub-type 1.1d.

8162 8432* 8472 8474* 8475* 8476 8478 14379–81 12529* / 8449–50 8459* 12666* 12667 14385 15454 / 6048 8206* 8444 8447 8462* 8477* 8480 14408–9

Dating: 12529* London, 70–90/100; 8476 Tripontium, Antonine; 8206 Colchester, c.150–c.250; 8472 Richborough, c.200.

2.ax This group is very eclectic and only here because they are in essence bow brooches without a home elsewhere.

There is little point in illustrating any. None is dated, and all are metal-detector finds.

6053 12668 14382 14386 14392–3

Distribution: KT 11 DEV 1 SCILLY 111 ESSEX 11 MSEX 11 BERKS 11 OXON 1 SUFF 1111 NORF 11111xxxx CAMBS x NHANTS 1 LEICS 11 WARKS 1 NOTTS 1 YORKS x

2.b. In contrast, this group is symmetrical on both axes and the profile is a single arc with the catch-plate and hinged pin being directly behind the Hod Hill-style terminals. Distributions are given after 2.b2.

There are two varieties:

2.b1. Plate 112. In the centre is an elongated panel, usually decorated with dot-and-circle elements, with a Hod Hill-type foot-knob on each end. Above and below the centre, the bow sweeps in from the ends of the panel to the knobs at top and bottom. This brooch reflects a different origin in that it is provided with a silvery finish and often has punched dot ornament. These may ultimately have come from the first form of Type 20 below.

8180–3 8183 8203 11325 11671* 12670–1 14404–7 14784–5

2.b2. Plate 112. The panel is usually filled with enamel and the swept top and bottom are more deliberately formed on the bead-and-reel model and are thinner. In profile, the single curve is becoming altered to suit the moulded front. 8175* is of interest when read with 8176*. The latter has punched dots which, in the former, have become the cross-cut ridges typical of so many continental brooches of the second century. Others here have cross-cut edges on the panels and this is again another major trait.

8174 8175* 8176* 8177–9 8204

Dating: 2.b1, none. 2.b2, 8177 Chichester, 44–Flavian; 8204 Verulamium, 155–160.

Distribution: SUSS 2 HANTS 1 WILTS 2 SCILLY 12 ESSEX 2 HERTS 22 SUFF 1 NORF 11111111112 CAMBS 1

All of 2.b1, save for four, come from East Anglia. As they have silvered fronts and no enamel, it may be that they belong to the aftermath of Boudicca’s Rebellion. In which case, they should be from c.61/2, and predate the enamelled example from Chichester which should be no earlier than late Flavian. As for 2.b2, these are definitely south eastern, one from Wiltshire marking the limit there, apart of course from Nor’Nour, and are much more restricted than the brooches of 1.3.

2.c. Here the basic definition is the same as for 2.b, but the terminals are upright and the panel forming the bow is rectangular. There are four versions which become more devolved. Distributions given after 2.c4.

2.c1. Plate 112. With a ridge on each side, save perhaps for 8153, this is divided into three horizontal panels, the outer repeating each other. Here, niello and enamel can be mixed and cross-cutting with beading may also be found;

11672* should be an early example, with a silvered finish and small cells for enamel. 14415* is a valuable reminder that division into types on an ornamental trait is not a secure one: this brooch should be, according to the criteria used, in Type 1.

8153–6 8157* 8160* 8165 8194 11672* 12674 14396 14415*

2.c2. *Supplementary Plate 1.* This clearly related to the last and, as the bilateral spring shows, is really British. The ridges on each side are not obligatory, the sides are curved and the outer parts are stepped. Along with this, the terminals are thin and may be elongated; the lower limbs of 8168 and 6036* are very long making them look very much like a proper bow brooch.

6036*6590 8163 8168 8169–71 8172* 8173 12672 14416 14783

2.c3. *Plate 112.* A catch-all category, this group of brooches is basically like those above but not with any marked cohesion. In general they are like 2.3a but are square or horizontal rather than vertically arranged. Their disparity suggests that they were never common, and 8242 and 8245 are almost as far as one can go and still place them here.

8159 8161* 8164 8202* 8205 8242 8245

2.c4. *Plate 112.* The panel is now flat, basically square with a deep flute down each side and a small horizontal wing at each corner. The centre is usually a single enamel cell and there are cross-cut borders. The moulded terminals are bead-and-reel and thin.

8189–1 8192* 8193 8195 8197 8199–200 14790 15484

Dating: 2.c1, 8154 Caerleon, 110–140; 8194 Axminster, 225–mid-4th century. 2.c2, 8170 Caerleon, Hadrianic–Antonine; 8171 Verulamium, 270–310. 2.c3, none, except that one came from Dura Europos and so dates 165–256 (Frisch and Toll 1949, 41, pl. 9,27). 2.cd, none.

Basically second century, none need have remained in use until the end.

Those of 2.3c with no enamel or very small cells are probably later first century at least.

Distribution: KT 13444 SUSS 1 HANTS 12 DORS 24 WILTS 1 SOM 2 DEV 1 SCILLY 444 MSEX 1 HERTS 122 OXON 22 GLOS 22 SUFF 1333 NORF 1113344 CAMBS 134 NHANTS 2 WALES 122 Lincs 1

Treating them all as a single group, and ignoring Nor'Nour, none is north of the Wash, none is of the South West, although some come from Caerleon; none is from the Midlands Plain or west or north of that. Those from Nor'Nour all belong to 2.c4.

2.d1. *Plate 112.* The panel is now a lozenge, the /// define groups. The first sometimes has stepped centre and usually wings ending in a boss on each side, the next a small lozenge which may not be stepped, and the third has a flat face and is often divided down or across the middle either by an enamelled strip between two triangular ones, or by a sunken beaded ridge. 8201 belongs here but the triangles are subservient to the central feature. The last group has

trilobite main terminals. Distributions given after 2.d2.

8215* 8217 8220 8224 8225* 11648 11657 12659 14399 / 2882 8216 8221 8226* 8232 11656* 14402 / 8201 8227 8229* 8230 8384–5 11652 12673 12679 / 8219* 8231 8233

2.d2. *Plate 113.* Basically, all have small incuse decoration most often recalling a holly or similar leaf. Their form is usually equal-armed, commonly with a small centre.

8185 11315 14335 14336* 14337* 14338*

2.dx. oddments 8196

Dating: 2.d: none.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 DORS 1 WILTS 11 SCILLY 111x ESSEX 2 MSEX 1 OXON 11 GLOS 11 SUFF 12222 NORF 1111111112 NHANTS 1

There is a general lack north west of a line drawn from the Wash to the mid Severn and west of that. One might suspect that these and other brooches are only entering the country from the area around the mouth of the Rhine: coastal trade to the east coast of East Anglia and sporadically elsewhere. With no penetration of the Irish Sea or of the Humber, and only a little of the Wash. However, bear in mind the warning about distributions at the head of this section. 2.d2 seemingly only comes from East Anglia.

2.e. There is a general relationship between what follows here and what has gone before. The chief features are the bead-and-reel terminals sweeping out from a pair of fluted cross-arms with cross-cut borders. The distributions are given after 2.e5.

2.e1. *Plate 113.* This has a square between the arms, occasionally stepped, often flat. 8261 has a wavy ridge lying in the flute.

6050 8184 8259–63 8264* 8265–6 8268

2.e2. *Plate 113.* The square is replaced by a circle, while the mouldings on the cross-arms are more frequently cross-cut and elaborated. 8257 is British as the silvery sheet metal trim and the lug for the spring demonstrate. The undecorated cross members of 8255 and 14413 suggest that they once had the same kind of applied ornament.

8253–6 8257* 8258 8272 8274 14413

2.e3. *Plate 113.* The circle is now a lozenge, and a wavy line down the flute of the cross-bar now seems to be the norm.

8269–70 8271*

2.e4. *Plate 113.* With these, one might imagine that the price to the client had gone up. All are recognizably of this group, but there is no standard: the first two have a square with a circular stud and enamelled triangles on either end, the third and fourth a square boss and a semicircle on each end. Thereafter, some have the cross-arms, but may only have a horizontal stress. An example from Rheingönheim demonstrates that there was no real limit to what could be done. At the top is a voided circle with rays, at the bottom

a decorated circular plate with added roundels ([260], 87 *Taf.* 9,3.I.50). 8273 unites two other features of the eclectic school which will be appearing in the definition of various sub-groups, namely the enamelled crescent at one end and the voided triangle with roundels at the other. In this instance, however, the simple geometric form in the middle has been replaced by an enamelled plate with concave sides. 8306* and the two following are further removed; they have the triangles, with roundels, but the centre is now a protuberant quintuple moulded element.

8273 8275 8292 8306* 8329* 11659* 11661 11670* 14412 14419 14788

2.e5. Plate 113. Placed here as it resembles a terminal element of the last group, the brooch is now a triangle with bead-and-reel terminals top and bottom. The details are not immutable; the last one has a loop at the top instead of the bead-and-reel.

8433–4 8435*

Dating: 2.e1, none. 2.e2: 8274 Canterbury, late 1st century; 8256 Verulamium, 155–60; 8258 Stonea, early 3rd century. 2.e3, none. 2.e4, 11659* Gorhambury, late Roman? 2.e5, none.

Nothing useful emerges save for the hint that this group had evolved by 100.

Distribution: KT 124 SUSS 2 SURR 4 DORS 4 WILTS 5 SCILLY 11111111333 ESSEX 2 HERTS 24 OXON 22 GLOS 15 NORF 444445 CAMBS 1244 NHANTS 2 NOTTS 2

Clearly 2.e1 formed part of the suite at Nor'Nour possibly from a ship wreck [312]. 2.e2 was much more widely disseminated and it may be that examples of 2.e1 were always more difficult to come by. 2.e3 only occurs at Nor'Nour as far as my records go. At present, 2.e4 is, apart from a showing on the south coast, confined to East Anglia and the nearest parts to the west.

3. These have no overall character, except for their sheer eclecticism. The groupings below are purely for convenience, but any other set of criteria could have been chosen with equal effectiveness. Although some categories have what may seem to be alarmingly few examples to justify such a division, there are continental examples which bulk them out and are not listed here. In 3.a, 8250*, has the enamelled crescent which appears in many groups. The distributions are given after 3.x.

3.a. Plate 113. There is a prominent D, or an arc greater than a D, shape, either solid or voided.

7830 8250* 8289–90 8291* 8296 8298 14776*

3.b. Plate 113. The chief features are a circle and pendant triangle sometimes combined into a single shape. 8293 has an enamelled crescent.

8283 8285* 8293 8294* 8295 8302 8443 14777

3.x. Plates 113–114. Oddments, and like 3.1 and 3.2, not all obeying the fundamental definition. They do not really

form a separate group and they could be placed with other groups such as those with stepped bosses, where indeed they would be equally out of place. 8299*, voided rayed circle over pentangular plate and boss; 8288 a version of the rayed circle over a circular plate and boss; 8252 a terminal with an enamelled crescent. 7567 is only a terminal, but the signs are that it had been symmetrical.

7567 8287–8 8252 8297 8282 8299* 8300 8323* 8327–8 14395*

Dating: 3.a, 8298 Colchester, before 275/300; 14776* Kingscote, 353–60. 3.b, 8294* Amersham 225–250. 3.x, 8327, Canterbury 270–290.

Three are third century with an emphasis on the end, and one is after 350 and so must be residual, and the first three ought to be as well.

Distribution: KT aax SUSS xx HANTS ab WILTS b DEV x ESSEX a MSEX x BERKS bb OXON x GLOS a BEDS b SUFF axxx NORF b CAMBS xx LEICS a DERBS x NHUMB b

The so-called Military Zone, that is Wales, England basically north of the Humber-Dee line and the Military North is very badly represented by 3.a and 3.b. In fact, they are not there in any real sense. As for 3.x, as befits a collection of oddments, they are typically almost everywhere.

4. Complex forms, all symmetrical about both axes save for 4.x, sometimes equally so with geometric centres, sometimes combined with four or two others, tricked out with roundels and, 11662*, with voided rayed circles. 8315 is badly damaged but suits 8313 very well. A feature of the group is that its members are on average larger than ordinary brooches. Therefore, it is easy to see why there is so little duplication amongst the examples gathered here: each would probably have been a special purchase. The distributions are given after 4.x.

4.a. Plate 114. Simple, round, frequently with simple additions or fancy borders.

8387 8388* 8389–90 8391* 8392–5 10985 11247 11238–9 11938 12071 12647 14345* 14346 14760

4.b. Plate 114. Elaborate. 8438 is unusual; it has an inscription reading possibly [A]MAME, love me (RIB 2421.1). 7612*, Supplementary Plate 1, has an elaborate extra plate mounted on it.

7612* 8305 8310* 8311 8313–5 8316* 8317–8 8324 8438 11662* 12678*

4.c. Plate 114. Very elaborate, multiple shapes arranged round a voided centre or round another geometric shape, none attempting to indicate an axis between the pin-fixing and the catch-plate.

15485* 15486–8 15489* 15490 15491* 15492

4.x. Plate 114. Complex forms but without symmetry, very probably a holding category.

12675* 12676

Dating: 4.a, 11238 Baldock, 120–150; 8394 Braughing, 150–200; 8390 Cramond, c.140–c.200; 10985 Catterick, later 2nd century–early 3rd century; 8393 Nettleton, 4th century. 4.b, 8315 Newstead, c.80–c.200. 4.c, 15491* Castleford, 140–180; 15486 Camelon, 140–165; 15492 Castleford, c.180–400.

Distribution: KT a HANTS ab WILTS ax SOM a SCILLY aabb ESSEX a HERTS aa GLOS bc SUFF c NORF aaabbbbcx LEICS a WARKS a WORCS b WALES b DERBS c SALOP b YKS aaacc DUR b NHUMB a SCOT abcc

A fair scatter, but with enough in the north, including Scotland, to point to a good second century *floruit*. This is supported by the few dated examples. One may note that 4.c is perhaps more popular in the rude north than in the south, perhaps a liking for large size coupled with lots of colour. This is the first group in Part 2 not to have a restricted distribution.

5. The Dolphin Workshop. A set of designs united by some or all having a separately cast dolphin in full relief riveted through the centre of the plate, a large part of one surviving on 8280. These brooches are large and enamelled. The commonest design has a circular centre with, top and bottom, two almost adorsed crescents on either side of an enamelled cell and topped with a circular cell rising from a flat pedestal: 5.a below. There are other designs seemingly not yet published from Britain, but which should be allowed for: 5.c–d.

5.a. Plate 115. As defined above.

7838 8277 8279–80 11660* 11669*

5.b. Plate 115. A circular plate with an enamelled field having reserved figures of four squares with semicircles on each face and an open circle between.

8281*

5.c. A circular plate like the last, this is a member of Feugère's Type 27c ([270], 368, pl. 154, 1936), there are six voided circles and the enamelled field has two main colours and inset glass rings. None has come to the notice of the writer.

5.d. This is also a member of Feugère's Type 27c (*ibid.*, 368, pl. 154, 1934), the circular plate has four equally spaced lenticular figures radiating from the centre with an open circle between. This specimen has sections of millefiore set in the enamel. None has come to the notice of the writer.

5.e. A fifth design, this time a figure consisting of four circles joined by bars having an enamelled centre ([689], 134, *Abb*, 5, 3): no British example has so far come my way.

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT a SCILLY a NORF aa NHANTS a NHUMB a

6. Lozenge-shaped and stepped, there is enamel set in the top and the edges of the brooch and each step is cross-cut. Distributions given after 6.x.

6.a. Plate 115. There are occasionally roundels attached to the points and sometimes on the sides. The // indicate sub-groups none of which warrants a special designation. The first batch is plain, the second has the roundels, the third contains some oddities: 8339 and 8342 are large, hence an elaborate enamelled pattern; 8340–1 11651* have studs in the middle; 8347–8 8353 8383 have aberrations as attachments and 11645* a bird's or a snake's head which would qualify it for Type 1, but the head is not standard and it really has no place there.

3692 8330* 8331–4 8338 11658 12660 / 8335–7 8343–6 8349–50 8351* 11649 12658 14356 14359 14763 / 8339–42 8347–8 8353 8376 11645* 11651* 14357–8 14360–1 14765

6.b. Plate 115. Basically the same as 6.a, but the edge is now a continuous border pierced by circular holes and given a scalloped edge. Occasionally there are small spikes between each scallop.

8354–7 8358* 8359–60

6.x. Plate 115. A clutch of variants on the previous two, basically round or hexagonal, there are hardly enough to make separate categories. The round ones come first and, after /, the others.

8377–9 8380* 8381–2 / 8301 8399 8412 11650 11665* 14367* 14397 14764

Dating: 6.a: 8350 Canterbury, 170–200; 8330* Exeter, late 3rd–early 4th century. 6.b: 8360 Chichester, later 2nd century.

6.x: none.

Nothing definite emerges. In ordinary circumstances, one would assign these brooches to the second century, but they may be later in the century.

Distribution: KT aaaa SUSS b SURR a HANTS a DORS b WILTS axx SOM a DEV a SCILLY aaaaaabxx ESSEX a HERTS bb BUCKS ax OXON a GLOS bbx SUFF aaxxx NORF aaaaaaaaaaaaaaxxx CAMBS ax YORKS x NHUMB aa

Taken as a whole, most of southern England seems to be covered. However, there is a general lack in Wales, the Marches and north of a line from the Wash to the lower Severn valley: almost as though the Fosse Way acted as some form of barrier.

7. Uncommon in Britain, their occurrence may well be rare examples of brooches belonging almost exclusively to the military. At its simplest form it is a flat plate in a simple shape which might easily be imagined to be some kind of badge.

A purely typological view would place the plain flat ones before the ones moulded in relief. This may be a mistake, but three "typological stages" can be seen. Firstly, the flat plate represented by 8413 and its fellow and of

which the "S" ([309], 63 pl. 16, 126, 128, 130, 132–3) becomes important. All three British examples are of the same design. Secondly, signs of some plastic feeling in the simple form, 8147* 8148. 11342 and 11344* may be rectilinear, but the arms are nicely chamfered, and both are a version of 11343. Thirdly, moulded in relief, the designs are occasionally remarkably reminiscent of the Late pre-Roman Iron Age in their use of the trumpet motif and it is here that the S design reappears (*ibid.*, 64, pl. 16, 136). However, the trumpet is used in other ways as well: 11664*.

The elongated spring on 11344* is much more than would be expected on a British brooch, and may point to a German one. 8152 has a lug with two holes for a sprung-pin which may have been a double spring which is a habit associated with the lands beyond the German frontier. There is a very strong chance that these brooches represent the military alone. Distribution of all after 7.c.

7.a. *Plate 115*. Flat forms.

8413–4 8415* 11343 14704 14340*

7.b. *Plate 115*. Some shaping. 3674 is in the form of a penannular in the form of an omega, but this one is fitted with a catch-plate and a single lug for a spring.

3674 8147* 8148 8152 11342 11344*

7.c. *Plate 115*. Fully moulded, those after / have pelta heads mounted on a stem and the whole is reminiscent of the great papal ostrich fans.

8149–51 11664* 12683 14341 14918 / 11345 11346* 11347

Dating: 7a 8415* Winchester, 140–200; 7b, none; 7c, none.

There are others from Dura Europos which belong to 7.a (*ibid.*, pl. 16, 144, 146–7, 149, 151–2) and such a relatively large number points surely to the occupation there, 165–256, covering much of the *floruit* of that group at least.

Distribution: KT c SUSS a HANTS aa SOM a SCILLY a BRKS b NORF bc CAMBS c NHANTS c WALES bc DERBS b DUR cc CUMB a NHUMB bcc SCOT b

8. These are all simple shapes which are covered by one cell for enamel which, where it can be seen, consists mainly of millefiore set in enamel. The enamel may have been used as a kind of glue for millefiore all over, but may also provide a field for sections of millefiore or small pieces of different coloured frit. Distributions after 8.b2.

They are divided by shape of plate. They all appear to have hinged pins, although the tendency in published reports is not to mention the pin at all. This should mean that the type is continental. They were made in a variety of sizes and, as might be expected, the median one is the most frequent.

8.a. *Plate 116*. Round.

11060–3 11064* 11065–11071 11072* 11073 11075–6 11893 12236 12586 12646 13182

38mm	11075 12586
34mm	11071
32mm	11061 13182
28mm	11069–70
26mm	11062–3 11065–6 11072* (Supplementary Plate 1) 11076 11893
24mm	11060 11073
23mm	12236
22mm	12646
20mm	11064* 11067
17.5mm	11068

Dating: 11064* Colchester 150–300?

8.b. Lozenge, so called because the axis of the pin is from corner to corner. Most are elongated on the same axis, 8.2a, while others are in effect square, 8.2b.

8.b1. *Plate 116*. None recorded has any enamel left in a sufficiently good state for the design to be made out, only 11077 retains a trace of a dividing line between two elements parallel with one side. However 6588–9 11310* shows that there is also a group with an applied repoussé plate, and these may belong to the earlier part of the *floruit* of 8.2. Those after / have a flange.

6588–9 11077–8 11079* 11080–2 11310* 11639 12657 14753–4 / 11309* 11316 11319

8.b2. *Plate 116*. Square set lozenge.

6494 11074* 11083–4 11640* 11641 12656 14354

8.c. *Plate 116*. These are rectangular. 11296* has decoration but it is not described although there were apparently traces of enamel. 11293 also had traces of what appeared to be relief moulding and this was in the paste inset.

11293* 11294–5 11296*

Dating: 8.b1 11082 Nettleton, with 1st and 2nd century pottery; 11077 Alcester, mid-late 4th century; 11309* Barnsley Park, after 350. 8.b2 : 11083 Dorchester, 1st to 4th century; 11074* Colchester, 250–300. 8.c 11296* Housesteads, early 2nd century?

Distribution: KT a2c DORS 2 WILTS a1 SOM 1 SCILLY a112 ESSEX a2 MSEX a BERKS 1 BUCKS 1? OXON a GLOS 11111c SUFF a NORF aaa12222 CAMBS aaaa1 NHANTS a1 WARKS a1 Lincs a SALOP 1 CHESH c YORKS aa DUR a NHUMB ac

These seem to be widespread in southern England but Wales, the Marches and the north generally south of Hadrian's Wall appear to be poorly represented..

9. These are all circular, enamelled in rings, frequently with millefiore, and all have or had upstanding separately-made, studs riveted through the middle. They are divided, after 9.a, more by the position of a band of beading than by whether there are projections round the outside. Right at the outset, there is 11025* which has no annulus of enamel, but four insets of black and white chequered millefiore. The stud provides the essential link and it may be that this is an early brooch in the group.

One word of caution: separately-made enamelled studs are not new. They were to be found on some of the late Rosettes (Chapter 2 Part 2, Type 8). What is not known yet is if there was any real connection between the habit then and the habit as it appears here. As for decoration other than the enamel, stud and the use of beaded bands, the edges of the plates were almost always cross-cut, even if it was either worn away or missed by illustrators. Distributions after 9.b.

9.a. Plate 116. No beaded band, sometimes with a loop and occasionally, all those after / with projecting knobs or enamelled studs. The coloured decoration is often all or part millefiore, but sections of glass rod may also be used either as single coloured spots or plain annuli. 14759 in the first group has a flange with circular stamps of two different sizes alternating.

6974* 10982 10990–2 11009 11011 11013–7 11022 11025* 11551 11642 13230 13241 14363* 14759 / 11040 11041* 11044 11046 11236 15000

Dating: 14759 Castleford, 71/4–86; 15000 Silchester, 80–125; 10991 Verulamium, late 1st century, deposited after 96; 10992 Wroxeter, before mid–2nd century; 11022 Buxton, late 1st–?early 3rd century; 6974* Wroxeter, late 2nd century–pre-270.

The one from Castleford may be intrusive as its date seems a little early. The normal range is second century possibly into the third.

9.b. Plate 116. A beaded band placed on the main face of the plate, next to the border in the first group given here, then between two enamelled zones in the second group, and finally around the base of the central stud. The three groups are separated one from another by /.

10989 10993 11020–1 11026 11036–7 11042* 11043 11045 / 10883 10986–8 10994–6 10997* 11643 14755 / 11038*

Dating: 11043 Nettleton, ?250–400?; 10989 Camerton, 300–380.

Distribution: KT aabb HANTS abb DORS aa WILTS abb SOM b SCILLY aa ESSEX a HERTS a GLOS abb SUFF ab NORF aaaabbbb NHANTS b WALES b LINCS a DBS a SALOP aaa YORKS abb CUMB a NHUMB abb

Basically, the type in both forms was to be seen in most parts of Roman Britain.

10. Plate 116. This and the next two groups are minor, if distinct, types placed here because of the possibility that they were made in conjunction with the previous two types. There is a single annulus of enamel laid in sections, or with frit blobs, around a large hole.

3566* 8426 10758 11237 11248 11252 11253 12061 12681

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 DORS 1 SCILLY 1 ESSEX 1 OXON 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 SALOP 1

Coastal from East Anglia to Nor'nour in the Isles of Scilly, perhaps with some penetration up the Severn.

11. Plate 116. Circular with one or more enamelled annuli round a central cell. Again, millefiore and bits of glass rod are to be expected.

10621 10981 10983–4 10998* 11000

Dating: 10984 Camelon, 140–165.

Distribution: KT 1 SCILLY 11 HERTS 1 SALOP 1 SCOT 1 Thin, with two from the Scilly Isles, little more can be said.

12. Plate 116 and Supplementary Plate 1. A very small group of plain round brooches which have subjects other than annuli, here for instance is a leaf, a heart and abstracts. The heart, 10630*, comes from an 18th century account and it might be that it had been in reality a leaf like that of 10631*.

10629 10630* 10631* 11241

Dating: 10631 Newstead, c.80–c.200.

Distribution: not enough even for an impression.

13. Essentially a wheel, the commonest form, 13.a, has four spokes, a stud in the middle and the ring is a broad band with a ridge on each side. The surface between the ridges may have an arris running round it, or be flat, or, apparently, be pulvinated. The brooches assigned to 13.b are not so regular.

13.a. Plate 117. These are the ones as defined above.

11047–49 11050* 11051 11054 11055* 11056 11598

Dating: 11054–5 Buxton, late 1st–early 2nd century.

Distribution: ESSEX 1 OXON 11 GLOS 11 NORF 1 DERBS 11 SALOP 1 CHESH 1 NHUMB 1

None so far from south of the Thames.

13.b. Plate 117. These have different designs; the first, 11059*, has four spokes and punched dot decoration in the rim and projections; then comes a six-spoked brooch with enamel round the rim and, again projections; the next design has a flute round the rim. A mixed bag not worth sub-dividing.

11059* / 11058 11090* / 11088–9 / 12649*

Dating: 11089 Housesteads, 4th century.

Distribution: KT 1 GLOS 1 CAMBS 1 NHUMB 11

No comment.

14. Plate 117. A small group which has a flute running around either the outside of the plate or round the base of a stud. There are elements which come from obviously the same workshops, but nothing to suggest that all could have come from the same one.

10966* 10971–2 12091 / 10980 11243* 11254–6 11259* 14343–4

Dating: 10972 Baldock, 70–90.

Distribution: SCILLY 1 HERTS 1 GLOS 111 HERE 1 NORF 111 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 SALOP 1

So far, none comes from north of the Humber-Dee line, and nothing to suggest that there was any direction in their spread.

15. *Plate 117*. With pulvinated outer border between ridges, there is a concave-sided circular cone riveted through the middle. The cone does not survive that often, but the hole for it appears, so much so that when it does not appear on an illustration, such as 10978, one knows that the illustrator missed it.

10974* 10975–8 12643

Dating: 10975 Fishbourne, 43–c.75; 10977 Chichester, 43–mid 2nd century; 10976 Wroxeter, Flavian; 10978 Leicester, late 2nd century.

The dating is remarkably copious, considering how few are really known. There should be little doubt that it really belongs to the first century and may only run to c.80.

Distribution: SUSS 11 LEICS 1 Lincs 1 SALOP 11

Again. All south of the Humber-Dee line.

16. *Plate 117*. With bosses and margins, a loose heading under which is gathered the products from more than one workshop. The unifying features are the presence of a boss and a one zone margin around that. The first group has a flat plate with a small cone bearing a boss:

11023* 11024* 11027–9 11596 * 11597 14747 14811–2

Dating: effectively none.

The next group has a bun-like boss with a spike:

11030–1 11592* 11593

Dating: none.

The following have a steep cone with ridges:

11034 11035* 14365* 15358

Dating: 11035 Highstead, 50–150; 11034 Winchester, 70–100.

These may well belong to the last group, but were so poorly illustrated that the matter remains in doubt.

11018–9

Dating: 11018–9 come from Cappuck, 140–196?

Finally those with more complex profiles. 8419* has an extension for the catch-plate and a smaller one for the two pierced lugs for the hinged pin.

8419* 11032* 11033

Dating: 11034 Winchester, 70–100; 11035 Highstead, 50–150.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 11 DORS 1 SOM 1 ESSEX 1 HRTS 1 EA 1 NORF 111111 NHANTS 111 Lincs 11 NHUMB 1 SCOT 11

For as much as it is worth for such a disparate group, it is only the east side of Britain from Kent to Scotland which is favoured.

17. Here two, three or four circles are combined to produce duos, trios and quartets. In fact the duos are a distinct type and come first.

17.a. *Plate 117*. The two discs are joined at a point on their periphery and each disc has or had a small stud with, in the middle, a raised border, either with a flute or

a rounded band. The last one here differs in having a pair of cross-mouldings between the discs.

11261–2 11263* 11264* 11265 15353

Dating: 11263* Harlow temple, before 80; 15353 Silchester, 80–125.

17.b. *Plate 118*. These are usually enamelled and of more than two circles, often with a reserved spot in the middle of each disc and in the space between these. 11271 has millefiore. Some have hinged pins and others the British bilateral spring. They are not common. The / separates the three-disc ones from those with four. 14374* has no enamel and is finished in a silvery wash.

11039 11267 11268* 14374* 14758 / 10447 11269 11270* 11271–2 14352–3

Dating: none.

Distribution: HANTS ab SCILLY b ESSEX aa HERTS a GLOS aab SUFF bb NORF bbbb Lincs bb YORKS b

17.a is south and west in occurrence, whilst 17.b is essentially east and north.

18. Divided into two, the first group is the main one.

18.a. *Plate 118*. A pronounced central roundel with four oval projections each on a main axis, the proportions are such that the centre looks small. Enamelling occurs on the projections but is not essential on the centre. 11275* has a human head on the central boss.

11273–4 11275* 11276* 11277 11673 14429

Dating: 11276* Worcester, medieval.

18.b. *Plate 118*. These adhere to the same principles, but are flat.

11278 11280* 11281 11284–5 11286*

Dating: 11281 Baldock, 90–120.

18.var. *Plate 118*. In 11282* the terminals are prominent and the centre is voided, 11283* is different again in being an equal armed cross with the same decoration in the middle and on the arms.

11282* 11283*

Dating: none.

Distribution: HANTS avar WILTS ab SOM b SCILLY ab HERTS b GLOS abb WORCS a WALES a

Distribution: all are basically southern with perhaps a western bias.

19. The plate has large concave arcs around its periphery.

19.a. *Plate 118*. The main version has six of these and may have circles on the end. Most are enamelled, but the first has a large boss. The latter may be an early version, enamelling being introduced later and so changing the form of the centre, but there are not enough examples to show that this had been the case.

5578* 11250* 11287–90

Dating: 11287 Cirencester, 350–375.

19.b. Plate 118. The rest obey the basic principle, but are not obviously part of 19.a.

11292 11611* 11260 14779

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT a SCILLY aa MSEX b GLOS a NORF aabb

None, seemingly from north of the Humber-Dee line.

20. The Bifurcated Terminal Not necessarily a catchy name, but once comprehended, never missed. The point is well made with the first and largest category. Other major unifying features are the recess in the middle with a hole for a small stud, which hardly ever survives, and a fondness for punched dot decoration, frequently forming curving tendrils and part *rinceau*. All had a silvery finish and many had niello as well.

The only purely animal form known at present is 14445* (Plate 126) given here in Part 3 of this Chapter under doves, 4.c. Its association with this school is shown by the recesses on the wings.

The real difficulty with this basically easily recognizable family is the seemingly large range of variations. It is not practical to identify each change as a new type. The example of 20.3 below makes this point. However, the brooches have to be grouped and perhaps the best way is to take a basic characteristic and stick to that. There is no problem with some of the divisions, 20.4 for instance, but the temptation to over sub-divide because it is only a matter of time before more examples appear is in the end self-defeating: 25 single examples = 25 varieties leads to nonsense. Therefore, many of the categories below end with an .x grouping which will encompass many of these embarrassing singletons.

Distribution after 20.y.

20.1. Plate 118. Elongated concave-sided lozenge whose long axis has a bifurcated terminal: a groove runs along the centre line for a short distance, the outer edges sweep out to the end to turn and form a small rounded projection on each side of the groove. The short axis has a small rounded projection. In the centre is a circular recess with the hole for the stud and there is a ridge on the base of the recess near its edge which is frequently marked with what is intended to be beading.

11355–67 11368* 11369–73 14305 14312

Dating: 11372 Hod Hill, c.44–50; 11370 Colchester, 49–60/61; 11371 Waddon Hill, c.50–60; 11356 Braughing, 100–150; 11362 Chichester, late 3rd–early 4th century.

20.2. Plate 118. Like the last but the arms are equal in length. On 11376* the terminals are more elaborate and there is walked-scorper ornament. On 11380 and 14730* the arms curl outwards in an exaggerated fashion and have circles stamped on their ends. Both 14727 and 14730* still have their central studs, each of iron with a small cup, the first with a blue glass bead.

11374 11375* 11376* 11377–80 11634 14727 14730* 14815 14999

Dating: 11380 Hod Hill, before 50; 11376* Braughing, 45–150; 14999 Silchester, 50/60–80; 11379 Richborough, pre-Flavian; 14730* Castleford, 71/4–86.

20.3. The plate is crescent-shaped with the bifurcated terminals on the points and three small projections equally spaced around the outer curve. The circular recess with its annular moulding is also present. There are sub-varieties.

20.3a. Plate 118. The primary form as defined above. Minor variations may be noted: 11383–4 have a semicircular projection in the middle of the inner curve; 11384 once had pierced discs on the points; 11385 had plain points and an incised line round the outer border

6968 7293 11381–7 11388* 11389–90 14729

20.3b. Plate 118. There is a double curved bar joining the two points and a projection from the middle of the inner curve, the only bifurcation being on the centre point.

11391 11392* 11393 14726

20.3c. The points of the crescent curl in and down and touch, each one having a circular stamp on the end.

11394*

20.3d. Plate 119. The projection in the middle of the inner curve develops into a wide and plain bifurcation without the groove.

11395*

20.3x. Plate 119. The crescent is the chief feature and each of these has attached to the centre of the outer border an extension, a human figure on 11429* and what may be intended to be an oak leaf on 11430*. 14309* is a more elaborate version of 20.3d than will conveniently fit there.

11429 11430* 14309*

Dating for all varieties: 11388* Bagendon 20/25–43/5; 11389 11390 11392* Colchester 49–60/1; 11393 Colchester 60+; 14729* Broxtowe c.60–70/5.

20.4. Plate 119. Radiating from the usual circular recess are six feathers alternating with six circular recesses, smaller than the central one and lacking the beaded moulding. Each of the recesses once had a turned bone boss riveted through it. Those in the peripheral recesses tended to be bun-shaped, but the middle one frequently sported a concave-side cone within a bordering ridge. The plate is shaped to suit the points of the leaves and the outer edges of the arcs between.

10162 11012 11435–9 11440* 12652–4 14304

Dating: none.

20.4x. Plate 119. The system has broken down on 11434* which has four arcs round a small hole with, on the major axis, a feather and on the minor one a smaller arc with a smaller hole. There is punched dot ornament. The others are even further removed, but they all once had four subordinate bone bosses. 11424 is a plain round disc

with recessed for just the four bosses and a voided vesica in place of the feathers.

11434* / 11635* 12651 14731 / 11425* 14313 / 11424

Dating: 14731 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 11425* Chichester, ?2nd century–early 3rd.

20.5. Plate 119. All are circular and all have a circular recess in the middle surrounded by voided vesicas filling out the inner border of the containing ring. Almost all have four vesicas, the others are gathered in 20.5x. The only decoration, apart from the recess and what it contained, seems to be incised borders on the broad ring. 11422 is said to have niello rings. Several have small projections round the outer edge.

11057 11085–6 11415–6 11418* 11419–22 11766 14743

Dating: 11085 Hod Hill, c.43–50; 11415 Colchester, 43/4–48; 11422 Lockleys, Claudian; 11086 Waddon Hill, c.50–60; 11421 Longthorpe, Claudian–Neronian; 11420 Wroxeter, Flavian; 11419 Colchester, before 150.

It is very rare for so many of one kind of brooch to be dated, and to yield such a close range: from the conquest to say 70–75? However, 11057 from near Newcastle on Tyne gives pause for thought.

20.5x. Plate 119. 11417* has five vesicas; 11423* has the inner edges of the vesicas as bars each joined to the round central element by a short arm.

11417* 11423*

Dating: none.

20.6. Plate 119. These are all round; they have no holes and only occasionally minor projections. They all have the central recess and some have decoration other than an incised line round the outer border: 11426* has punched-dot decoration; 11427 has niello and 11397* has the same but neatly arranged as a wreath. 11249 may not belong, but it has the right characteristics.

11235 11397* 11398* 11399–402 11403* 11422 11426* 11427 14306 14308 14732 / 11249

Dating: 11402 Colchester, 43/4–48; 11235 Fishbourne, 43–c.75; 14732 Castleford, 71/4–86; 11399 Colchester, before 100/150.

20.6x. Plates 119–120. All have what might be called frilly edges: the borders are completely wavy or are surrounded by concave arcs, or, in the case of 11413*, a series of large V-shaped projections. All are recognizably of this family, even if few close parallels are to be found. Various close relatives are divided from others by /. 11441* probably has a green-stained bone boss.

11404 11405* / 11414 11428* / 11413* 11441*

Dating: 11441* Colchester, before 100.

20.7. Plate 120. A combination of 20.1 with 20.5 so that there is a single terminal issuing from the circle.

20.7a. Here there is a series of decorative straight lines across the base of the terminal. Any projections are simple. The basic form is that of a Roman lamp.

11406–8 11637* 14728

Dating: 11407 Hod Hill 43–c.50.

20.7b. Plate 120. The circle is complete and the terminal has a little step next to it. In addition there are now projections, each of which is V-shaped.

11409* 11410* 11411 14733

Dating: none.

20.7x. Like the last but the terminal has been replaced by a weak and badly formed fantail.

11431

Dating: none.

20.x. Plate 120. An *olla podrida*. Those not illustrated are described briefly: 6155 is a triangle with small bosses on the points and a small hole; 7502 is a closed crescent with circular protrusions and bone bosses; 11412 a circular plate with V-shaped projections and grooves round a central recess. 11432 is a plain circle with the central recess and the remains of a cross-moulded terminal top and bottom. 14307 is a member of 20.6 but four V-shaped projections. 14303*, Supplementary Plate 1, is essentially a pelta with inturned arms, no circular recess and with a leaf-like projection like 11430 in 20.3x.

6155 7502 11433* 11412 11432 11443* 12650* 14303* 14307 14310* 14311*

Dating: 11432 Bancroft mausoleum, early/mid 1st century to late 1st.

20.y. Plate 120. These round brooches have no overt features which mean that they must be part of this family, but the possibility is strong enough for them to be added as a pendant to the main series. 11396 possibly round, concentric incised lines round what is probably the central recess.

11444 11445* 11446–50 11396 11631

Dating: 11396 Colchester, 49–61; 11448 Canterbury, 3rd century.

Distribution: no allowance is made for minor divisions of the type. KT 1112yy SUSS 14666x HANTS 1123a3a4 4x57a DORS 11224 4x557a WLTS 3a46x MSEX 3x ESSEX 13a3a3b3b3x3x4 4x55666 6x6x7bxyy HERTS 12222345 5x6 6xyyy BEDS 26 BUCKS x OXON 117b GLOS 13b3355 5x7b SUFF 1113b4 4x6 NORF 1123a3a3c3d4444 4x67a7a7b7bxxxxxy CAMBS 113a45y NHANTS 2344 4x6x RUT 6 LEICS 6x6x WALES 45x Lincs 1366x NOTTS 3a SALOP 15 YORKS 24 4x6 NHUM 5

The distribution is very much what one might expect for a family flourishing from, in Britain, the conquest to 70/75. The areas which are absent are those away from the Fosse Way frontier zone and a few sites in advance such as Wroxeter and Castleford. The surprise is the one from Hadrian's Wall, but that may well be an example of just how late single specimens might have survived.

21. Plate 120. Plate brooches powdered with tiny enamel cells. These can be guaranteed to be early: the dating of 11351* assures this. The only defining feature is the way in which tiny cells, square or triangular, are arranged in a tight chequer pattern.

11348* 11349 11350* 11351*

Dating: 11351* Skeleton Green 15–40.

Distribution: with so few one would think that there would not be any pattern. They, however, come from the lands of the Catuvellauni-Trinovantes as well as the Durotriges. Whether future examples will expand the picture lies in the lap of the gods.

22. Plate 120. A flat plate to which is riveted an open-work decorative bone plate. Some affinity with the last is assured by 11353* which is a version of the bow tie brooch of Type 21, 11351*.

11352* 11353* 11354*

Dating: 11354* Braughing c.20 B.C.–A.D. 45.

Distribution: these also belong to the South East and there is no reason to suppose that any must date after the conquest.

23. Blue Glass Boss. This is the uniting feature: the shape of a bronze brooch can be developed anywhere, but the ability always to have the requisite blue glass boss available is surely a much rarer thing. They are divided according to basic shape, and they are a warning against assuming that a different shape must be a different type. Distributions after 23.x.

23.a. Plate 121. Rosette. The knobs are nearly always of the same shape and are used to hold the applied sheet metal in place and that usually is necessary to hold the blue glass. The pierced plate of 11633* shows that the repertoire of the producers was wider than a mere definition will allow. 11633* with its recess and the beaded border might just show a connection with Type 20.

11456* 11457–62 11633* 12412 14314–5 14735–6 14890 15493

Dating: 11457 Colchester, 61–65; 11458 Baldock, 70–90; 11459 Harlow temple, c.200 and later.

23.b. Plate 121. Eight-sided, each one concave, the applied plate has a plain border around the outside edge and against the dome-like blue glass boss. The space between the borders has beading. The date-range of 11472 shows that it more or less has to be of this type, and therefore the published drawing is unreliable.

11463–72 12413* 14321 14813–4

Dating: 11466 Colchester, 44–48; 11463 Chichester, 43–late Flavian; 11472 Richborough, 50–80; 11464 Chichester, 2nd century; 11467 Baldock, and 11470 Canterbury, 3rd century; 11465 Colchester, before c.300.

23.c. Plate 121. Circular plate, with the usual four knobs to hold the glass in place.

11473–5 11476* 11477–9 14316 14318 14737

Dating: 11476* Baldock, 50–70; 11478 Quinton, before 70/80; 11474 Silchester, c.175 +.

23.x. Plate 121. A singleton: two conjoined discs covered with applied sheet and with a blue glass bead showing. 11266*

Dating: none. The date of all, should be from the conquest up to the Flavian period. The rota of sites shows that it ought to be early and the later ones are residual.

Distribution: KT bbc SUSS bb HANTS c WILTS ab ESSEX aabbbcc GLOS a HERTS abc SUFF abcc NORF aaac NHANTS abbbcc LEICS ax LINC aa NOTTS a

Southern England: the extension into Gloucestershire may have more to do with military dispositions than anything else.

24. Plate 121. A pelta ending in adorsed duck heads which have a feature between them. The brooches were finished in a silvery wash and were decorated with enamel and/or niello. In the space between the heads and the inner curve of the pelta is an open-work double curve ending in a small dished pellet. 11335* bears a superficial kinship with the others but should be counted as 24.x.

11330 11331* 11332–3 11334* / 11335*

Dating: none.

Distribution: SUSS 11 HERTS 1 WARKS 1 STAFFS 11 The South East again, but reaching into Staffordshire and Warwickshire suggesting, despite the absence of any dating, that it should run on perhaps to 70.

25. Plate 121. An elongated brooch consisting of two half cones joined at the base in the middle where there is commonly a pair of mouldings, three in the case of the illustrated one. At top and bottom are forward-facing studs, usually enamelled. The head end may have a cast-on loop. They are divided into three: a = before the first/; b = after and are the same in all respects but the cones are reduced to a flat plate; those after the second / are b but all are from the same workshop.

5798 5824 6054 11323–4 11327–8 11329* 14786 / 11326 14375 14787 / 8321–2 14377*

Dating: 11323 Nettleton, with 1st and 2nd-century pottery; 8322 Camelon, 140–c.165.

Distribution: HANTS a DORS a WILTS ab SCILLY aaaab OXON c NORF bc WALES aa SCOT c

The first group is, apart from one from Hampshire, exclusively of the South West. The second group of only three members is of less certain origin. However, the single example from Norfolk, 14787, with a peltate terminal has what looks suspiciously like a spring-case. The last three are obviously from the same workshop located somewhere on the eastern side of England.

Unclassified 1 [UNC 1 in Serial List]. *Plates 121–122.* The following are very loosely associated. At best, there

are distinct associations, even the same design, but there are not enough actually to place in numbered groups. // mark divisions within each clutch. Those illustrated, * in the lists below, have not previously been published. 5878 looks at first sight like a plain circular plate such as might have fitted into Type 9 above, only the catch-plate shows that a substantial part is missing. While most of these are imports from the continent, it cannot be guaranteed that all were. No distributions are given for any of the UNC elements.

Elongated, symmetrical, some with convex sides:

8436 11668* / 8312 11501 11667* 12680 12682* 14347* 14767 / 12669 / 8186 8207 / 8246

Dating: 14767 Castleford, c.180–400; 8436 Catterick, 200–350.

Trios: the unifying feature of the first three is the terminal at the foot beneath an elaborate plate. The three here have differing designs, but are recognizably all from the same workshop.

8408 14417–8 / 8374–5 14376* / 8396–8

Dating: none.

Pairs or rough pairs: 8361 14762* both have springs mounted on a single pierced lug and so may well be British, except that the British predilection for round and oval with or without bosses is overwhelming.

8406*13211 / 8308 + 1 from Germany ([260], 101, *Taf.* 12,19. III.17) / 8188 8210* / 8437* 11674 / 8442* 14351 / 11662* 12655 / 8208 8319 / 8361 14762*

Equal armed circular centres subordinate to the arms on the main axes.

14339 14362 14791

Dating: none.

The rest: 5878 8187 8209 8239 8276 8284 8303 8352 8409–11 8418 8421 8423–5 8427 8430–1 8448 10401 11305 11632* 11726 14349 14411 14756 14774

Dating: 8427 Canterbury, 1st–2nd century; 8448 Richborough, 1st century to c.300; 8430 Newstead, 80–c.200; 8239 Catterick, 160–later 3rd century.

Unclassified 2 [UNC 2 in Serial List]. *Plate 122.* These are all essentially lozenges or squares set lozenge or square. They are arranged in a very rough order. Almost all have been published elsewhere, and only a very few are chosen to reappear. The last two, 6055–6, are exceptional and have in essence the same layout, the one from the Hildyard Collection being chosen for illustration.

11299 11298* 11300* 11301 11306* 11307* 11308 11311–4 11317–8 11320–2 14350 14355 14366 14369 14398 14734* 14778 14780 / 6055 6056*

Dating: 11317 Cramond, c.140–200+; 11312 Alcester, mid-late 4th century; 11307* Nettleton, after 360.

Unclassified 3 [UNC 3 in Serial List]. *Plates 122–123.* These are basically all round, some with major projections, and are given in numerical order. Nearly all have or will

be published, hence a restriction on the number to be illustrated here.

5565 7839 8400 8403–5 8422 8428 8439 10708 10965 10967 10968* 10969 11111 11233 11234* 11240 11242 11244–5 11246* 11251* 11257–8 11630* 11765 11871 11989 12644* 14322* (Supplementary Plate 1) 14342 14364 14745* 14766

Dating: 8400 Colchester, 49–61; 11251* High Cross Leics, Flavian; 8422 Leicester, 125–140; 11240 Verulamium, 125–150; 11111 Rudston, later than the 3rd century.

Continental Dregs These two are non-standard and are almost certainly continental.

11803 14641

Part 3. Objects and Animals [OBJECT]

1. Objects, of which the shoe sole is the most common.

1.1. = dress and personalia. Firstly we have the shoe soles which take up the first five categories.

1.1a. Plate 123. Soles, unenamelled. They are likely to be early, and in default of good dating evidence, and following the general trend in decorative techniques, they may pre-date the common use of enamel: note the paragraph on dating. All distributions after 1.1f.

7865 11683* 15494

Dating: 15494 Quinton, 100–170.

The last two are really of the same pattern. Note 11351* from Skeleton Green (see Type 21 and Plate 120) which looks like a bow tie inset with tiny green squares has the same style of mouldings in relief as the last two below. That brooch is dated A.D. 15–40. A shoe-sole brooch from Augst has the same style of enamelling and this would indicate the middle of the first century ([617], 200, *Taf.* 66,1726). It was not, however, dated. The site which produced 11683* is known as “North Ferriby” as it appears to match the famous South Ferriby site in Lincolnshire on the banks of the Humber, an early port of entry. Therefore, it is probable that the mouldings also point to a mid first-century date. To this set of justified suppositions can be added a brooch from Augst belonging to this group said to have a repoussé plate, which is not shown on the drawing, and dating to Neronian-early Flavian times (*ibid.*, 200, *Taf.* 66,1727).

1.1b. Plate 123. Soles. These are of the standard design. All appear to have hinged pins: there is no explicit mention of a sprung one. Some have punched dots along the margins. Where there are complete schemes of enamelling, the commonest is of one colour with reserved or enamel spots representing hob-nails. All have tabs which may have dished centres or occasionally are loops.

6975–6 7831–3 7835–8 7840–43 7846–7 7848* 7849 7852 7857–8 7859* 7861* 7863–4 11676 12700 14419–20 14792 15495

Dating: 7863 Chichester, late 1st–mid/late 2nd century; 14792 Castleford, 85/90–135/140; 7864 Verulamium, 135–145; 6975 6976 Wroxeter, c.150–early 3rd century.

A group of seven from Augst belonging to this sub-type included three dating to the Hadrianic–early third century period ([617], 200, *Taf.* 68, 1749–1756).

1.1c. Plate 123. Soles. The enamelled field is broken up by lines. In the first there is a streak of red enamel in the field of yellow, in the second they are reserved copper alloy bands and define areas of different coloured enamel. Both pins have or had bilateral springs mounted between pierced lugs. They are British.

7834 7850*

Dating: 7834 Shakenoak Farm, 2nd century.

1.1d. Plate 123. Soles. The border of the enamelled area is excessively wide, perhaps this ought to be counted as part of 1.1b, except there is no evidence for imitation hobnails,

7844–5 7851*

Dating: 7851* Caerleon, 160–230.

1.1e. Plate 123. Soles. All have pointed toes. 7862 has three large lumps of differently coloured enamel in the field.

7853–6 7860 7862 11681* 11682 12699 14421

Dating: none.

The dating of soles on the continent from major sources is for unenamelled ones, Neronian–early Flavian from Augst ([617], 200, *Taf.* 66, 1727), and from the same site for enamel and three examples give the range Hadrianic to early third century (*ibid.*, 204, *Taf.* 68 1749–56 *passim*). Ettlinger ([253], 192, *Taf.* 14, 24–25) offers a range running from the mid second century to 200.

1.1f. Plate 123. Buckles. Both come from the same site, Walsingham/Wighton in Norfolk. Were these aimed at a military market, buckles seemingly not a common feature of civilian dress?

11678* 11679

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT be SUSS b HANTS abbb WILTS b SCILLY bbbbbbdd ESSEX b MSEX be HERTS b OXON bc GLOS bbe SUFF bbbbe NORF beeff CAMBS b NHANTS a WARKS c WALES d LINC b SALOP bb YORKS ab CUMB e DUR b

Distribution: 1.1a: not much can emerge from three specimens, but the two of the same design come from the East Midlands in the broad sense. 1.1b occurs again in the East Midlands and elsewhere on the east side from Yorkshire to Kent. There is a clutch at Nor’Nour which stands out as there is none so far from the rest of the area south west of Wiltshire–Gloucestershire. Perhaps the shipwreck (Fulford 1989) had sailed from Gloucester? 1.1c and the rest these fit the previous pattern with 1.1e seemingly strong on the east side. The overall distribution is a little surprising in that there are so few from the Military North, none from Scotland so far, and an equally surprising gap in the South West.

1.2 = weapons and shields, these are divided into what they are, or appear to be. There are not really enough to divide any further as a matter of course. If buckles, 1.1f, may be associated with the military, and the following weapons are also related, as well as being possible if not probable attributes of native gods, then many if not most of these items may say more about the affiliation of the wearer to a cult than anything else.

1.2a. Plate 123. Axe. As far as can be told, all the enamelled ones have bilateral springs mounted between a pair of pierced lugs. The only variations seem to be the introduction of a reserved bar dividing the enamelling on the head into two zones. 11677* has small projections round the head. Those after / have no enamel and their clean-cut lines remind one of the brooches belonging to Part 2, Type 7. They also have or had double axes at the bottom of the main haft. It might be tempting to see these two as belonging to an early, unenamelled phase. However, it is more likely that they are later and belong to the plain tradition which produced the Hakenkreuz and the continental trumpet/“celtic” brooches (see above).

7866 7867* 7868 7869* 7870–1 11677* 14422 / 7874 7875* 15437

Dating: 7866 Camerton, 180–350; 7871 Nettleton, late 3rd century.

Distribution: WILTS 1 SOM 1 MSEX 1 / EA 1 NORF 1 CAMB 111 YORKS 1 / DUR 11 /

The three from Cambridgeshire all come from the north suburb of Durobrivae.

1.2b. Shields. These are divided by shape. They all have umbos of appropriate size or greatly exaggerated ones. It is a moot point how many apparently ordinary circular plate brooches with a central upstanding circular feature, at best, may have been intended to look like shields.

1.2b1. Plate 123. Hexagonal or bow-sided. 7889* is the only one which is not decorated with either enamel or white metal trim. 8407 is included out of courtesy, as its shape is not easily recoverable, but it is more likely to belong here than anything else.

7889* 7890* 7891–3 7895–7 7898* 8407 15431–2

Dating: none.

1.2b2. Plate 124. Rectangular, very few have what look like the extensions to the umbo ending in a roundel of some form (*e.g.*, 7888*) which is such a feature of Iron Age shields of which the Battersea is the most famous (Stead 1985). The brooches are ordered with simple geometric first, then symmetrical and, finally serpentine of which there are two examples. It should be assumed that all were intended to have applied white metal repoussé decoration, although it seems that only 11297 had this surviving.

7882–5 7886* 7887 7888* 7894 11297 11675* 14423 14793*

Dating: 7884 Verulamium, 80–150.

Distribution: KT 11 DORS 12 WILTS 2 ESSEX 12

MSEX 111 HERTS 22 GLOS 1122 SUFF 2 NORF 122 CAMBS 2 NHANTS 2 SALOP 2 LANCS 1 NHUMB 1
A fairly general cover of rural sites, settlements and towns.

1.3. Tools and domestic utensils

1.3a. Plate 124. Knife. The shape shows that the blade was one-sided. Both examples have a pommel-terminal like the beaked head of Type 1 of Part 1 and so are continental in manufacture.

7872 7873*

Dating: none.

1.3b. Plate 124. Tongs. An interesting application of the hinged pin principle where the top of the pin is carried up as one arm of the tongs to bind on the other which is an extension to the bow.

7899*

Dating: none.

1.3c. Plate 124. Flagon/costrel. The single handle suggests a flagon; on the other hand the rounded base is more like a costrel. The neck and rim are in relief on the first two, the third has a moulded stopper. On the other hand, 7881* might be likened to a purse, the classic *mappa*.

7876–7 7878* 7881* 12701 14752 14794*

Dating: 7881* Cramond, 140–200+; 7877 Dover, c.190–210 and later?.

1.3d. Plate 124. Lamps. The shape could hardly be anything else. There is a larger group which is covered in the Continental Plate brooches dealt with in part 3. They form part of Type 20, the bifurcated terminal family and are classified there as 20.7a.

7879* 7880

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT c WILTS a SCILLY a ESSEX b BEDS c BUCKS d GLOS cc NORF c WALES c YORKS d SCOT c
No particular pattern emerges.

2. Animals

2.1. Anything with a human in full or in part.

2.1. Horse and Rider. These are graded according to the amount of detail included. Comments on the dating of these are reserved until after all have been listed. Most had applied silver trim which, on 2.1a and 2.1b, would have helped eke out the perfunctory details of the base plate. Brooches 2.1a–2.1d inclusive have bilateral springs mounted on a single pierced lug, and are all British.

2.1a. Plate 124. Although the tendency to simplify sets in early in this group, there is generally an attempt to model features and to provide hair other than in the schematic form seen in the other groups. The same applies to the mane of the horse. However, the chief characteristic is that the rider holds in a clearly differentiated right arm and hand a short staff or baton. In the best, the right leg is

shown crossing the body of the horse and ends in a lower shin and foot projecting below the belly of the horse. There are also clear signs of the harness on the front of the horse. The brooches below are arranged in order of devolution. Distribution after 2.1e.

7900 7931 7932* 7933* 7934 7935* 7936 7950 14424–5 15440

Dating: 7900 Nettleton, later 3rd century; 7935* Bannaventa, late 3rd–4th century; 7931 Verulamium 375–400.

2.1b. Plate 124. The major simplifications have happened. The rider's head is in profile, the mane and hair are cross-cut. Gone is any real trace of harness, the leg across the horse's body is reduced to a bar between two enamel cells, and made meaningless by being moved towards the front of the horse. The foot beneath the belly makes an occasional appearance, 7929, but the chief characteristic in defining this group is that there is still a recognizable right arm even if the baton has gone. Distribution after 2.1e.

7903 7905 7910–12 7914–5 7918–9 7921* 7924–7 7929 7937–8 7940 14428

Dating: 7918–9 Hockwold cum Wilton, temple late 2nd to late 4th century; 7911–2 7914–5 Lamyatt Beacon, temple, 290–425.

2.1c. Plate 124. The profile of the rider usually has a vestigial nose, the enamelling lying in cells adapted to the shape of the plate rather than representing any real detail. 7904 has what may be a relic of the horse's harness and 7909 has a faint memory of the rider's arm. 7906* and 7907 come from Cold Kitchen Hill, the presumed temple at Brixton Deverill, Wiltshire. Distribution after 2.1e.

7901 7904 7906* 7907–9 7913 7916–7 7920 7922–3 7928 11684 12684–5 14426–7 15436

Dating: 7917 7920 Hockwold-cum-Wilton temple, late 2nd century and later; 7913 Lamyatt Beacon, temple 290–425.

2.1d. Plate 124. No enamel, just a flat plate with overall tinning or silvering. Distribution after 2.1e.

7930* 7939

Dating: none.

In theory, these ought to be equivalent to other series in which the plain, silvered, forms pre-date the enamelled ones. While this is a possibility, it has yet to be demonstrated.

2.1e. Plate 124. Other: 7941* in relief with voids between the legs etc. The catch-plate is at right angles to the line of the pin and the brooch was probably made on the continent. 7902* is a combination of a pelta with the horseman with a spear who is represented by reserved metal in an enamelled field. It looks on the face of things like a solder's brooch. It has a bilateral spring and so is British.

7902* 7941*

Dating: none.

Distribution: HNTS a DORS bd WILTS accc SOM bbbbc SCILLY c HRTS d BEDS/BUKS a OXON b SUFF bbbcc NORF aabbbbbbcccccccccc CAMBS aabccc NHANTS b HERE e LINCS a STAFFS a HUM-HAD W aa

It is almost certain that these brooches are related to a cult. Therefore the distribution should reflect the areas in which it predominated. That being so, there are two centres: Somerset-Wiltshire and Suffolk-Norfolk-Cambridgeshire (see Chapter 11, Part 3). The first has the temple site at Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill, the other has the shrine at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, but there may have been other cult centres as well in these areas. It may not mean, however, that it was the same named god, merely that who or whatever was being worshipped had the same basic attributes. The singletons may either resolve themselves into other centres or, more likely, represent where devotees were when the brooch was lost.

2.2. Plate 124. Male genitalia.

7942*

Dating: none.

3. The Animal Kingdom, beasts that walk on land. Horses. See also Atelier A.

3.a1. Plate 125. 7944 and 7949* came from the same workshop which produced the horseman of 2.1a, the ears and mane give it away. The definition used here is that the enamelling on the body is of large cells.

7944 7948 7949* 12686

Dating: none.

3.a2. Plate 125. Here, the defining feature is a band of small basically rectangular enamelled cells across the breast.

7943* 7945–7 11686 14439 14796

Dating: 7945 Durobrivae on the Nene with 3rd and 4th-century pottery.

3.ax. Plate 125. Other, not enough yet to sub-divide. The upright stance of 7951* looks continental, and the hinged pin would suit. 7952 is a head only with horse-like characteristics.

7952 7951*

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT x HANTS x BRKS 1 GLOS 12 SUFF 2 NORF 1222 CAMBS 22 Lincs 1

Although the numbers are not great, there is still an emphasis and it is on the Norfolk part of the distribution seen when dealing with the House-and-Rider brooches of 2.1. The complete absence of any so far from the other major area (see above) may reveal that there was either a separate god operating in the east, or there was a fundamental difference between the *numina* being worshipped in the two areas. Perhaps a separate area of horse brooches reflects a horse-breeding element. One should, perhaps, recall that other marshy area, the Camargue, famous for its white horses.

3.b. Hounds. The problem is that hares and hounds go together for sporting purposes, and when it comes to brooches they can be hard to tell apart. All dogs and almost

all hares leap to the right, all have long ears almost always divided by a groove, and there is little to choose between the shapes of their heads. The only sure signs of difference are that hounds have longer tails and front legs. When the tail is lost along with the front legs, there can be difficulties. However, if a short front leg has a paw at the end, it is a hare. All gathered here ought to be hounds when the matter is a little opaque. Distributions after 3.b4.

3.b1. Plate 125. The standard British hound, frequently with a hinged pin and the body occupied by a single cell of enamel which may have spots or circles of enamel of glass in it.

8054–7 8060 8061* 8064–5 14436

Dating: none.

3.b2. Plate 125. The enamelled cell is now generally divided in two at the lower neck. 8066 has three cells.

8058 8062* 8063 8066

Dating: 8058 Nettleton shrine, 4th century.

3.b3. Plate 125. A larger beast with a well-defined eye with a version of the enamel scheme of the last enclosed in an enamelled groove

8051 8052* 12688

Dating: none.

3.b4. Plate 125. A rectangular plate on which there is a hound in full chase reserved in the enamel field, or, 8087, on an applied repoussé plate.

8087–8 8089*

Dating: 8089* Dorchester, Poundbury, 1st–4th century; 8087 Camerton, mid-3rd century.

Distribution: HANTS 2 DORS 4 WILTS 234 SOM 4 BERKS 1 GLOS 1 NORF 11233 NHANTS 11 WALES 1 Lincs 3 CUMB 1 NHUMB 12

These are much more widespread and are more surely related to hunting than to any religious devotion. Their presence in numbers may possibly indicate where hare coursing was more common than elsewhere. In which case, as general areas Wiltshire might represent one, and Norfolk-Northamptonshire another.

3.c. Hares/Hounds. They can be difficult to tell apart from hounds, but if the tail is very short, then it is assumed that it was intended to be a hare. Occasionally, as in 8077, the form of the brooch may have started out as a hound, but the tail was broken, so a groove was cut into the stub and the item passed off as a hare. Distribution after 3.cx.

3.c1. Plate 125. More or less like the standard hound above with an enamelled dot for the eye, some might be problematical: 8059 has a tail which might be that of a hound, but has the short front leg of the hare. All these are leaping to the right. The pin is hinged.

8053 8059 8076–9 11688* 14435 15433

Dating: none.

3.c2. Plate 125. The rear leg is not flung backwards and the stance suggests an animal at rest but watchful. The snout is short and more convincingly hare-like than the longer ones which have gone before. There is a single cell for enamel, and the eye is usually an enamelled ring but may be just stamped dot and circle. 8074 is put here because it resembles a hare more than anything else, with the whole body enamelled and the eye a glass ring. The pin is sprung.

8070 8071* 8073–4 8084 15434*

Dating: 8084 Leicester, first 3rd of the 3rd century.

3.c3. Plate 125. The stance is as before, but the enamelled cell is now divided into three. The eye may be a circular groove or a dot and circle. The pin is sprung. The illustrated one has traces of applied white metal beading, and one should imagine that this would have been standard for British brooches of this type. 14797* has no cells for enamel and seems to have been given an overall silvery finish. As the form is so precisely that of the rest, this may be an example in which the enamel was deliberately not applied.

8080–3 8085 8086* 11689 12687 14431–3 14797*

Dating: none.

3.c4. Plate 125. A well known type which shows a crouched mother hare with, inset in enamel, two leverets.

8067* 8068–9 14430

Dating: 8069 Winchester, c.60.

3.cx. Plate 125. A hare in outline facing right, the rear legs suggesting an animal at rest but alert. No enamel, walked graver ornament on the body. The really distinctive feature is that the bilateral spring mounted on the single pierced lug is very long. Normally this is a habit used by those of from Free Germany and Almgren's [16] 229 would seem to be a parallel, but he has little to say about it and his 222 is definitely British, being 3.c3 here. But there is also the hare crouched under a bush in a technique which recalls the later second and third centuries: 15411*. It is probably continental in origin.

14434*, 15411*

Dating: 15411 Catterick, 200/20–275.

Distribution: KT 4 SUSS 3 HANTS 4 DORS 1 WILTS 11 HERTS 3 MSEX 4 BERKS 3 SUFF 1122333 NORF 13334x? CAMBS 13 RUT 2 LEICS 2 WALES 3 Lincs 112 YORKS 2x

Suffolk and Norfolk come out strongly, but there is a fair scatter over the rest of England essentially south-east of the Fosse Way. Some doubt must remain about the provenance of the 3.cx item: the spring system is distinctly not British.

3.d. Plate 125. Deer. There are not enough to subdivide properly. The first two are from the same workshop.

8047* 8048 8050 8097*

Dating: none. **Distribution:** useless.

3.e. Supplementary Plate 2. Beasts. Some lions are clearly so, in other cases emphasis on hair on the shoulders points to the identification.

Lions: 15442 8092 8093* 14450 14795 from the same workshop 8096

Bears: 8095*

Boars 15501* and a possible one 8094

Unidentifiable: 8049, 8090–1 14437*

Dating: 8093*, lion, Catterick, 200–350.

Distribution: useless.

3.f. Plate 126. Serpents. At present only one has come to my notice:

6151*

4. The Animal Kingdom, those that fly. The two commonest are, perhaps not surprisingly, the duck and the hen. The duck comes first. When there is an element of doubt, it is the form of the head and beak that is considered. Thereafter, if the head is lost, it is decoration on the body which determines the matter: there is apparently no cross-over in the ornament.

4.a1. Plate 126. Duck. The wings are folded, the feathers being marked by a series of crescent cells. The back may be separated from the wings by a groove and enamelling may be all along or only at the end. There is usually a loop. The brooches are arranged into groups divided by /. The first has crescents reversed along the back; the second has a series of reserved lozenges; the third a series of rectangles. 7992 is a variant. Distribution after 4.ax.

7975–7 7985 11692* 11694 12689–90 14441 / 7978–81 7984 / 11690* / 7974* 7982–3 / 7992

Dating: none.

4.a2. Plate 126. The duck is a little narrow, with a single cell along each wing and usually two along the back. The tail is or was a loop. Distribution after 4.ax.

7993–8 7999* 8000 14442 14801

Dating: 7994 8000 Verulamium, 150–155/160.

4.a3. Plate 126. The wings are partly open, each having a single cell for enamel. The tail is fanned and has two cells, while the back of the body has small crescentic stamps to suggest feathers. 11691 is a slight variant in having its wings joined to the body all the way along and the back being rounded and plain. 12692* and 14443* are of the same group but the first has its wings folded to the body and a rounded back, while the second has its wings spread as though flapping. Distribution after 4.ax.

7986 7987* 7988–91 11691 12692* 14443* 14444 14799 15435

Dating: 7987* Dorchester, Dors, early to late Roman; 11691 London, early 2nd century; 14444 Verulamium, before 350?

4.ax. Plate 126. Miscellaneous ducks, chiefly designated as such as they lack the crest of the hen. The first two are the same design and the same applies to the next three

7973 12691* / 8001–2 8035 12693 / 8018

Dating: none.

The slightly different nature of 11691 might be a product of it being possibly early in the overall *floruit*.

Distribution: HANTS 3 DORS 33 WILTS 1122 ESSEX 1 MSEX 33 HERTS 223 BERKS 1 OXON 33 GLOS 23 SUFF 113 NORF 1111111123xx NHANTS 22x WARKS x WALES x Lincs 1122 NOTTS x DUR 1 CUMB 1

4.a1 belongs to the eastern side of England and the same is true of 4.a2 but not really so for the other two. However, very few are to be found north of the Humber-mid-Severn line.

4.b. Hen. All have or had crests, virtually all are sitting. The pattern of enamelling on headless birds shows that they belong here. Distribution after 4.b3.

4.b1. *Plate 126*. The bird sits on a notional nest with its feathers fluffed out and its tail feathers raised. The loop is placed at the base of the tail. The first group had triangular cells along the fringe of the wing and two circles across the back. The feathers are swept up from the front towards the bird's back. The wing feathers sweep down from the leading edge of the wing, and there are variants here.

8004–7 8009 14798* / 2963 8010–11 8012* 8013–14 10121 / 8015–7

Dating: 8016 Wroxeter, before mid 2nd century; 8004 Colchester, 350–450.

4.b2. *Plate 126*. Various sitting hens as before but not enamelled, save for 8027* which is continental and basically a flat plate with a tail fashioned like the beaked head found on Type 1 in Part 2 above.

8019* 8020–2 8026*

Dating: 8019* Colchester, late 2nd century.

4.b3. *Plate 126*. These are standing birds, save for 8027 which looks as though it ought to be a hen whose body is largely out of view.

8023* 8024–5 8027* 15421 15438

Dating: none.

Distribution: WILTS 12 SOM 14 ESSEX 112 OXON 2 GLOS 1 SUFF 133 NORF 3333 NHANTS 1 Lincs 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 112 DUR 1 CUMB 1 SCOT 1

Fairly obviously this subject is likely to occur anywhere.

4.c. *Plate 126*. Dove. This is usually betrayed by its slightly fanned tail, occasionally very fully fanned, and the minor nature of the head which is such a determining feature in both ducks and hens. No clear pattern emerges and so no subdivision is offered. 14445*, in terms of workshops, is a product of the Bifurcated Terminal school of Type 20 in Part 2 of this Chapter, as the recessed circles on the wings show.

8003 8030–4 8036–8 14445* 14800*

Dating: 8037 Hod Hill, before c.50; 8036 Waddon Hill, c.50–60.

4.d. Other birds, mainly raptors.

4.d1. *Plate 126*. At rest, the bird has one foot stuck out and the head with the characteristic curve of the beak of a raptor bent towards it. The wings are enamelled usually in two rows, the one chosen for illustration having three which also shows that all here would have had white metal trim fitted over the wings and main part of the body. The last is a close relative in form to 4.d1, but the enamelling is differs in being in long cells, one along the back and two arcs on the front each springing from the leg.

8039–2 8043* 15361

Dating: none.

4.d2. *Plate 126*. Raptor and hare. This time the bird grasps a hare and has its beak open as it pecks at the prey's head. The whole is carefully modelled with voids between the various elements. A probable brooch from Saalburg ([794], *Taf* 51,9) shows a raptor, probably an eagle, on a perch in front of a man who appears to be offering a wreath and to be holding a staff or shield.

8044 8045* 8046

Dating: 8045* Hockwold-cum-Wilton, late 2nd–4th century.

Two of the three sites are temples.

4.dx. *Plate 127*. Other birds. 15444 may have been a peacock with its tail folded.

15410 15443* 15444

Dating: none.

5. The Animal Kingdom, those that live in water. There are two main types of fish and then a mixture, including what looks like a turbot, 7963*. There are generally so few in each category and all put together are so varied that to deal with distributions is an exercise in futility.

5.a. All fish, including dolphins.

5.a1. *Plate 127*. No enamel, finished with a silvery wash, side view of a large fish of trout/salmon type with prominent scales represented by fine curved stamping. The tail is plain; the head with a prominent eye is differentiated from the body which has a dorsal and ventral fin. This might be the precursor in every sense of the fish of 5.a2. It could also be equated with Feugère's Atelier A (see below and [270], figs.58–61), but there the variety of subjects, and it must be said treatments, does not always convince that all must belong to the workshops to which they are allocated.

7953* 7954 12695*

Dating: none.

5.a2. *Plate 127*. The enamelled version of the last. The tail is wider and the head is subsumed into the body. The eye is an enamelled ring, the gills a D next to the head. The scales have been reduced to series of chevrons between tapering bordering cells. There are one dorsal and two ventral fins on complete forms: fewer may mean a damaged brooch, or one from which a refinement has been removed. Some swim to the right, others to the left.

7955–60 11693*

Dating: none.

5.ax. Plate 127. An *olla podrida*: first fish shown reserved in a field of enamel on a rectangular plate. Next enamelled but not of 5.a2 type. 7961 has lost its tail but represents a creature with a much deeper body than the last. 7962 is again a more substantial fish with a single large area of enamel behind the D for the gills with a line of reserved spots. 7963* is surely a turbot: a plan view of a great bog-eyed fish, while 12696 must be a leaping salmon or carp. Two of the dolphins are a side view and plan respectively, while the third, 12697*, is inscribed DAELFINV and shows by the single pierced lug for a bilateral spring that it is British.

7965–6 7967* 14447 15439 / 7961–2 7963* 12696 14446 / 7964* / 7969 7972 12697*

Dating: 7969 Newstead, c.80–c.200; 7962 Chichester, 2nd century; 7966 Ravenglass, c.200–350/370.

5.b. Plate 127. Sea creatures, very various and uncommon, no sign of any grouping as yet. The first is a hippocamp, the last might be an eel.

7968* 7970* 1791*

Dating: 7970* Ravenglass, 350/370–400 and later?

6. Insects and creepy-crawlies

6.a. Plate 127. The bulk have trumpet heads leaving no visible insect body and the head, with a ridge down the middle, frequently has bulging fly-like eyes. They come in various sizes, but all are really products of a single manufactory and were once tricked out with applied repoussé white metal trim.

8098–9 8100* 8101–8 8109* 8110* 8111–2 8117–9 11853–4 12698 14189–90 14696–7

Dating: 8110* Caerleon, 160–230.

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 1111 ESS 1 MSEX 1 HERTS 11 GLOS 1 NORF 111111 CAMBS 11 WALES 11 SALOP 1 CHESH 1 CUMB 1 NHUMB 1

Fairly general, suggesting that, if there were more recorded examples, the rest of Roman Britain south of Hadrian's Wall would be represented.

6.b. Plate 127. In some senses these are more like bees/wasps than the previous category. There are many forms and only the last two, which are enamelled, point to a set pattern. The first, 8114*, has a bilateral spring whose chord is brought round the front of the head and 8115* may well have had the same arrangement. 8113* and 8116 are very small and the trumpet head is reduced to a parallel-side arm. Two, 8114* and 8116, came from the same site at Kidlington which, as they are of different designs, may point to a particular preference for this insect which is otherwise not at all common.

8113* 8114* 8115* 8116 14448 14449* 15441

Dating: 8115* South Shields, mid 2nd century..

7. Feugère ([270], 385–393) identified features which could be used to isolate products of particular workshops. There is little doubt that most people producing brooches also made other things, and that they were also making more than one design of brooch. When it comes to second-century workshops, there is a bewildering array of elements within a single repertoire which could, and were, used to make many varied designs. The problem with animal brooches is that they are not only on the whole uncommon, but they comprise many different species. If one were to divide all the continental animal brooches into groups of single animals, all stags, all lions and so forth, no sense emerges. If one is only interested in the dating, then even less sense emerges. If, however, the products of individual manufactories can be identified, then it is more than likely that distributions and dates will have greater relevance.

The continental brooches which belong to the three ateliers identified by Feugère (*ibid.*, figs 58–61) are not frequent in Britain, but they may be added to the sum of those on the continent to aid understanding there.

7.1. Plates 127–128. Atelier A [Atelier A]. Here, the defining feature is circular spots of enamel. The animals are often placed on a bar representing the surface of the ground and may have collars about the neck if these are domesticated, and there are lightly made cross-cuts in line. One may also note that beasts frequently turn their heads to face the viewer. Not all the animals are identifiable, and are divided here by a / into firstly those which are wild and those which are domestic. A characteristic of all these, when compared with the flat animal brooches of Britain, is that all have a fair degree of surface modelling.

8120 lion, 11687* leopard / 8121 pig, 8122 horse, 8123* horse/ass, 14440* horse

Dating: 8120 Richborough, 3rd–4th century.

7.2. Plate 128. Atelier B [Atelier B]. Feugère defines this group as having very stylised outlines with large cells for enamel which may contain black or white glass dots. One has to be careful as he has included the hound and hare, groups 3.b and 3.c above, and these are British. However, the ones given below are obviously members of Feugère's workshop.

8029* 8128 peacocks?, 8125 owl; 8126–7 stags; 8133*; 8124 monster (cf. Feugère 1985, pl.157, 1983); 8129* 8130 hippocamphs; 8131 8132* sea serpents.

Dating: 8133* Verulamium, 135–145; 8126 Wroxeter, c.160.

7.3. Plate 128. Atelier C [Atelier C]. Of small size, they are clearly detailed, have a silvered or tinned surface and are frequently decorated with punched dots and niello strips. The subjects include plain members of the animal kingdom, dolphins, a Pegasus and other references to classical motifs as well as the usual hound and hare. All should be first century A.D., that being when the combination of silvery finish with niello was in common use, cf. the Hod Hill. Both the hunter and prey brooches

came from the same site, Baldock. 8134 is said to be of silver, but the workmanship suggests that it is only a very well-preserved copper alloy with a tinned or silver finish.

15445* a boat with passengers and a beak head prow; 8134 8136* 8137* 8144* dolphins including a boy on one; 8135 horse and rider; 8138* Pegasus; 8145 cock; 8139 dove; 8143 hare; 8141 8142* hunter and prey; 8146* human; 14996 hare.

Dating: 8139 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 8141 Baldock, 50–70; 8137* Canterbury, 175–300/320.

7.4. *Plate 128. Atelier X* [Atelier X]. Here are those which look as though they really ought to be related to brooches of Atelier C, only without the obvious niello. There is, moreover, enamel in some. Studs in the middle of circles seem to a prominent theme and, had that been all, they would not be here. However, the circle appears between acorns (11452*), what appear to be flames (11453) etc. There are also dolphins (11636*). No apology is offered for putting them here: there is little choice. Those after / may have less reason for being here than those in front. Again the silvery finish and the use of punched dots place these items firmly in the first century.

8286 11451* 11452* 11453–4 11455* 11636* 14319* 14320 / 8416–7 8420 8440–1

Dating: 8416, 8417 & 8420 Colchester 49–61; 11455* Wroxeter, 55/60–90; 11454 Bannaventa 60–65.

Distribution: KT 1134 HANTS 3 DORS 34 DEV 2 SCILLY 2 ESSEX 34444 MSEX 2233 HERTS 2334 GLOS 13344 SUFF 1 NORF 1223344 CAMBS 2 NHANTS 4 SALOP 24 NHUMB 2

Ateliers A and B with their enamel occur as might be expected on sites occupied in the second century, but not extensively, seemingly, into the Military North. However when it comes to Atelier C and those given to the notional X, we are in the early years of the Roman occupation. The furthest flung is the one from Wroxeter which had a military origin. Likewise, the ones from Gloucestershire belong to sites occupied by the army very early on.

Part 4. Dragonesque [DRAG]

Immediately recognizable, usually attractively enamelled, it is a strong possibility that the type is proportionately better represented in collections than almost any other because of these factors. The arranging of brooches in order is a typological exercise, and what follows is not, for that reason, fundamentally different from the work of W. Bulmer [113] and his continuator R. Feachem [266] and [267].

However, Bulmer attempted to produce a simple, almost linear development from the one from Braughing, 7736*, to his G. The truth is that nothing is purely linear, and his efforts to produce a family tree were doomed to failure: his 2, 3 and group C could be seen as being devolved brooches arising from almost any other group. Feachem [266] amplified the number found, published the original list along with new illustrations under the

counties in which they were found, and grouped some by themselves without explaining why: those shown in his figs 5–9. His [267] note added nine more and placed them again in their counties.

The truth is almost certainly that these brooches were made by more than one generation of worker, and, not only that, by more than one at a time. It is also possible that each vendor had a variety for sale at any time giving the customer a choice. There are only, in reality, three states of the Dragonesque: the plain and demonstrably early, gathered here as Type 1; decorated but without enamel, Type 2; and the rest, Type 3. There are not enough dated examples to order these groups, and one would need a reliably dated context for each before any attempt at true seriation could be made.

Dungworth, in commenting on the alloys used, points to little use of scrap alloys derived from Roman sources; they would have had a much higher zinc content ([241], 96). Whether this is true of native brooch types, which belong almost exclusively to the lands north of the Humber, remains to be seen.

1. Basic form & copper alloy wire. The first group is strictly speaking a member of Hull and Hawkes [415] Type 2D, 7745, and the second by extension: 7758*. Taking 7733 as the earliest, it comes from the Iron Age cemetery at Wetwang, and one may note that the broad centre is already there and that there are expansions at the ends. One acts as a stop to the wrap-round of the pin and the other as a catch for the point of the pin. The second group, 1.b, may be related at a remove to the Penannular: 7743–4 and especially 7745 which could almost have been one, only twisted.

1.a. *Plate 128.* Those before / have only a broad main S with at most a bordering groove. Those after have decoration of a different sort. 7750*, which Collingwood saw as a prototype Dragonesque along with 7736* below ([155], 53) has three pairs of ridges running in line across from one terminal to the other. On 7748 the terminals are turned outwards and they and the band have raised herringbone ornament in a single line. In terms of the enamelled brooches, these occupy the position of ears.

7733 7734* 7735 7751–2 / 7748 7750*

Dating: 7733 Wetwang, Iron Age cemetery; 7734* Longthorpe, Claudian–Neronian; 7751 Rudston, 90–110 and 7752, 140–160; 7735 Maiden Castle, 4th century.

1.b. *Plate 128.* The wire version and related.

7743 7744* 7745*–6 7758* / 7747

Dating: none.

Distribution: DORS a WILTS b OXON b CAMBS a WALES b YORKS aaaaabb SCOT b

The presence of 1.a in Yorkshire is striking, and it is one which becomes stronger with the distribution of other varieties of Dragonesque. Those belonging to 1.b are more diverse and 7745* may even have started out as a Penannular before being bent to its wavy form.

2. No enamel, Plate 129. These vary from the flat plate with terminals which are merely outlines of the animal heads (7736*), so common on the enamelled ones, to elaborate open-work designs which are reminiscent of some of the enamelled series: 7754* which recalls the design with a circle in the middle. There are here what might be called echoes of brooches in sub-type 1.a, such as the pairs of ridges in line, 7750* there, 7749* here. The reason why they are not put together is that the latter has one terminal in the shape of the animal head and also the bar joining a terminal to the centre part of the brooch. This suggests that some divisions *may* be artificial. However, the outline head and the joining bar are found relatively frequently and could mean some kind of advance: the bar prevented the pin from falling off easily. The brooches after the first / have circles in the middle, those after the second / have relief ornament.

7736* 7737 7739–41 7742* 7749* 7760 / 7738 7753 7754* 7755–6 10138/ 7757* 7759 10131 10136 14226

Dating: 7736* Braughing, Claudian?; 10136 Catterick, 200/20–275.

The single dated example is not helpful: the series must run on towards the end of the first century.

Distribution: ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 11 CHESH 1 YORKS 11111111 DUR 1 NHUMB 1 SCOT 11111

The East Coast is clearly the main distribution again with Yorkshire being prominent, but there are many in Scotland. The single item from the west side of England stands out as an aberration.

3. Enamelled, Plate 129. These are divided according to the basic design in the centre of the brooch.

3.a. The rectangle, frequently enamelled as a lozenge trellis, occurs in simpler forms. No chronological development is implied by the ordering adopted here which is merely complex to simple.

3.a1. Plate 129. The lozenge trellis. The central rectangle may have one or more rows of lozenges, but all have a reserved trumpet in each side and the enamelling ends in a point.

7763 7796 7797* 7798–801 7805–6 7810–3

Dating: 7798 7805 Scole, Trajanic-mid Antonine; 7811 Wroxeter, before c.130.

3.a2. Plate 128. The areas on each side of the centre are filled with devolved trumpets, and the examples are arranged in the order of progressive devolution.

7814 7804* 14223–4 7808 7815 7816* 14221 7807* 7809

Dating: none.

3.a3. Plate 129. The rectangle has a pair of arcs on each side and a line running away from the middle to the point.

6973 7802 7803* 7829

Dating: 7829 Newstead c.80–c.200; 6973 Wroxeter, late 2nd–early 3rd century.

3.a4. Plate 129. The rectangle has a rectilinear grid, either 2 x 2 or 3 x 2, the lines across being continued to the point. 7819 was published also in the frontispiece to Boyd Dawkins' Cave Hunting [216] and was said to be the same as the one illustrated in Alan King's paper on brooches etc from the Settle District ([454], fig. 2.e) but the drawings do not match.

7770 7775–7 7781 7818–20 7821* 10133 14222 14701

Dating: 7781 Old Winteringham, Neronian–early Flavian.

3.ax. Plate 129. Other designs next to the lozenges: 7774* has enamelled cells on the flat ears; 7817 has a devolved trumpet next to a line of three rectangles; then there is 7761, a plain reserved rectangle with cross-cut borders and incised and punched dot decoration on the flat ears found on other brooches of the middle first century.

7761 7774* 14703 7817

Dating: 7761 Newstead, c.80–c.200.

3.b. Plate 129. The centre has a circle which may have another in the middle, be divided into four by plain bars or lenticular elements, or the same as cells around the periphery with a central circular dot. Distribution after 3.bx.

g.b1 A pair of bars splay out from the middle of the circle, one running to the point, the other to the side. Distribution after 3.bx.

7767 7772 7782–3 7785 7786* 7788–9 10137 12343

Dating: 7782 Watercrock, c.110–c.140.

3.b2. Plate 129. Here, there is a single bar running away from the circle, but it may have a series of cells running up one side. Two come from the continent: Netherlands ([266], 42, fig. 2.35) and northern France ([226], 240 pl. 54,552). 11685* had a pierced lug riveted to it, possibly when one terminal was lost. Distribution after 3.bx.

7787 11685*

Dating: none?

3.b3. Plate 129. Complex design in which trumpets on either side spiral in to form the circle. Distribution after 3.bx. 14225*

Dating: none.

3.bx. Plates 129–130. With the rest, no trend or even a proper pair occur. They are arranged in order of ascending complexity, // separating the various stages. First comes a group with single spots of enamel: 7792 has one in the middle, 7793 has an extra one on each terminal and 7791 has a more elaborate centre with two spots on each terminal. However, these three are taken from what may be very unreliable drawings, hence none is illustrated here. Next come reliable illustrations. Those which are to be found on Plate 129 will show the direction of change. 7766 has enamelled triangles next to the circle, and beaded strips across the ears of the terminal.

7791–3 / 7766 7768* 7771* 7773* 7780* 7790*

Dating: none.

3.c. These have either a single line or lozenge trellis running along the main part of the brooch.

3.c1. *Plate 130*. Plain rectangles in a single line. The one chosen for illustration has in addition punched dot decoration and terminals which are not obviously zoomorphic but much more like trumpets of standard abstract Iron Age ornament.

7764–5 7769* 7778–9 7822–7 10139 12342* 14702

Dating: 14702 and unillustrated Castleford, 85/90–95/100.

3.c2. *Plate 130*. Two lines, commonly lozenges. 7784 is problematic, as illustrated by Feachem (1951, fig. 6,5), for it does not belong to any of the groups identified so far, but M.R. Hull's own drawing suggests that it belongs here (the Late Dr. Grace Simpson gave me several of Hull's own drawings superfluous to requirements during her editing his *Corpus*. These drawings should find their way to the British Museum).

7794* 7795 7784

Dating: 7794* Catterick, 200–later 3rd century.

3.x1. *Plate 130*. Enamelled, but no beasts' heads.

14227*

Dating: none.

3.x2. The following are terminals only.

7762 7828

Dating: none.

Distribution of all: KT 3a13a1 3a2 DORS 1a1b WILTS 3bx SOM 3a4 ESSEX 3a1 MSEX 3c13c1 HERTS 2 OXON 1b GLOS 3a4 3b1 SUFF 2 3a2 3b1 3b3 3c1 NORF 22 3a13a13a1 3a23a1 3c1 CAMBS 1a3a1 LEICS 3c2 WALES 1b 3c1 Lincs 3a4 3b1 3b2 3bx 3x2 NOTTS 3bx DERBS 3a4 SALOP 3a1 3a3 CHESH 2 3a23a2 3c13c1 YORKS 1a1a1a1a1a1a1b1b 2222222 3a1 3a23a23a2 3a33a3 3a43a43a43a4 3ax 3b13b1 3b2 3bx3bx3bx3bx 3c13c13c1 3c2 3x1 LANCS 3a4 DUR 2 3a2 3ax CUMB 3ax 3b13b1 3bx 3c1 3c2 NHUMB 2 3a13a1 3a43a4 3b13b13b1 3c1 SCOT 22222 3a1 3a3 3a4 3ax 3bx 3c13c1 3x2

What is really noticeable is Yorkshire. This can have nothing to do with the amount of excavation, although that is certainly a factor. The Dragoness was made there in quantity. When the rest of the distribution is looked at, one may wonder whether the brooch was carried north into military areas piggy back, so to speak, with other more major supplies. The general absence, as far as numbers are concerned, in the south of England and the lower Severn Valley, with numbers increasing on the eastern side of England, could suggest that there was an intimate economic link between East Anglia and Lincolnshire and the areas to the north of the Humber.

Chapter 8. The Knee, Almgren 101 and Interlopers

Part 1. The Knee [KNEE]

The basic shape of most bows recalls that of the leg of the typical chair made in the early and middle parts of the eighteenth century in England. The bow is attached in general to a prominent open-backed cylinder with pierced ends in which is mounted the spring in a version of the Polden Hill manner (see Chapter 3, Part 4). The family was widespread and, not surprisingly, such a simple definition does not adequately cover the range. Firstly, the basic S-shaped profile is found on varieties whose relationship with an aspect of eighteenth-century furniture is more than dubious. Secondly, the basic profile may be attached to a head-plate with a pair of pierced lugs behind for the spring. Thirdly, the spring-case may be attached to straight bows. And fourthly, guaranteed members of the family may lack both the bow and the spring-case. But, as the cabriole-shaped bow with its spring-case is the chief pattern and the name is now time-honoured and used in more than one country, it is a very convenient term.

1. British [KNEE Br]. The knee is on the whole weak and thin and attached to a spring-case which hardly projects beyond the ends of the head. An almost unvarying feature is the presence of a small tab or loop on the case. They fall essentially into two groups, decorated or plain. The decoration is often of enamel, but may also include niello, and always had applied white metal trim (see Chapter 1, Part 6), a peculiarly British technique: so common in Britain and on definitely British types that examples found on the continent can confidently be described as exports. The plain examples are just that. However, some, even many, may once have had a white metal trim, all traces having been lost due to corrosion. On many examples the tell-tale traces of the added decoration may never have been noticed either by the writers of the description, if there is one, or by the illustrator. The catch-plates are always vertical, unlike the horizontal plate so favoured by many of the continental varieties.

1.a Decorated.

1.a1. Plate 130. Those with enamelled cells arranged in two rows of three or four on the bow. One, 7481*, has a flat face with cells for enamel on the front of the case.

3694 4904 7469–79 7481* 11791–2 12351 12536* 13660 13997 14239 14707

Dating: 7474 Gadebridge, late 2nd or early 3rd century; 13997 Verulamium, early-mid 4th century.

No significant dating.

1.a2. Plate 130. Those without any cells, but with traces of applied white metal trim. The four after the first / have a panel moulded on the front of the bow, and the six after the second / have a point projecting beneath the foot.

3697 4733 7482–8 7489* 7490–92 7515 12346 12534–5 12540 14242–3 / 7493–4 14240 14241* / 4727 7495 7496* 14708 7511* 7677

Dating: 7482 Wroxeter, before 130/50?; 7484 Buxton, 2nd century; 7677 Catterick, 160–200; 7493 Caerleon, 160–230; 7511* Chichester late 2nd century; 7487 Baldock, 180–220; 7495 Bignor, 190/200–225/250; 7490 Vindolanda, 223–5; 7492 Verulamium, 250–280.

Apart from the one from Wroxeter which may be as early as 130, the rest are safely later than 150/60 and run into the earlier third century.

Distribution: KT 12 SUSS 22 SURR 2 HANTS 11122 WILTS 1 SOM 1 HERTS 1122 OXON 112 GLOS 122 NORF 11111222 CAMBS 2 NHANTS 2 LEICS 12 WALES 2 Lincs 12 DERBS 2 SALOP 1222 YORKS 112222 DUR 2 CUMB 2 SCOT 2

1.a1 is thinly scattered, with no real emphasis other than that of excavation. Other than, that is, the absence for the moment of any in the Pennines, or west of those or north of Yorkshire. 1.a2 is much more widespread with four from the lands north and west of Yorkshire.

1.a1: Towns: 8 from towns, with 2 more from what might be called villages and none from any fort. That makes 10 from 18 identified places.

1.a2: Towns = 13; Forts = 4: 17 places out of 24.

1.b1. Plate 130. All are plain and most are very thin. The last one has a projection under the foot. 12345 has a minor fan-shaped moulding in front of the spring case.

7497 7499–501 7504 7506–9 7510* 7549 7514 15496/ 6970 7498 7503 12345 14244*

Dating: 7502 Canterbury, 100–80; 6970 Wroxeter, 3rd century; 7500 Fishbourne, late 3rd century.

1.b2. Plate 130. The case for the spring has been replaced by a fan-shaped head behind which are two pierced lugs for the spring. Again, the designs come enamelled and with applied metal, or plain. It should perhaps be assumed that there will be a division along the lines above, but, as this has not been demonstrated, it is ignored in the designation

of the sub-type: there is no 1.ba2 or 1.bb2. The enamel appears always to be on the head.

3696 4903 5185 7512 7513* 7517–8 4977 7519 7516 7646 7658

Dating: 7513* Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 DORS 2 WILTS 1 HANTS 1 ESSEX 11 OXON 2 NORF 112 CAMBS 1111 LEICS 12 NOTTS 12 Lincs 122 SALOP 1 YORKS 1 DUR 2 NHUMB 222 SCOT 12

Whatever the origins of the Knee Brooch itself, the British versions should surely only have evolved after the continental versions appeared in numbers this side of the Channel. Therefore, the dating of those must condition the earliest dates of the native ones. However, there is generally during the second and earlier third centuries a lack of historical events there on which to hang such mundane things as pottery dating; in contrast, in Britain we have the events of the northern frontier which directly relate to archaeological horizons.

1.b1: Towns = 8 and Forts = 0 out of 16 identified places.

1.b2: Towns: 2; Forts: 2, out of 9.

2.a1. Plate 130. Faceted or with an arris. Those before the first / have five facets, those in the middle have three and those after the second / have two.

7522* 7528 11796 / 7523–6 7533 7535 7544 7548 7551 7521 11793–4 11795* 14252 / 7546* 12533

Dating: 7521 Mumrills, 140–c.163; 7525 Camelon, 140–163; 7522* Strageath, 142–158; 7535 Carlisle, late 2nd–early 3rd century.

2.a2. Plate 131. Rounded front. A note of caution is sounded: many illustrators may not have noticed worn facets on brooches.

7529–32 7534 7536 7537* 7538–43 7545 12532 12539 12878

Dating: 7538–9 Newstead, 80–c.200; 7540 Mumrills, 140–c.163; 7532 Rocester, 4th century, and later?

Distribution: KT 12 HERTS 1 NORF 11112 CAMBS 1 WALES 2 STAFFS 22 SALOP 1222 DUR 1 NHUMB 112 CUMB 11 SCOT 11112222222

More than half come from Hadrian's Wall and further north. In the lowlands, sites such as Rocester were military and one might ask whether or not the majority of other sites in lowland Britain were also related to the military. There seems to be a division in England where 2.a1 are mainly in the east, while 2.a2 distinctly on the western side.

2.a1: Towns: 1, or 2 if Walsingham/Wighton counts as large undefended settlement; Forts: 9. All out of 15 identified places.

2.a2: Towns: 1, but 2 with Walsingham/Wighton; Military: 4 or 5, out of 9 identified places.

2.b. As for Type 1.b2, but with fan-shaped head-plates, and again divided into faceted and rounded bows. There

is also a small number which has a kind of bridge between the bow proper and the head-plate.

2.b1. Plate 131. Faceted bows. Note 7636 and 7637 have no heads, but the result of the dating and distribution shows that it matters not that they are here rather than with those of 1.a1. Those before the first / have more than three facets, the next group have three and those after the second / have two. The last tend to have an arris below the bulbous head and the feature may have been worn off on the most prominent part of the bow.

4119 7621* 7622 7644 7648 7650 7701 12542 / 6971 11797* 7623–5 7632 7635–6 7643 7645 7647 7649 7653 7702 12537 12541 / 7637 7641–2 7655* 7652 7660 14712–3

Dating: 7622 Cappuck, c.80–c.180/90; 7650 7701 Catterick, 250–300; 7636–7 7645 7647 Caerleon, 160–230; 14712 Castleford, 180–400; 7649 Whitton, before 280 and 7648, 280–300; 6971 Wroxeter, late 3rd–mid 4th century; 7621* Carlisle, late 4th century.

2.b2. Plate 131. Rounded front. Note 7630 is as 7636 above. 7520 7626–31 7633 7639 7651 7654 7656 7664 7669 12543 14245 14246* 14247

Dating: 7654 Newstead, 80–c.200; 7669 Camelon, 140–163; 7651 Catterick, 160–200; 7630 Caerleon, 160–230; 7626 Leicester, up to 220; 7631 Caerleon, late 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 2 WILTS 1 GLOS 1112 NORF 111 LEICS 12 RUT 2 WALES 1111112222 NOTTS 2 Lincs 2 SALOP 11 CHESH 1 YORKS 111111222 DUR 12 CUMB 112 NHUMB 112 SCOT 122

2.b1 belongs to military sites in the main, but there are one-to-threes elsewhere. The ones from Wroxeter may belong to the military, the town being a frontier one in many senses. 2.b2 emphasises the military zones: the singletons are neither here nor there.

2.b1: Towns: 5; Forts: 11, out of 20 identified places.

2.b2: Towns: 3; Forts: 9, out of 15.

The very solid military presence in the distributions for these Type 2 brooches raises the question of whether or not they are truly British. However, brooches of Type 3 were made here and so Type 2 may have been made at places like Castleford.

3. Plate 131. Only established as being British by the inscription found on 5243* and 7572: FIBVLA EX REGIO LAGITIENSE – brooch from the region of Lagitium, which is Castleford in Yorkshire. The bow has a triangular section and is straight. The two faces facing the front carry decoration, either scrolls as things are at present, or in the last two examples (5243* 7572), two enamelled panels bearing the inscription given above. This shows clearly on the second one.

5243* 7573 11800 12548* 14709 7572

Dating: none known.

Distribution: useless, except that none has come from north of the Humber despite the location of a manufactory at Castleford.

4. *Plate 131*. A native brooch which is closer in form to a Knee than to any other, though in truth the overall proportions of the bow are more suited to a general Colchester Derivative than to any thing which has passed in review so far, except for the fanned head-plate. The plain form usually fitted with a pierced tab at the top, and decoration around the curved edge, and always has a hinged pin whose axis bar is housed in the thin cylinder running along the bottom edge of the head-plate. One has the wings of the alternative type with a small fan rising as a crest in the centre, 7727.

7719–26 12527 12177 13576 7729–30 7731* 7732/7727 14856

Dating: 7722 Nettleton, late 1st–early 2nd century; 7725 Marshfield, probably 2nd century; 13576 Kingscote, after 375.

Distribution: WILTS 1111 SOM 111 DEV 1 OXON 1 GLOS 111111 WALES 1

Fairly obviously a south-western type.

5. *Plate 131*. Fan-headed, short bow ending in a properly formed fantail foot, the only interloper here is the silver curiosity found in the Traprain Law Treasure (7706*) whose spring is mounted on a single pierced plate and with a very thin bow of triangular section. This is placed here as the form of the undoubted Roman ones is the closest parallel. All those before the first / have faceted bows, those after have rounded ones, and the last is covered above.

7695–6 7698–7700 7703–4 7705* 7707–10 12551 / 6972 7694* 7697 / 7706*

Dating: 7704 Vindolanda, mid 3rd century; 7695 Richborough, late 3rd or 4th century; 7706* Traprain Law, after 400.

Distribution: KT 11 DORS 1 MSEX 1 NORF 11 LEICS 1 WALES 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 1 CUMB 111 NHUMB 111 SCOT 1

The one from Scotland is, of course, 7706*, which ought to have no real part here. Most come from the Midlands, the northern Marches, Wales and the lands north of these. Towns: 2; Forts: 7, out of 12 identified places.

1b. Continental [KNEE Cont]. In general the designs are distinctive and easily paralleled on the continent. There is one area of doubt: most have horizontal catch-plates, while British ones hardly ever have.

1. Two closely related brooch types, one thin and the other fat. The catch-plates are all horizontal. Distributions are given after 1.b.

1.a. Plate 131. The thick or fat version without the added moulding on the front of the spring-case. There are a lot of small variations in the profile of the back of the bow, but there are not enough specimens overall to make further sub-division worthwhile.

3693 7571 7670–4 7675 7676* 11846 14710–1

Dating: 7670 Richborough, before c.275–300.

1.b. Plate 131. Very thin bow whose depth is much greater than its width. There is a bar, as it were, at the head between the bow and the spring-case.

3698 4905 7559 7561 7562–3 7564* 7565–6 7568–70 11801 12544

Dating: 7561 Newstead, 80–c.200; Dura Europos, 165–256 (Frisch and Toll 1949, 50 pl. 9,20,22); 7569 Colchester, before c.300; 4905 Wilcote, 4th century.

Distribution: KT abb HANTS a ESSEX b OXON b SUFF a NORF abb CAMBS b LEICS a WALES b DERBS a SALOP b CHESH bb YORKS b DUR a CUMB aaa NHUMB aab SCOT b

A fair spread and unsurprisingly fairly well represented north of the Humber-Dee line. Whether the poor showing in Scotland is a chronological indicator is not certain, for the meagre dating available could mean that the type in both versions occurred basically after Scotland had been abandoned.

1.a: Forts: 7, Towns: 2 out of 11 identified places.

1.b: Forts: 6, Towns: 4 out of 13 identified places.

2. Spring-case with an S-shaped profile: here the foot splay out both sideways and in profile and the catch-plate is horizontal. There are variations. Distributions given after 2.c.

2.a. Plate 131. Basically as described.

3695 3888 7592* 7593–602 7603* 7604–8 7610 11802 12294 12344 14250–1 14716–7

Dating: 7605 Chelmsford, 300/2–400/20; 7602 Vindolanda, c.370.

2.b. Plate 132. Full S profile and straight-sided viewed from the front.

7609 7611 12546 14248 14254 14715*

Dating: none known.

2.c. Plate 132. Exaggerated S profile.

7613* 7614–5 12547 14249

Dating: 7613 Catterick, 125–late 3rd century.

Distribution: SUSS a DORS a ESSEX a OXON a WALES b SUFF a NORF aaabc CAMBS aaaaaaa NHANTS aa LEICS a LINGS c NOTTS ab YORKS aaabcc DUR ac CUMB a NHUMB aabb

Apart from the expected presence on Hadrian's Wall, there is a concentration at Catterick and a more dispersed one in East Anglia and Cambridgeshire, more specifically round Durobrivae, and that also includes the two from Northamptonshire. Everywhere else pales into insignificance.

2.a: Towns: 2; Forts: 5, out of 19 identified places – all the rest are southern rural sites.

2.b: Towns: 0; Forts: 3, out of 5 identified places.

2.c: Towns: 1; Forts: 3, out of 4 identified places.

3. Plate 132. As sub-type 2.a, but with a fanned head-plate.

7617–8 7619* 7620 14256 14714

Dating: none known.

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 1 WESS 1 SCILLY 1 GLOS 1 HERE 1

Only one from a possible fort, or one from a town/settlement, should that fort prove not to be one.

With so few it would be hard to see anything emerge, but there is no example from a military site and seemingly not from the areas particularly favoured by the preceding types of continental Knee. It might be that this is a British copy.

4. *Plate 132*. Divided bow, the pin may be hinged or sprung; in the latter case it is mounted between two pierced lugs behind the head-plate which tends to have a rounded front. The profile is usually S-shaped, but can be straight (7587, 11882).

7582–5 7587–9 7590* 7591 11882 12549–50 14266 14268 14720

Dating: a variant from Dura Europos, 156–265 (Frisch and Toll 1949, 50, pl. 11,25–28).

Distribution: KT 1 WILTS 1111 SCILLY 111 GLOS 1 OXON 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 11 NHANTS 1

None comes from a northern military site as yet and only one from a definite town.

5. *Plate 132*. Often with an S-shaped profile and sides when viewed from the front, the section of the bow is rectangular; the foot splays out and the catch-plate is horizontal. Those after / have basically lost the sinuous form of the S. A distinctive feature is the use of an engraved scroll on the front face with a pelta underneath, or an enamelled filled panel on the front with a reserved VTERE FELIX or, again, punched dot ornament. There may be a chance that this is related to the type called British Type 3. As that was definitely made in Britain, there is a genuine possibility that this was as well.

7581 11798* 7574 7575* 7576 / 7577–8

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 11 Lincs 1 DUR 1

No real pattern emerges, but four come from definite towns out of the five identified places.

6. *Plate 132*. These are defined solely by the way in which the bilateral spring is mounted on a plate behind the head of the bow. The chord can be internal or external, the plate having a notch at the top or bottom to hold it. The catch-plates are vertical, but thin and long, sometimes longer than seems necessary (7662). One has a sheet metal tube fitted round the spring (7667). These are imports most probably from the upper Danube.

7634* 7640 7661–3 7665–7 7687 7679*

Dating: 7640 Camelon, 140–163.

Distribution: WILTS 1 SOM 1 MSEX 1 SUFF 1 Lincs 1 CUMB 1 NHUMB 1 SCOT 1

No strong pattern emerges. However, one comes from a town and three from forts out of the four identified places.

Oddments [KNEE] These are not divided between possible British or Continental types.

X1. *Plate 132*. The first group has either some kind of expansion at the head of the bow, or more usually a separate moulding between the bow and the spring case.

7547 7550 7552* 7556–8 12528

Dating and Distribution: 7556, Newstead, 80–c.200, four of the seven come from the Military North or Scotland. 12528 is from Usk.

X2. *Plate 132*. The second group has spring-cases and none of the examples fits those that have passed in review before.

7680–1 7684–5 12545* 13621

Dating: 7685 Newstead, 80–c.200; 7681 7684 Mumrills, 140–c.163.

Five come from Military sites and the sixth from Wroxeter.

X3. *Plate 132*. Now comes those which have the spring mounted on a single pierced plate behind the head of the bow.

7689* 14253* 14255

Dating: none.

Two come from the Military North.

X4. *Plate 132*. Here are those with hinged pins.

7616* 7682 7688 12530

Dating: one close to 7616* from Dura Europos: 165–256 ([309], 50, pl. 11,24; 7688 Lincoln, c.250–c.350).

One from a military site and two from towns.

XX. *Plate 132*. Finally, two oddities which owe something to some of the preceding brooches and which have hinged pins. Neither is dated.

7692* 7693

Part 2. Almgren 101 [Almgren 101]

All have Trumpet heads, all have a projecting plate, more than a semicircle in plan, at the base of the head, all have a fantail foot of some kind with a flat front face, and all have a sprung pin mounted between pierced plates behind the head. All, including those with enamelling, have or had applied white metal trim, a peculiarly British technique (see Chapter 1, Part 6).

The basic form was identified by Almgren and from those which are basically related inside his Group V, I have chosen the one designated form 101 to stand for all ([16], 51–55, *Taf.* V, 99–108). None of his is British, and examples from the continent are excessively rare in Britain. Therefore it seems safe to take the basic form and discuss it entirely in British terms without fear of confusion.

The origin is very probably indicated by a brooch belonging to Birdlip 4.1b: 10543*. From Witesham, Suffolk, it lies inside the core area of the sub-type a here. Although a stray find, the decoration is hardly likely to be later than 50/60. This leaves a gap, but it can hardly be doubted that this will be filled in time.

a. *Plate 133*. Like the developed Rosette, the foot runs up to join the head, leaving a circular hole between the trumpet head and what would, in a Rosette, be counted as the upper part of the foot-plate.

3665* 5545 5547 5548* 5554 5546 5557 5572 10135 14234 14236–8 14705 15408

Dating: 14705 Castleford, 140–180; 5546 Leicester, up to 220.

Hardly a major roll-call, but the likelihood is that it is later second and earlier third century. As a specifically British product, it is unusual, but may have been a response for the need for brooches for those with military rank and receiving the appropriate uniform, pay and food allowances. Whether they were all soldiers as such and not those whose ranks were to form part of the Later Roman Civil Service is beyond telling.

b. *Plate 133*. The same basic form, only the foot-plate does not extend above the projection to join the head.

5543–4 5549 5550* 5551–53 5556 5561–4 5566–71 10536 10539 10544 12524–5 12526* 13541 14235

Dating: 5552 Wroxeter, 100–120; 5564 Chichester, late 1st–mid/late 2nd century; 5567 Newstead, 80–c.200; 14235 Hacheston, late 3rd–4th century.

Very limited, but the same basic range as that suggested for sub-type a would hold.

Distribution: KT b SUSS b HANTS bb SOM bb ESSEX bbb OXON b GLOS abb HERE ab WKS b SUFF aab NORF aabb CAMBS abbb LEICS a LINCS a NOTTS aabb SALOP abb YORKS a CUMB ab NHUMB aa SCOT b

For a, the E side of England is favoured above all. Even allowing for the bias in collecting for the Corpus, this is marked. The spread could mark the military, but not all the sites are recognizably military. As for b, although widespread, there is no noticeably strong military bias. There is an emphasis on towns large and small, as well as the occasional fort.

c. Enamelled, there are two sizes and both almost certainly came from the same workshop.

c.1. *Plate 133*. Small, scarcely more than 30mm high, the foot seems always to have a St. Andrew's Cross reserved in the enamel. The projecting plate is minor and the trumpet head reduced more-or-less to a straight-sided feature with or without faceting and occasionally a point of inflection in the profile. The head is a plate sometimes rectangular, 5573, or crescentic, 5574, or even a fan with radiating projections, 14233.

5573–4 14231* 14232* 14233

c.2. *Plate 133*. Large, 45–55mm long, the illustrated items are a fair representation

5575 5576* 5577 6969 14228–9 14230*

Dating: only one, a c.2, has a date – Dura Europos (Frisch and Toll 1949, pl. 9,23) 165–256.

Distribution: DORS 11 WILT 1 SUFF 2 NORF 1

CAMBS 122 LEIC 2 LINCS 2 SALOP 2 DUR 2

No strong pattern emerges, but the south of Britain seems to be favoured. Again, the tendency is for them to be in settlements rather than rural sites.

d. *Plate 133*. Mixed bag: no comment. However 8446* is obviously related, even though the head belongs to a type allocated to the Knee (British Type 5), the plate at the base of the bow shows a connection. The foot beneath the plate is a voided triangle with enamelled roundels on the sides. By extension the completely irrational 8445* is placed here: the head-plate belongs, the bow is straight-sided and enamelled, the plate at its base has gone and the foot has become a four-lobed wonder. Only those with the applied silver trim, or showing traces of its one-time existence, will be definitely British, the rest are either definitely or probably continental in manufacture.

5558 14706* 5559–60 8445* 8446* 10134

Dating: 5559 Camerton, 2nd century.

Distribution: SUSS 1 SOM 1 GLOS 1 NORF 1 NHANTS 1 YKS 1

With only six examples nothing is assured, but it supports the impression given by c.1 and c.2 in general.

e. *Plate 133*. The trumpet head is there more or less, the projecting plate is reduced to a moulded knop recalling that of some Trumpets. The foot is in the form of a fantail. The pin may be hinged (7713), or have a bilateral spring on a single pierced lug as on 7714* which also has enamel and traces of having had white metal appliqué. In that case it will be of British manufacture. The pin is most often sprung and mounted between a pair of pierced lugs.

7714* 7718 7712 11799 7713

Dating: 11799 Gorhambury, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 7712 Colchester, before c.300; 7714* Canterbury, 300/320–350.

The first is the closest to its likely date.

Distribution: two from Kent, and one each from Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire.

Part 3. Interlopers from Free Germany *etc.* [FG].

A very small group considering the numbers of brooches recorded from Britain, those gathered here are undoubtedly from Free Germany in the main, but there are also those which seem to have no home at all, except close to the border of the Empire, but on which side is a little clouded.

FIG 1. *Plate 133*. These have a marked recurve in the profile of their bows so that the catch-plate is behind an almost vertical face. Their scale tends to be slight, but the chief give away is the fact that at the head of the bow there is a loop on which was mounted a bilateral spring on an axis bar which was kept in place by knobs at the ends, and the opportunity was frequently taken to provide these with prominent knobs (cf. [16] *Taf.* 9). Only one recorded by

me is what might be complete, save for the loss of the spring and pin: 6292* from Mildenhall, Wiltshire. The foot is in fact a repeat of that found on the *Augenfibel* and its near relatives, and which is found again in the Proto Crossbows (see Chapter 9, Part 1).

These belong to Böhme's German Bow Brooches ([77], 32–6, *Taf.* 22, 865–925) which she then divided, to suit the material from Saalburg and Zugmantel, into five varieties. Those most like the fragments from Britain, save for 6292*, are assigned to Almgren's Group VII, series 1, although some of the characteristics are present in Series 2–4 where more exaggerated forms occur. They are represented in their distribution on Böhme's *Abb.* 2–4 where the fact that they are essentially Free German is quite clear.

There are so few examples in Britain that detailed discussion is not needed.

6292* 10165* 10166–9 12561

Dating: 10167 Carlisle, late 120s to 150/180; 10169 Catterick, c.200–late 3rd century; 10165* and 10168 Carlisle, late 3rd to mid/late 4th century; 10166 Gloucester, 4th century.

For such a tiny sample, there is a remarkable number of dated pieces, though the extremes of the range, 120s to late fourth century, are not helpful. The fairly small sample provided by Böhme's forts can only really be dated there to late first century to c.260. As the group as a whole is from Free Germany, close dating is not to be expected from their Fatherland. Nevertheless, Böhme quotes Almgren in giving a third century date to his series 4 which, in her illustration would include 10165*, and then adds someone else's emendation to make them begin in the later second century. How far any of the brooches noted from Britain could actually be a series 4 depends on whether one accepts brooches only of Almgren's designated example ([16], *Taf.* 9, 208) or Böhme's slightly more generous division. In terms of the dating from Britain, such as it is, this range is reasonable with the usual residual factor dragging the end date well into the fourth century.

6292* deserves further notice: it is much sturdier in form and is not paralleled at either Saalburg or Zugmantel. It, however, finds a reflection in Almgren's Group VI where 169 and 170 have the same simplicity and which he calls the North European form ([16], 86), but no real dating is given. The foot of 6292*, reflecting as it does that of the *Augenfibel* group, is perhaps the best indicator of date and it ought not to be much after 200.

Distribution: WILTS 1 GLOS 1 SALOP 1 YORKS 1fc CUMB 111

All come from towns or forts, but there should be many more unrecognized, and if like the iron example from Catterick, even more would have been thrown away.

The Rest. The rest of the brooches which derive directly or indirectly from brooches favoured in Free Germany are largely singletons and are not really placed in any formal groups. They are designated here as FGa, FGb *etc.*, the order being determined, as ever, by the manner of pin-

fixing. First are those which bear some affinities with the Nauheim/*Drahtfibel* Derivatives native to Britain. At the end comes a section on distribution and dating in Britain.

FG.a. Plate 134. Integral four-coil bilateral spring. The first, 10234*, has an external chord, the others internal ones or, in the case of 4774*, are likely to have had.

4774* 4775–6 10233 10234*

10234* and 10233, both from Chester, can be taken together. The first has the top of the catch-plate drawn out to form a wire which is then wrapped round the bow and this is also found in FGb. The second has a solid catch-plate but retains wire coiled round the bottom of the bow. This skeuomorph occurs in FGc and FGd: 10231*. 10234* is an example of one of Almgren's Group VI ([16], *Taf.* 7, 158) and 10233 is not so dissimilar to be a separate type. Neither occurs at Saalburg or Zugmantel, which may be a matter of chance or mean that they were earlier than Domitian or later than c.260.

4774* from Wroxeter shows, by the cross-moulding at the base of the bow and the beading down the front, some reflection of the Aucissa. It is, however, broadly paralleled by examples at Zugmantel ([77], *Taf.* 5, 318) which should come from the early period there. 4775 also comes from Wroxeter and has a plain broad bow with a cross-moulding at the point of inflection in the bow. Neither is guaranteed to be from Free Germany, but neither has any close association with other forms expected within the Empire, at least as far as Britain is concerned.

4776 ([659], 72–3, fig. 15, 174) also betrays, in a crude form, some affinity with the Aucissa in its profile and the foot is made from wire wound round the narrow base of the lower bow. Almgren ([16], *Taf.* 1, 16) illustrates one, but describes it as being Roman. However, it is probably a *limes* product and by using an integral spring reflects what is happening to the east. The date, if the association in style of bow and foot are correct, is likely to be first century, even if this example from Vindolanda is unlikely to be much before the end of that century.

FG.b. Plate 134. The bilateral spring with an internal chord is mounted on an axis bar which is held either by a cast-on loop or a curled-over bar at the head of the bow. The whole secured by knobs at the ends of the bar.

10226–7 10229–30 10232* 10540* 10541 12560* 12564 13530 15362

10540* from Derby ([227], 296, f. 129, 37); 10541 from Verulamium ([369], 124–5, fig. 54, 106). Neither is directly paralleled in Almgren's Group VI ([16], *Taf.* 7), but the way in which the spring is mounted and the top of the catch-plate wrapped round the bow ensure that they belong there. The principal difference is the way the foot widens towards the bottom.

Only the one from Derby has some kind of date: c.150–200 at the earliest.

10232* from Chester is the closest to the previous two. The open framed catch-plate is now solid and the foot

narrow, but there is wire wound round the bottom of the bow in imitation of the others. Undated but presumably no earlier than the others.

The next two, 13530 from Castleford and 12560* from Wroxeter, are undated and are not in Almgren, but their relationship with 10540* indicates in the way in which there is an attempt to show the top of the catch-plate wrapped round the bow, although this is achieved using a collar. The sense of the antique is also conveyed by the crease up the side of the bow of 12560* which in the other is actually the real top of the catch-plate run up and then wrapped round the bow to form the knob. The first has in effect a Polden Hill spring system, the other has a Colchester system. The sites from which these come are military in their earlier phases, and Castleford remained so for longer than Wroxeter. There are similar brooches put into Chapter 2, Part 5, especially 10073* (Plate 30), which should perhaps be here, but the matter is opaque.

10229 from Dorset has a coil formed by bending a length of wire behind the head of the bow to hold the axis bar, 12564 has a loop formed essentially the same way while 10226 from Winchester, 10230 from Caister by Yarmouth and 10227 from Colchester have cast-on loops. All four conform in general with Almgren's brooches 162 and 182 (*ibid.*), save for the catch-plate which is like those of 10540* and 10541, and the faceting and crisp-cut mouldings found on developed Crossbows indicate that these must be at least third century, and probably not early at that. It is the rolled under head of 12564* which is of interest. There is an example from the Henley Wood Temple (15362) at Yatton, Som, and another from an inhumation burial in a stone sarcophagus at Durobrivae, Cambs (unpublished, Peterborough Museum, stolen). These all have lower bows recognizably like those found on Crossbows of Types 2.1a and onwards which would make them generally c.300 and plus.

FG.c. Plate 134. As for the last, but here there is a projection rising from the head of the bow usually ending in some form of knob.

10228 ([458], 63–76, fig. 27.14) from Dorchester on Thames comes from the well-known grave generally accepted as having been a Teuton woman's. This in all respects the same as the last three in the last group, except for the plate behind the head of the bow being carried up as a spike surmounted by a knob. Again the decoration recalls Crossbows and is surely after 250. How far after depends on whether one wishes the burial to have been made after the end of Roman rule, in the later stages of that, or, indeed, at any time when native Germans were

accepted into the Roman Army, and allowed to bring their womenfolk with them.

10235* from Verulamium from the excavations of Professor Frere (1963, X A, XI (1) sf. 42) was seen by the writer, but did not appear in either of the Volumes dealing with the small finds. Although the back of the head of the brooch was broken, there had clearly never been any wings and the vertical slot would suit a hinged pin fitted into the middle of a false spring mounted on the usual axis bar. The knob on its pedestal on the head is crudely formed and would suit the third century when hinged-pins set in false springs were certainly used.

FG.d. Plate 134. The basic form of 10241* is that of a Proto Crossbow, complete with an *Augenfibel*-influenced foot, mouldings at the junction of the bow with the foot, wings with knobs at their ends and a gable affair rising from the head behind which lies a loop for a separately made spring. The brooch may not belong here, but a third-century date may be appropriate in view of the form of the foot.

FG.e. Plate 134. 10231* from Stonea, is of silver parcel gilt. Here, the pin is hinged and mounted into a double row false spring. Its affinities with brooches from Free Germany shows in the way the top of the catch-plate is drawn out as wire and wound, as we have seen above, round the bow at the foot of the bow. There are the remains of two rows of springs, each mounted on axis bars each with elaborate knobs. There may well have been an elaborate chord system, there being a notch cut in the top of the plate behind the head to seat one. All this was for show, as there was a properly functioning hinged pin. We will see the multiple spring again (Chapter 9, Part 1, 2.c and possibly 3.c) and it seems to have been a feature of brooches with some prestige (*e.g.*, Almgren fig. 184 in gold) and the matter is discussed at greater length elsewhere ([496], 303–4; [477]. 1951, 195–212).

FG.f. Plate 134. The axis bar of the bilateral spring of 10534* was mounted in a rolled-under broad flap at the head of the bow. Although published by Hattatt ([371], 292, fig. 95, 1276), it is illustrated again here to show the catch-plate. This is very long and when the brooch is seen from the front, forms visually an extension. This exaggerated form definitely belongs to the lands E of the Rhine. This is a much simpler form than those illustrated by Almgren ([16], *Taf. 9 passim*) and is virtually undatable.

FG.g. 15497 from Leicester is an example of Almgren 227 and he suggests that these are likely to belong to the first half of the third century ([16], 103).

Chapter 9. The Crossbow Sequence

Plates 134–142

Although the sequence to be covered in this chapter should have derived from the *Augenfibel* and its immediate relatives (Chapter 6, Part 4), the precise route is not certain, and in the end is perhaps not relevant. All these brooches are continental and had no development of their own in Britain. Where the development had taken place during perhaps nearly a century is of little moment on the British scene for the dating used here is derived from British sites and it is the kind of site they occur on which is perhaps the most interesting aspect (see Chapter 11, Part 2).

Following the practice in earlier parts of this study, the material is divided first by the mundane matter of how the pin was mounted. This means that those with sprung pins come first, and it will be seen that this is supported by the dating evidence.

The basic definition is that all are essentially P-shaped in profile with a markedly arched bow with a straight lower part here called the foot. And all are later than the basic British bow brooch in their general floruits.

The whole sequence can be divided into two: Parts 1 and 2 are strictly Proto Crossbows. None looks like the classic weapon, but they are of the same family none the less.

Part 1. The Sprung-pin or Proto Crossbow Brooches [proto CR]

None of these is a Crossbow, but this is the sequence from which the earliest Crossbows derive: compare the basic brooches of sub-type 3.c with those of Type 1 in the Crossbows proper in Part 2. Like the Crossbows, the brooch design falls into two essential parts. The upper is a well arched bow, the lower a fairly long foot behind which lies a tall and narrow catch-plate. The basic ordering is from those without knobs on the spring-case, to those with: it is this trait which becomes such a feature of the Crossbow, along with knobs on the ends of the wings.

The springs are held in spring cases. The size of the spring is fairly constant which means that the cases are almost uniform in length and diameter and, as it happens, plain on the front face. Decoration is confined to the top and can be described as being minimal: a single step along the length of the top.

1.a. Plate 134. All have divided bows which, by definition, means there are in effect two or more bows joining the top of the foot to the spring-case. Although the junction

between the two parts of the brooch may have no mouldings (*e.g.* 10180) most do, but these are ignored as they are far from being uniform and no sense would emerge if they were to be used for further sub-division. Only 10210 here has three bows. The foot has the same basic pointed foot with a central arris commonly found on the *Augenfibel* and its relatives, and also has the slightly dishd profile of those (*e.g.* 10176). It is the form of the foot which betrays the true parent. In such terms, these brooches ought to be the earliest in the whole of the sequence covered in this chapter.

The bows seem all to be basically triangular in section. The spring-case commonly has a crest with an ornamental profile running from end to end. When brooches have lost their feet, it is the presence of the decorative, as opposed to a plain, crest which may be used to assign a brooch to this group or to the next, *i.e.*, although not all such crests can be sure sign (*e.g.* 10201 below).

10176–8 10180–1 10185 10187 10189* 10190 10192–3 10200 10202 10210; no feet: 10175 10179 10195 11883–4 12557 14257* 14258–61 14719

Dating: 10193 Canterbury, 175–300/20; 10200 Birdoswald, Severan; 10176 Carpow *c.*200; 10179 Vindolanda, *c.*235; 10189* Canterbury, 300/20–350 residual; 14259 South Shields, late 4th century plus.

Distribution: KT 111 HANTS 1 SCILLY 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 1 WALES 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1111111 CAMBS 1 Lincs 1 DUR 1 CUMB 111 NHUMB 1111 SCOT 11

Clearly, 1.a has a marked presence amongst the military in the north and the rest, mainly down the eastern side of England, may have military connections as well.

1.b. Plate 134. The foot tends to be straight-side. Although a flare outwards with an arris (*e.g.* 10184) may point to 1.a, the taper inwards and a flat central face (*e.g.* 10182) point towards later developments. Crests on the spring case are much less frequent.

10129 10182–4 10186 10191 10194 10197–8 10199* 10201 11885

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT 111 ESSEX 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 11 YORKS 1 DUR 11

This is essentially a repeat of the occurrence of type 1.a without a marked northern presence.

1.c. *Plate 134*. The divided bows now have decoration on their fronts, single double or triple ridges, with cabling now and again. The crest on the spring-case is still basically as in 1.a, but the feet have a tendency to have a projecting cross-moulding at the bottom which looks forward to the Crossbow series proper.

10119 10130 10141 10170–2 10173* 10174 10196 10546 14262* 14263

Dating: 10170 Studland, c.120–earliest 3rd century.

The conclusion arising from the dating of 1.a–1.c is that these brooches are essentially later second century into the third. The conclusion is based upon an absence from the Antonine Wall which should mean that they were not really current before the 170s. The relatively strong showing at 200–230/40 should also be a good sign that they were still in use at c.225/30 at least.

Distribution: KT 1 DORS 111 SUFF 1 CAMBS 11 Lincs 1 YORKS 111 DUR 1

A repeat of sorts of the previous two sub-types, but the surprise here is their appearance in some strength in Dorset. If these brooches mark the presence of the military, or of posts filled by military in the civil service, then a “hot spot” area in Dorset is of interest.

Distribution of 1.a–1.c: KT aaabbbc HANTS a DORS ccc SCILLY a ESSEX ab HRTS a WALES a SUFF abc NORF aaaaaab CAMBS abbcc Lincs ac YORKS bc DUR abbc CUMB aaa NHUMB aaaa ANT W aa

The distribution shows a strong presence on Hadrian’s Wall and its hinterland, the two from Scotland having more to say about the date of the Antonine Wall than about a permanent military presence there. In the rest of the country, the strong showing in East Anglia should be because of the bias in the collecting for the Corpus, and the showing in Kent is military and urban. There is a general lack of any in the West Country, Nor’Nour and Caerleon being too specialised to count. There is a steady presence in the lands from the Wash up to Hadrian’s Wall.

2. The spring-case has been replaced by a spring mounted on a pierced plate behind the head of the bow. This requires an axis bar through both plate and coils, the bar kept in place by terminals on the end of that. Thus superficially occasionally one ends up with an elongated head similar to the developing Crossbows of the middle of the third century (e.g. 10205*). The divided bow is now straight-sided, as wide at the top as at the bottom, whereas the brooches of group 1 taper in towards the bottom. Hinged pins occur: 10535.

One feature which all have is the foot of the *Augenfibel* and its relatives. Where this places it in a typological sequence is hard to tell, the spring-mounting method to a large extent removing the group from the rest of the development as it appears in Britain.

2.a. *Plates 134–135*. The chief design has a triangular gable on the head finished off with a knob which, when

complete, has a basal moulding. The common form should have dot-and-circle decoration on it and on the bar joining the tops of the divided bow. The absence of this on published examples is probably due either to corrosion products or it not being noticed. Here again is a prefiguring of the Crossbow proper. The divided bow may have only two elements (10203), but usually has three, each very thin and plain. The lower end of the bows is seated in projections in the plate. 10218 has four bars in its bow.

8402 10126–8 10203 10211–4 10215* 10216–21 10224 10243* 10535

Dating: 10219 Chichester, Antonine; 10217 Silchester, ?late 2nd–mid 3rd century?; 10220 Carpow, Severan.

A variant comes from the Corinium Museum: 10243*. Here, the bow has three bars, but there is no foot, the catch-plate being mounted behind the middle bar.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 111 GLOS 1 WALES 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 YORKS 1111 CUMB 1 NHUMB 1 SCOT 1

Mainly on the eastern side of England.

2.b. *Plate 135*. The bow is a cross between 1.c and 2.a in that there are three elements to the bow, the side one being wide and decorated on the front, the middle one being narrow like those of 2.a. In addition, there is a cross member half way up the bow, possibly to prevent the sides from being squeezed in which frequently happened on the bows of 2.a. The gable may be replaced by a stalk with a knob on the top, and in this is even closer to some of the earlier examples of the main Crossbow development. 10205* and 14265 both have a plate behind the head of the bow pierced by two holes: see comment under 2.c.

10120 10140 10204 10205* 10206–9 14265

Dating: none.

Distribution: HANTS 1 WILTS 1 ESSEX 1 NORF 1 YORKS 11 DUR 11 NHUMB 1

See below.

2.c. *Plate 135*. Here the bow is reduced to a central element with scrolled open-work on each side. The design of the open-work strongly recalls the trumpet forms of Continental Plate Brooches of sub-type 7.c (see Chapter 7, Part 2) which should mean that they are contemporary. 12553 has two holes in the plate behind the head and it is the chord which passes through the upper. However, a double spring system can also be found (Springhead, 10223*). The appearance of the system was so important in the view of the clientele for whom it was designed that it was left intact even when the pin was hinged. This is a habit found in Free Germany and frequently on bullion brooches ([16], 79, *Taf.* VII,165 in silver, 184 in gold; cf. 10203 at Stonea, silver gilt). However, not every brooch with a plate having two holes behind the head was fitted with a double spring.

10222 10223* 12553

To these can be added the close variant 10231* from Stonea (Chapter 8 Part 3, FG.e, Plate 134).

Distribution: KT 1 CAMBS 1 WALES 1

Looking at the distribution of all three sub-types, the remarkable feature of 2.a is the fact that they are to all intents and purposes only from forts or towns and favour coastal districts in the broad sense. The two from Stonea, 10203 and 10222, illustrate this point in that the site seems not to have been in any way an ordinary native farmstead/settlement ([427], 678–81, 685–92). They are not typical of what the ordinary population would have worn. The same is true of 2.b also, the one from Wiltshire, 10204, being neither here nor there.

2.x. Plate 135. At the moment, this is a singleton, 10225*, but the chances are that another of the same general type will appear in Britain. The bow is divided, the foot is again of the basic *Augenfibel* Type and there is a gable. However, the pin is hinged and there are others from Dura Europos which shows that there is a workshop producing a range of designs which all basically conform to the general forms dealt with here ([309], 55, pl. 12,74; 59, pls 14–5,98,110,117).

10225*, no date.

3. The spring is housed in a semicircular case with pierced plates at its ends to secure the axis bar. Almost all have mouldings at the base of the bow, perhaps deriving from the range of Free German brooches in which the top of the framed catch-plate is drawn out into a wire and then wound round the lower part of the bow. The subdivisions here are simple and may represent some kind of typological advance, but no great stress is laid on this.

3.a. Plate 135. First are those with plain spring-cases, the reasoning being that the more elaborate forms develop the knobs which are the mark of the Crossbow. Some have the earlier, *Augenfibel*, foot, but these also occur intermittently in the succeeding groups. There is no clear cut-off, and there is no guarantee that many of these were not more-or-less contemporary.

10248* 10255 10269–71 10277 10279 14722

Dating: 10277 Dover, ? first half of the 3rd century; 10279 Housesteads, early 3rd century.

Distribution: KT 1 ESSEX 11 NORF 1 DUR 11 NHUMB 11

3.b. Plate 135. Here, the spring-case has a longitudinal step on top. The feet vary from the *Augenfibel* Type, 10267*, to a faceted style, 10259, which is a sign of things to come. It is almost *de rigueur* that the junction of the bow with the foot should be remarkably like the developed Crossbow. 5352 5361 10249–50 10251* 10252–4 10256–8 10259 10267* 10268 10276 10278 10281* 12555–6 14288 14721*

Dating: 10276 Beauport Park, before 250; 10254 Kettering, late 3rd century.

There may only be two examples but both indicate the

third century and the earlier part is perhaps more likely.

Distribution: SUSS 1 HANTS 1 WILTS 1 SOM 1 SUFF 1 NORF 11111 CAMBS 1 NHANTS 1 Lincs 1 DUR 1111 CUMB 1 NHUMB 11

Some occur in central southern England as far as Somerset, then up the east side up to the Humber. After that, there are those along the Hadrian's Wall zone.

3.c. Plate 135. The bow is wide and is moulded with a groove down the middle which usually has decoration. The step along the spring-case appears but many have the knob on top taken to be a typological advance. 10282* has a series of punch-marks which *may* have had soldered to them knobs which were certainly the main mark of this sub-type: 10289*. The knobs projected too far and were radial in profile making it very difficult to cast them as part of the main body of the brooch itself. The knobs could be cast on a strip which was then forged to the curve of the bow and fitted to the central groove, but corrosion does not always make these details easy to see. In the case of 10290 from Billingford, Norfolk, of which only a fragment survives, the type is indicated by the decoration on the bow and the top of a marked recess down the middle.

Brooch 12563 from Benwell (details kindly sent by Margaret Snape) belongs here, except for its head. Made of base silver, the front of both bow and foot is channelled to take an inset which had a series of independent knobs such as those found on others in this group. However, there are no wings and the plate behind the head of the bow is shaped as two lobes, each with a hole. The spring ([Petch 1927] pl. 40,1) could have been like that noted under 2.c, but may have had two false springs with a hinged pin mounted on the axis bar through the lower of the two. On the whole, the absence of wings favours this interpretation, the two false springs being joined by a chord and the extremities of the axis bars sporting knobs of the same pattern as that on the head. In other words, this brooch should perhaps have been placed in FG.b amongst the items from Free Germany in Chapter 8, the suggested multiple spring system being found on the single brooch of FG.e which was of similarly high status material. However, the decoration on the present brooch owes more to the present group and it demonstrates that there are on occasions no clear cut-offs: the date-range for the others here should apply to this example.

5413 10282* 10283–8 10289* 10290–1 12554 12563

Dating: 10282* Brancaster, not before late 2nd century; 10287 Caerleon early 3rd century; 10288 Beauport Park before 250.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 GLOS 1 WALES 1 SUFF 1 NORF 11 Lincs 11 DUR 1 NHUMB 11

Here is a faint hint that some found their way to the west side of the country, otherwise it is the eastern side and Hadrian's Wall again.

3.d. Plates 135 and 136. These return to the main line represented by 3.a and 3.b. The knob on the head of the brooch which is a marked feature of 3.c is here almost a

prerequisite. 10260 is included as it has three projections on top, and at the other end 10280* marks a transition, the forward edges of the wings being shaped in a way which will become familiar amongst the developed Crossbows.

10260–6 10272 10274* 10275 10280*

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT 11 WALES 1 NORF 11 CAMBS 1 DUR 111 CUMB 1 NHUMB 1

Distribution of all: KT acdd SUSS abc HANTS b WILTS b SOM b DEV b GLOS c ESSEX aa WALES cd SUFF bc NORF abbbbbbccdd CAMBS bd NHANTS b LINCS bc MIL N a DUR aabbbbccddd CUMB bd NHUMB aabbcccd

As might be expected, the sites associated with Hadrian's Wall make a fairly good showing, the amount of excavation there ensuring that, but even so 3.b is strongly represented at Corbridge and South Shields where there was a very strong Severan presence. 3.c is more widespread, those from Hadrian's Wall merely adding to the strength of the general type represented there. In contrast with 3.c, members of 3.d come from sites which can be said to be official, if not specifically military. The jury is out when it comes to 3.c. Although these are widespread, it is more or less the first class which has a high incidence of gilding, significantly mainly on the bow which is the most prominent part of the brooch when it is worn. This style may have been deliberately chosen for people with a relatively high status who did a lot of travelling. One may note, however, that Yorkshire is absent.

3.x. Plate 136. 14269* has no home above or below. The bow has a line of sunken beads on each side of a slight sunken ridge. There are cross-mouldings at the junction with the foot, now missing. The spring is mounted on a bar between pierced plates, and there is no spring-case as such. The front was gilded.

Proto Crossbow Dregs, part of a brooch with a spring-case and a simple bar upper bow, broken at the lower end, with two hollows across the front at the top.

2951

Part 2. The Crossbow and its Antecedents [CR]

The formal division between what may be termed Proto Crossbows, those in Part 1, and the ones which follow is the change from a sprung to a hinged pin. From the beginning there is a basic change in the form of the brooch arising solely from the use of a hinged pin whose axis bar is housed in wings of markedly thinner section than the spring-case of the previous brooches. With these, the spring tended to be of a certain length and diameter which dictated the form of the head of the brooch; from now on that constraint has gone and the wings replacing the case

vary in length and ultimately in section. The case becomes essentially a closed semi-circular cylinder.

There is a great variety in Crossbows, early or fully developed, and it often seems that a separate category could be created for almost every one, if every possible variation were to be catered for. The truth is that one of the chief determining features in the earlier varieties is the type of knob. I have assumed that, on the whole, those with no knobs on the ends of the wings are early, and these provide a starting point. With mass-produced items, it is obvious that those made from silver or gold, or parcel-gilt would always have formed a minority, and would have been the first to have been melted down for their metallic value. It is also true that bullion items tend to have more care taken over them and for their designs to be more elaborate in one way or another compared with those of the ruck.

Early Crossbows

The principle adopted here is that, as the Proto Crossbows move towards having a knob on top of the spring-case, and a central knob was to be a chief feature of the Crossbow, it is the development of the knobs on the ends of the wings which should be a guide. Thus we move from no knobs through crude or single knobs towards the onion knob on a basal moulding. At the point at which these are the normal form of knob, there will be other factors to take into account and the whole of that group is designated Crossbows 2

2.a. Plate 136. Hinged-pin and no knobs on the wings. Those after / have faceted wing sections. Several have steps or mouldings across the bow near the top and bottom and may have come from a single workshop. 10385 has the knob on the head set forward on to the bow itself.

10293–6 10297* 10298–300 10301* 10303 10305–6 10308 10383 10385 10392 14270 14273 14723/ 5929 10307 10335 14272

Dating: 10307 Canterbury, 250–260; 10293 Birdoswald, after c.255; 10385 Richborough, late 3rd century; 10298 Verulamium and 10305 Colchester, before 300.

Distribution: KT 11111 ESSEX 1 MSEX 1 HERTS 11 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 11 CAMBS 11 YORKS 1 DUR 11111 CUMB 1

This pattern is different from that of the Proto Crossbows reviewed in Part 1. There is a greater emphasis on the south, even if the eastern side is again predominant. The Military North seems to show fairly well, but effectively all the examples come from South Shields.

The third century is well-known for providing little guidance for dating and there are few indicators. One, however, may be the combined collection from the forts at Saalburg and Zugmantel published by Astrid Böhme [77]. The dating of the site is important and it is only the beginning and end which can be established as neither site was excavated with any proper rigour. The foundation date was c.90 and both ceased to be occupied c.260 owing

to the disastrous Barbarian incursions at that time, and occupation at Zugmantel may have ended earlier (*ibid.*, 9–10). It is only the end that interests us here. The Crossbows are on *Tafeln*. 16–21, Nos 698–823 and only those illustrated are used. The results support in general the conclusion already reached: 39 without knobs and 13 with. In other words, on the face of things, by 260 a minimum of a third of Crossbows would have had knobs. Unfortunately, brooches do not pass out of use according to a strict rota, and there is no internal dating within the overall life span of the fort. What does stand out, however, is that more than half of those with knobs come from Zugmantel which means that either there is no logic in this typological view, or other factors are at play. However, it does seem that to date Zugmantel solely on the beginning and end of its coins may not be wise.

In short, the evidence may be read to show that the occurrence of knobs on the wings was increasing. The British dating given above could be said not to match, but all the sites ran on to the end of the fourth century and certainly most are bedevilled by the residual nature of most of the finds.

2.b. Plate 136. There is a single knob at the end of each wing. Some of these knobs are poorly formed. There is a variety of ornamental difference from the section of the bow, the presence or absence of a projecting plate near the bottom of the bow and the form of the foot may vary. As there are really too few from Britain for subdivisions to be useful, none is made. 10350 has lost its head, but the decoration is paralleled on a brooch from France in the Hildyard Collection (No 131).

14281* is a curiosity. It is the only one which has the same bow profile as several amongst the 1.a collection, yet has a foot looking more towards the fully developed Crossbow than any other here. 14724 lacks any wings, but its minor bow section and the large flange at the base of the bow are best placed here.

10310 10323–4 10327 10330–2 10334 10336 10338 10339* 10340 10347–8 10350 10352 10356 10364 10366* 10367 10402 10406, 11886 foot, 12570 14271 14275 14277 14281* 14724, 10326 without head, but probable.

Dating: 14724 Castleford, 140–180; 10340 Vindolanda, c.205–25; 10367 Richborough, before 275/300; 10406 Richborough, 300–350.

The date of the example from Castleford goes against all received dating for any kind of Crossbow.

Distribution: KT 1111 HANTS 1 DORS 1 ESS 1 GLOS 11 WALES 11 SUFF 11 NORF 1111 CAMBS 111 LINCS 11 NOTTS 1 YORKS 1 DUR 1111 CUMB 1 NHUMB 1

Fairly widespread.

2.c. Plate 136. The knob has now become a double entity with a tendency to have a thin basal moulding between the knob and the wing. This is, of course, a largely subjective division, those in 1.d being better made. However, one

or two are so badly made (*e.g.*, 10357) that they scarcely merit inclusion in 1.d if all the others here were to be placed there. The one cited has wire wound the narrow shank separating the bow proper from the foot and in this may well be a hang-over from those called FG.a in Chapter 8, Part 3.

10309 10317–20 10325 10329* 10357 10391 10393 10403 10405* 12569

Dating: 10393 Dover, after 210; 10391 Verulamium, 280–360.

Distribution: KT 111 WILTS 1 MSEX 1 HERTS 1 Lincs 1 LANCS 1 DUR 111 CUMB 1

Here is another case of Towns and Forts.

2.d. Plate 136. The knobs are now more or less regular and have a moulding at their base. The design of the brooch overall is also more or less uniform. The bows are thin and usually faceted on the front. The moulding at the base of the bow is large and fans out as a half disc. A sign of earlier things is that the foot may have a rounded base. However, the foot is frequently faceted and in some instances where published drawings fail to show this, it may be suspected that it was not noticed by the illustrators.

5424 10311 10313–6 10321–2 10328 10333 10337 10341* 10342–6 10351 10355 10361–2 10363* 14279–80, 10349 foot

Dating: 10313 Catterick, 250–350/5; 10361 Canterbury, 270–300; 10321 Richborough, c.275–290; 10344 Neatham, mid 4th century.

Distribution: KT 11111 HANTS 11 WILTS 1 ESS 11 OX 1 CAMBS 1 LEICS 1 SALOP 1 NOTTS 1 YORKS 1 DUR 1111 CUMB 11 NHUMB 11

A much more diffuse pattern than any of either Proto Crossbows or Crossbows so far reviewed has displayed, but still mainly towns and forts.

2.e. Plate 137. Relatively few complete examples have come my way in this small group which has two mouldings at the base of the knob: 10372 10389 10404* 10407* 14289* 14296. A sign that this is a more advanced stage than the last is that the wings frequently have faceted fronts. Only two of the complete items have the almost tight rectangular section of fully developed Crossbows, 12476 14289*, the latter having the cuts and facets on the front more typical of those. These slight signs show that these ought to be late in the development, traced so far, of the knob at the end of the wing, and the dating more or less confirms this.

10407* has a feature which may, ultimately, relate to the Free Germany type briefly considered in Chapter 8. Part 3, FG.a: wire wound round the top of the bow was run down a groove in the front of the bow and then wound round the bottom.

10312 10354 10359–60 10369 10372 10389 10398 10404* 10407* 11887 12571 14276 14278 14289* 14296 14298 14410

Dating: 10360 Verulamium, 4th century; 10404 Richborough, c.350; 10354 Cirencester, 375–410/20.

Distribution: KT 11 HANTS 1 WILTS 111 HERTS 1 OXON 1 GLOS 1 SUFF 1 NORF 1111 CAMBS 1 DUR 11

There is a change in distribution, there being many more sites which are less obviously towns or forts.

2.e1. Plate 137. The following seven come from a single workshop: the decoration on the foot is run up the lower bow which lacks any moulding at the bottom. It is salutary to observe is that there is variation in the other details which does not necessarily arise from the probable variation in the quality of the illustrations.

10394* 10395* 10396 14282–4 14287

None is dated.

An overview of the dating from Britain is not encouraging. In general terms, it runs from the early third century to the late fourth, in terms of style, only 10299 and 10306 in 2.a have the form of foot associated with the *Augenfibel* family, but the only dated example is 250–300. Thereafter, there is a slight shift forward in date, but not one which can be baldly presented as such. 2.b and 2.c could be as early as the first quarter of the third century with 2.b running to the end, but with so few from proper contexts, it is only a basic typology which provides any clue. The method presented here has at least the virtue of clarity, if little else, for the truth is that there is a whole repertoire of variations in bow and foot from which these brooches are composed to make it very difficult to sort out which is the real trend. The danger is that many more categories could be created, but there are only the same number of dates available as yet.

Distribution: KT 11 DORS 1 CAMBS 111 NHUMB 1
Distribution of all: KT aaaaabbbbccccddddddee11 HANTS abdde DORS b1 WILTS cdee1 ESSEX abdd MSEX ac HERTS aace OXON de GLOS abbe WALES bb SUFF bbe NORF aabbbbbeeee CAMBS abde111 LEICS d LINCS bbc NOTTS bd SALOP d YORKS abd LANCS c DUR aaaaabbbbccccddddddee CUMB abcd NHUMB bdd1

The distribution of 2.b is certainly military and official, which should mean that 2.a is as marked a characteristic of those classes as the other. 2.c is perhaps a non-form or of so short a duration that it offers nothing, 2.d, on the other hand, emphasises the military and official side again. All from Durham came from South Shields. None of these brooches could have been worn by members of the normal civil population in Britain: the distribution is against this for by this time the only native brooch really available was the Penannular.

Developed Crossbows

These are essentially fourth century and are the closest in appearance to the weapon which gave its name to the type. Only one study of these appears to have produced a

concerted scheme of development for these later items. E Keller [445] studied grave groups in Southern Bavaria and these had the advantage of being discrete assemblages of which coins were the only items which could be arranged in a chronological order. Using these, Keller devised a sequence of six types (*ibid.*, Abb. 11) which when ordered with the coins (*ibid.*, Abb. 12), showed a progression. This works for his Types 1 to 4 which ends at c.380, but coins are largely absent for his Types 5 and 6. The dates appended to each Keller Type are those which he assigned to his perceived types.

What may work in South Bavaria may not have a universal application, but I am not aware of any attempt to examine his scheme using British material. This is done here and the principle adopted is that his scheme has a European application and to devise anything radically new would not be useful for continental scholars. Therefore, Keller's scheme has been adopted as a basis. As there is no precise relationship, I have an independent numbering, but the Keller equivalents will be readily seen.

3.1. Keller Type 1. 290–310

3.1a. Plate 137. This has the double basal mouldings which define my 2.e, but the knobs tend towards a conical form. The foot is shorter than the bow, and one may note that there are no mouldings at all at the base of the bow. The foot has a stopped chamfer on each side. An important feature is the absence of any decoration or mouldings on the front of the wings. Assuming that strict adherence is not required, only 10471 has two basal mouldings, and 10493* has faceted knobs.

10465–6 10471–3 10475–6 10480 10487* 10493* 10500 10503 12033 14294 14297 15449

Dating: 12033 Caernarvon, early-mid 4th century; 10465 Winchester, 350–390; 10480 Richborough, late 4th century.

Distribution: KT 1 HANTS 1 WILTS 1 MSEX 1 WALES 1 NORF 1 LINCS 1 YORKS 1 DUR 111

Out of 15 examples, four have no provenance and their incidence is fairly wide: with greater numbers, there would surely have been some from the west of England.

The fragments of the head and upper bow, 10500 10503, probably belong here: The latter only has half the bow with a peg at its end for it to be fastened to the lower part, a technique noted on a brooch in 3.2a below.

3.1b. Plate 138. The next group is only here by courtesy. What becomes evident as time passes is that the Developed Crossbow begins to bear stereotypical features, witness the feet constituting Types 3 and 4 as defined below: there is no room for these placed here. There is a lack of regularity. There are chamfered sides (10388), grooves across the bow (10479*) and a combination of both of these (10478), as well as plain feet (10490) and various ill-digested schemes (10494, 10497). 14286, foot only, matches 10479 and these reflect 10470 and 10477*.

2384 10365 10380 10384 10387–8 10467 10470 10474 10477* 10478 10479* 10490 10494 10496–8 14286

Dating: 2384 Caernarvon, late 4th.

Distribution: KT 11 SUSS 1 HANTS 111 WALES 1 EA 1 NORF 11 LEICS 1 NOTTS 1 SALOP 1 DUR 1 NHUMB 111 SCOT 1

For the moment the whole of the South West is excluded. The paucity in the area between Hadrian's Wall and the Humber-Dee line is perhaps a product of the vastly fewer number of brooches from that area when compared with the South West.

3.2. Keller Type 2. 310–350

3.2a. Plate 138. The knobs are faceted and there is decoration on the front of the wings, frequently projecting. The moulding at the base of the bow, set off from the foot, is a plate, usually ornamental, parallel with the face of the foot. The lower bow is as a rule shorter than the bow. Keller, however, illustrates one with no moulding at the base of the bow (*ibid.*, Abb.11,B). There are reservations over accepting example C (*ibid.*): it is in gold with niello decoration, inscribed IVLIANE VIVAS and has "C" ornament on the foot (see below). In short, only his A really obeys his definition.

10484* 10485

Dating: 10484* Erichstanbrae, 20th November 303.

Both are of gold, neither therefore typical, belonging as they do to the higher levels of Late Roman Society (see Chapter 11, Part 2). The first is the only truly dated brooch from Britain. Strictly speaking, the date indicates when it was given to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the rule of Diocletian who was also known under the name of Jovius, and not the date of manufacture. However, as an imperial gift, it was almost certainly made in 303 along with others also given to celebrate the anniversary. In truth, the brooches chosen by Keller to illustrate his Type 2 form anything but a tight group and one may suspect that his Type 2 is, in the form defined, more of a fiction than a fact.

There is, however, a further possible example in copper alloy: incomplete, it once had a separately-made head fitted over a prepared lozenge-sectioned peg at the top of the surviving part, and has the right kind of plate depending from the lower bow. A similar peg, only on the upper part of the brooch, is to be found on 10503, 3.1a above.

10381*

3.2b. Plates 138–139. It might be possible to accept that brooches of lesser mortals may have had ornament reduced in an appropriate manner. In which case, those which have what is essentially a simple ridge, perhaps beaded, parallel with the foot, might be included. But one only has to look at brooches of Types 3.3 and 3.4 to see that this is not an exclusive feature. Therefore, only those whose foot is, at least, a mite shorter than the bow, are given here. The following list includes some fragmentary items which seem best placed here. Those lacking a foot to the bow are underlined, and those consisting only of parts of wings are in bold.

10438* 10456* 10461 10464 10468–9 10481–3 10489 10495* 10502 14293 10427 10504 10412 10505 10499 11889 11891

10468 is gold. 10438* has onion-shaped knobs and a piece of wire wound round the shank at the base of the bow. 10461 has its bow decorated with punched dots and incised lines. 10456* is silver and 10469 is gold. The latter was found with a Treasure at Winckle in Cheshire and was dated by Catherine Johns to sometime in the third century. The brooch alone moves it to the late third at the earliest. 10495* is here only because of the proportions: it has a double moulding at the base of its bulbous faceted knobs and has niello triangles on the bow and foot. The inlay belongs to a later period than is given to Type 3.2.

All in all, no convincing picture emerges: there is too high a proportion of bullion for this to be accidental. If there is a type here it may have more to do with rank than chronology.

Dating: 10469 Winckle, late 3rd at earliest; 10468 Richborough, after c.295; 10481 Winchester, 350–370; 10464 Winchester, 350–80; 10505 Cirencester 375–410/20.

Distribution: KT bbb HANTS abb GLOS bb NORF bbbbbb CAMBS b NHANTS b LEICS b? SALOP b CHESH b YORKS b DUR a SCOT a

3.3. Keller Type 3. 340–360

The first main feature is that the section though the wings is an elongated hexagonal, the facets on the front being short and those at the back being very long. The knobs are onion-shaped and broader than long. The bow is shorter than the foot. Unfortunately, the three illustrated ([445], Abb. 11 *Typ* 3 A–C) do not exactly answer this set of criteria: the foot of A is shorter than the bow and lacks the onion-shaped knobs. Those on C are longer than broad. If anything, it is the decoration on the foot which *might* separate these brooches. C has the "C"-shaped decoration to which attention has been drawn already and the decoration on the bow is better placed with B in Keller's Type 4 and so the foot is placed there as well. 10454 has a clean cut face at the top of the surviving part of the bow which has a drilled hole for a matching peg in the upper part.

3.3a. Plate 139. Keller A: those underlined are fragments.

10449* 10450–1 10452* 10453–5 10457 10462 10486 12575 10501 10507

3.3b. Plate 139. These have three X across the foot.

10458* 10459–60 11888* 11949 12573–4

Keller B: There is no real separation between this and A in Keller's Type 4.

Dating: A 10454 Catterick, 250–380+; 11949 Caernarvon, early-mid 4th century; A 12575 Wroxeter, 6th century and later.

Distribution: ESSEX ab MSEX b GLOS a HERE b WALES b NORF b CAMBS aa Lincs b SALOP aa CHESH a YORKS a NHUMB b

3.4. Keller Type 4. 350–380.

The bow and foot are equally wide, the foot being longer than the bow and the knobs wider than long. Keller's illustrations (*ibid.*, Abb.11,A-C) unfortunately do not conform with his definition. The bow of A is longer than the foot, the feet of all three are wider than the bow, and the knobs also fail to conform uniformly. Onion-shaped knobs seem to be *de rigueur*, but some of those listed below do not have them.

There are three styles of feet and the following is a division on the basis of these: 3.4a1 has dot and circle decoration, but some have circular depressions. 3.4a2 have the same but in a continuous series. There may or may not be a chamfer on each side; 3.4b has C-shaped ornament, sometimes not well formed, on each side, but not in a continuous series, 3.4b1 forms the continuous series; 3.4c has triangular or other minor projections in a continuous series carrying the flat face of the centre across the chamfer on each side. Those that are underlined do not have decoration on the front face of the bow or decoration other than a pair of incised lines down the middle of the foot.

3.4a1. Plates 139–140.

10408–10 10411* 10414–5 10416 10417 10419 10421 10423 10425 10426 10428 10429 10430 10433 10435–6 12576* 12577 15450

3.4a2. Plate 140.

10413* 10418 10420 10422 10424 10431* 10432 10434 10437 10448

Dating: 2 10424 Verulamium, after 300; 1 10415 Winchester, 350–370; 1 15450 Bainbridge, latest coin 364–78; 1 12576* Wroxeter, 6th century or later.

Distribution: KT 1122 HANTS 1 SOM 1 MSEX 1 HERTS 2 GLOS 11 EA 1 SUFF 11 NORF 1112 Lincs 1 SALOP 11222 YORKS 1 DUR 1 CUMB 2

The numbers from East Anglia contrast with the general lack 3.3 items from the same area.

3.4b. Plate 140.

10463 10488 10508* 10515 10516* 10519* 10547 15452

Dating: none.

Distribution: ESSEX 11 WALES 1 CAMBS 1 NORF 1 NHUMB 1

The examples of C decoration here are solid castings. Those made from sheet metal are dealt with when Keller's Types 5 and 6 are covered.

3.4c. Plate 141.

10439* 10440–6 10492 12572 14292

Dating: 12572 Wroxeter, 6th century or later.

Distribution: KT 11 ESSEX 1 GLOS 111 SUFF 1 LEICS 1 SALOP 1 CUMB 1

What these few examples may show is that the type was not really to be seen north of a line from the Nene across to the Dee, unless it is a main centre on the Hadrian's Wall zone.

3.5. Keller Type 5. Plates 141–142.

Although dated by Keller (*ibid.*, Abb. 12) to 370–400, no coin from the South Bavarian graves was later than 380. The brooch is made from sheet metal. The bow and foot tend to be the same width, and at best the two are of equal length. The knobs are definitely wider than they are long. The chief characteristic is the line of continuous Cs along each chamfered side. Gilding is frequent, if not actually obligatory, and the incised decoration can be very elaborate.

These brooches were made to look massy yet be light. This says more about the fabrics with which they were worn than anything else. These brooches were not made for ordinary people and were designed to be a recognizable badge of rank or office, the two hardly being separate in remote provinces. Some of the examples recorded consist only of the head of the brooch. The construction, however, shows that they must be of Keller's Types 5 or 6, and the first is the more likely. 10522* may include in its decoration a primitive Chi-Rho.

10511–2 10513* 10514 10517 10518* 10520–1 10522* 10524 10525* 10526* 11890 12581 12582* 14290 14295

Dating: 10511 Winchester, 350–390; 12582* Wroxeter, 6th century or later.

The significance of the dating will be covered when Keller's Type 6 has been reviewed.

Distribution: KT 1 SUSS 1 HANTS 1 GLOS 11111 HERE 1 SUFF 111 NORF 111 CAMBS 1 SALOP 1

If these brooches represent the presence of high officials, then they were to be found more commonly along the Severn Valley and in East Anglia than elsewhere. Those from Gloucestershire are either from Lydney or Cirencester, the former close to a naval headquarters and the latter a provincial capital.

3.6. Keller Type 6. Dated 400–c.450 (*ibid.*, 53)

The chief feature is the free-standing border consisting of conjoined open-work Cs long each side of the foot. There is, however, one technical innovation which belongs here alone: a pin secured by another. In most instances this extra pin is provided by one of the knobs on the head being screwed into position, the end of the knob having a pin which passes through the hole in the real brooch pin once occupied by the axis bar. This was the means of making sure that the brooch could not just fall off or be pulled off without considerable force. The pin is frequently housed in a tube running along the back of the foot. It is not necessary that every brooch has both the screwed terminal and the open-work decoration, but one or the other must be present. One gold example from the Moray Firth is not in the Corpus (BM 1962,12–05,1).

These brooches occur in two sizes: those like Type 5, and those which have much longer feet. The latter have very narrow faces down the front of the bow, in the case of the brooch from Icklingham, 10528, actually creased to form an arris. The foot as a consequence also has a very narrow central face. In primitive terms, Keller's Type 6 should

always be recognizable by its foot or, failing that, by the narrow front face of the bow in proportion to the depth of the bow which, in any case, is narrower than the foot.

There may be a chronological difference between the short and squat Type 5-derived examples and the elongated Type 6, but dating is virtually non-existent. The Diptych of Stilicho provides a convenient reference point for Type 6, and one may note the giant gold Crossbows somewhat crudely shown on the entourage attending Justinian in San Vitale, Ravenna, which, incidentally, all show the brooches being worn with what we normally call the foot sticking up in the air. The same image appears on items of jewellery (BM, AF.304, AF.333)

The examples collected from Britain are a mixed bunch: those which look as though they should have been included in the last category, either because they are short and squat or do not have the open-work ornament, are here because they have the screwed terminal.

3.6a. Plate 142. Type 5 look-a-likes.

10509 10510* 10523 10529

Dating: 10509 Winchester, late 4th century; 105108 Winchester, 370–90.

3.6b. Plate 142. Type 6 tall and thin, 12580 is a huge hexagonal onion knob of flattened form which is best placed here. 12579 is another knob attached to the head, all that is left of the rest are parts of the brackets and the junction with the bow which is too narrow to be Type 5. 12584* never had a catch-plate as such: the centre is a tube into which the pin was inserted. The same applies to 10390.

10390 10528* 10533? 12580 12583 12584* 12579–80 14725

Dating: 12580 12583 Wroxeter, 6th century or later.

3.6c. Plate 142. Screw terminals by themselves.

10506 10527* 10530–2 15409, and another from Wroxeter, lost.

Dating: none.

Distribution: KT accc HANTS aabb DORS c GLOS b WALES b SUFF b NORF b CAMBS bc NHANTS c SALOP bb SCOT a

An example of 3.6b from excavations in 2003 at the Quarry Farm Roman Villa near Ingleby Barwick, south of Stockton-on-Tees, provides a welcome addition to the distribution map (*in litt.* Jennifer Jones).

Item 10506 is a faceted onion-shaped knob, with a basal moulding separated from the knob by a flute, mounted on a shank with no trace of a screw-thread. Hinged-pin Crossbows have knobs mounted on separately made axis bars. What this may be is the type of pin which was dropped into position from the top and which had an eyelet at an appropriate point for the pin on the screwed terminal to engage. Against that is the length of shank which survives: it would only have worked if the whole brooch had been very large.

10506

Distribution of Keller Types only: KT 11122244444456666 SUSS 15 HANTS 111222456666 DORS 6 WILTS 1 SOM 4 ESSEX 33444 MSEX 134 HRTS 4 GLOS 22344444555556 HERE 35 EA 14 WALES 12346 SUFF 4445556 NORF 11122223444445556 CAMBS 233566 NHANTS 26 LEICS 12?4 Lincs 134 NOTTS 1 SALOP 233444444566 CHESH 23 YORKS 1234 DUR 111124 CUMB 444 NHUMB 11134 SCOT 126 SENG ENG 234 BRIT 2 -- NO PROVENANCE 11122233344444444

A very high proportion of these brooches has no provenance. When dealing with types made on the continent, one should always exercise caution, for the modern antiquities market and tourists's souvenirs may account for their importation. But there are so many that it seems likely that most really do come from Britain. One may also note that none of Types 3. 5 or 3.6 occurs here.

What stands out is that the Developed Crossbow is not a mark of an obvious military presence. Examples of Keller's Type 5 are remarkable in that their distribution is not only not north of the Wash so far, but favours East Anglia and especially Gloucestershire. When it comes to Type 6 as redefined here, there is one from Scotland, a land to which booty was taken – witness the Traprain Law Treasure – and the rest come from southern England. The most northerly comes from Wroxeter, the rest lie much further south.

Dating: There is however, a fly in the ointment of all this ordered reasoning. A late fourth century foot, utterly plain, from the villa at Atworth in Wiltshire has its slot for the pin on the left when the foot is viewed from the front. This departure from normal practice for all brooches had already been noticed amongst Crossbows and, to put the Atworth piece into some kind of context, an examination of the types which produce pin slots on the left was undertaken with this result:

1: Richborough, no date ([182], 91, pl. 32,77). 2: Winchester, Lankhills, 350–390 ([147], 260, fig. 32,532); South Shields, late 4th century and later ([60], 179, fig. 7,1,5) and no date ([12], 100, 3.45). 3: Caernarvon, late 4th century ([134], 166, fig. 10.2,12); Corbridge, no date ([659], 54, fig. 11,85); Wroxeter, no date (Shrewsbury, Rowley's House Museum, X16). 4: South Shields, no date ([12], 106, 3.86). 5: Richborough, after 340 ([182], 80 described under 81, pl. 33,80); Winchester, Lankhills, 350–380 ([147], 260, fig. 32,24); Ickham, Kent, (unpublished, sf.51); Lydney, no date ([756], 78, fig. 13,26). 6: Caernarvon, early–mid 4th century ([134], 165, fig. 10.1,8); Catterick, 250–380+ ([776], 155, fig. 305,22); Corbridge, no date ([659], 55, fig. 11,86); near Peterborough, no date (Peterborough Museum, L297). Most of the preceding have decoration which has a tendency to be C-shaped. 7: C-ornament Winchester, Lankhills, 350–90 ([147], 260, fig. 32,278); Cirencester, 2 examples (unpublished: Cir.60.A.XIII (2) sf. 185, AE [35]; Cir.71.S sf. 358 Tr. IX (5)); Brancaster, Bunkle Collection, no date ([400], 200, fig. 86,10); near Bury St. Edmunds, no date ([371], 267–8, fig. 83,1269). 8: C-ornament, Winchester, Lankhills, 370–390 ([147], 261, fig. 32,447), 390–400 (*ibid.*, 262, fig. 32,587); Richborough, no date ([122], 44, pl. 18,19). These are guaranteed to be late fourth century.

The numbers which mark each section above are ultimately based upon a consideration of the divisions perceived by Keller [445] to be successive stages in the development of the Crossbow based on coin-dated graves in Southern Bavaria. His sequence has much to commend it, but the surprising feature here is that a purely *functional* aspect of a brooch, on which side the pin slot lies, should show an overwhelming date-range in the second half of the fourth century and beyond. One only is potentially earlier, from Caernarvon in group 6, and that is not actually guaranteed as the dating there has in other types been at variance with the normal trend. It is hard to believe that this must be chance and, if it has to be accepted, it means that tight division on the style of decoration is inadvisable. What may actually be represented by the “styles” is a designation of rank. Could it be that the slot on the right, as seems normal, is for brooches worn with the “foot” below the bow, and those worn with it above the bow were supplied actually with the slot on the right? In other words, is the answer that simple?

Oddments 1. As it says, a collection of awkward items for which it seems a little pointless to provide a distribution. However, one is provided for all at the end. 1.a are those which are probably third century and so distinguished from 1.b which have knobs or feet much more reminiscent of the fourth century, but not necessarily late. 10397* is a brooch concocted from fragments (see Chapter 11, Part 2). 9677 is plain but has the slot for the pin on the left, see above.

1.a. Plate 142. More or less complete:

10273 10292 10368 10378 10379*; heads with part bows: 10370–1 10376 10400 14285; bows and feet: 10304 10373 10377.

Dating: 10304 South Shields, c.170; 10373 Caerleon, 4th century.

The item from South Shields is unlikely to have been that early.

1.b. Plate 142. Arranged as above: 10302 10375* 10386 10397 10399; 2814 3653 10353 10358; 9677 12578 14291

Dating: 10397 Winchester, 340–370/90; 9677 Atworth, later 4th century.

Oddments 2. Plate 142.

Here are gathered all those which have no home in any of the categories above.

First comes a group which should perhaps have appeared in Chapter 9, but have with one exception hinged pins: 10236–40 which have feet derived from the *Augenfibel* form and have mouldings across the bow.

The next two have very short bows basically joining two wide plates. Both have a rolled head housing the axis bar for a hinged pin, the axis bar of which in 10245 has prominent conical knobs at the ends. The knob is present on the foot of 10245* and one assumes that, as 10244 has the same foot knob, the head was similarly fitted.

10244 10245*

Dating: 10245* Colchester, late 2nd century.

Distribution: KT aaaa2 HANTS ab WILTS b ESSEX a2 HERTS ab GLOS 22 WALES abb NORF a CAMBS bb DUR a2 CUMB ab NHUMB 2 SCOT a2

Chapter 10. Penannulars [PEN]

Plates 143–150

The Penannular Brooch is generally unloved. It has only ever had one champion, Elizabeth Fowler, and her pioneer work was hailed by all with great relief: it offered a comprehensive answer to all problems as they were seen in the 1960s. Anyone could, more or less, allocate a brooch to a slot in the scheme. A comprehensive systematisation means that there is a host of numbered categories to remember, but the combination of letter and number as devised by Fowler [282] is excellent. Unfortunately, the questions which are now asked of a large body of material are much more comprehensive and detailed than they were: those were the days when the villas at Ditchley and Welwyn Garden City were more or less the type examples for the whole of Roman Britain. The need for more subdivision has, therefore, become that much greater than was ever thought necessary. Even with what is proposed here, it will have to be further divided as more specimens are collected, by others, and added to the basic Corpus.

Rather than numbering everything in sight, I suggest using a prefix letter to show what category is being referred to. In this instance, for the first three categories, c for coiled, f for folded, k for knobs, but for those with zoomorphic terminals and a few others a straight number is better. In some instance it will be better to keep to Fowler's original designations as they concern people who largely eschew Romano-British Studies on the whole: Fowler's F and G which are briefly alluded to in Part 5.

In the listings of size, the term "unknown" usually means that only a fragment exists or is so distorted that the average internal diameter cannot be estimated closely enough for use. Those who handle a lot of Penannulars will know that most are more oval than round. The estimated diameter was arrived at by averaging the two chief axes, internal dimension being chosen as that directly related to the functioning of the object.

Part 1. Coiled

c1. Fowler B, Coiled Terminals 1. The ring has a circular section and the terminals are coiled in the same plane as the ring. The distributions are given after c1.c.

c1.a. Plate 143. This cannot always be exact as many rings are distorted. 3038* from Silchester, 12703* from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fonaby and 3026 from Barton Court are iron (f in lists below). 10022 is in iron. Distributions after 1.c.

31mm	3015
26mm	3038f* 10022
23–5mm	3014 3017 3022* 3023 3027
21mm	3037 12702
18–9mm	3013 3016 3026f 3029 12703f*
16mm	3009* 3012f
unknown	3010–1 3019–21 3024–5 3028 3039? 13060 13089

Dating: 3013–7 Glastonbury; 3019 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 3025 Hod Hill, before 50; 3023 Gussage All Saints, mid 1st century; 3012f Croft Ambrey, late 1st–2nd century; 3024 Leicester, 150–160; 10022 Catterick, 170/80–200/20; 3020 Old Winteringham, 3rd century; 3026f Barton Court, 4th century.

c1.b. Fowler C1, The Spring, Plate 143. Each terminal is a long drawn out wire coiled to form a spring system with what is ostensibly the pin wound round the ring. The wrap-round off the pin is usually similarly treated. Distributions after 1.c.

30mm	3033*
27mm	3031* 13026
25mm	3035
17mm	12717
unknown	3032 3034

Dating: 3034 Hod Hill, before 50; 3033* Chichester, mid-1st century; 3035 Nettleton, possibly 1st century; 13026 Caernarvon, Antonine.

c1.c. Plate 143. Recurved coils. The coils are not straightforward coils, although sometimes in the same plane as the ring. Apart from 3036*, the brooches gathered here are essentially the same: the terminals appear to fold back and then recurve to end in coils. 3018* has them in the same plane as the ring, but the other three are at right angles which ought to qualify them for the next group. However, all four are so similar that there seems no good reason to separate them in what would in this instance be an arbitrary fashion. 3036* behaves the same way but is fitted with a lobe which gives it the same form of terminal found on the Dragonisque (see Chapter 7, Part 4). 3675 is placed here as it seems to be better related to 3036* than with any other variant: the terminals are probably intended to be duck-heads, a boss on each representing the eye.

30mm	3675
20mm	3036*
27mm	13042

26mm	13037*
23mm	3018* 13043
16mm	10030
unsized	15354

Dating: 3018* Gussage All Saints, mid-1st century; 15354 Silchester, 40–50/60; 13042 Hacheston, late 3rd and 4th century.

Distribution: KT ac SUSS b HANTS aaac DORS aaab DEV a SOM aaaaa HRTS aaa BDS b SUFF cc NORF ac WILTS ab GLOS aac HERE a WCS aa OX a SALOP b WALES b WKS a LEICS ab LINC aaac YKS aaa

A fairly even spread over what is mainly lowland England.

c2. Fowler C. The terminals coil at right angles to the plane of the ring. The distributions are given after c2.odd.

c2.a. Plate 143. A note of caution needs to be sounded here. It is clear that those whose coils are not so much coiled but curled over, just touch the ring are not only Late Roman, but have no real connection with the series. However, if the terminal is not efficiently coiled, there may be some confusion about to which group a brooch should be assigned. The dividing line here is that the coil must at least be a proper circle whose lower part lies on the beginning of the up turn. All rings have a circular section and there is no decoration on the terminals save for those on 13050 and 14808 which have two longitudinal grooves on top. Distributions after c2.odd.

40mm	3053
37mm	14202
32mm	3074 3108–9 12705
29mm	3111 11772* 12708 12723 13087 14205
27mm	3047 3117* 10029 12706 12724
25–6mm	3043 3056 3090 3094–5 3096 3107 3118 10003
24mm	13050
22–3mm	3112 3115 3119 3120* 3123 3051 3055 3093 3098 3101 10037 11773 14195 14919
21–22	14808
20–1mm	3046 3052 3063 3067 3114 3116 3124 12711 12713 13044
18mm	3068 10034–5 12709 12712 13029 15355
17mm	10005 12710 12722 13039–40
13mm	13036 13041 14201
11mm	13056
8mm	3087 3091
unknown	3040–2 3044–5 3048–50 3054 3059–62 3064–6 3071–3 3075–7 3080–5 3097 3099–100 3102 3104–6 3121–2 12707 13031 13015 13057 13083 14196–200 14203–4

Dating: 14201, 14203 Dragonby, Iron Age, and 14204 probably Iron Age; 12713 West Stow, early–mid 1st century; 3122 Weekley, 25–mid 1st century; 3049 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 14202 Dragonby, Iron Age–Neronian/?Flavian; 3042 Wakerley, ?Iron Age; 3048 Colchester, 49–61; 3050 Hod Hill, before 50; 3051 Gussage All Sts, mid 1st century; 14199 Dragonby, early Roman?; 3115 N Cerney, Ditches, c.60–70; 3082 Fishbourne, before 75; 3068 Chichester, Flavian–early 2nd century; 3087 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110; 13039 Hacheston,

before late 1st century; 14205 Dragonby, late 1st–2nd century; 13040 Hacheston, late 1st–4th century; 13083 Castleford, 100–250; 3077 Scole, 110–160; 3101 Colchester, 2nd–mid 3rd century; 14197 Dragonby, early–mid 2nd century; 13041 Hacheston, mid 2nd–4th century; 3043 Rudston, before late 2nd century; 3123 Weldon, before 200; 13087 Stanground, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 3040 Wakerley, probably 3rd century; 3094 Baldock, 3rd century; 3074 Ilchester, late 3rd–early 4th century; 3093 Werrington, 4th century; 3053 Nettleton, mid 4th century; 3072 Chichester, mid 4th century; 3090 Cant, 375–early 5th century; 3091 Wakerley, 12705 Portway Down, 12706–7 Mildenhall, 12708 Barrington, 12722 Faversham, 12724 Droxford, 13029 Willoughby on the Wolds, all from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

With such a tally of dates, something must emerge and it seems that the type is common from late Iron Age times to the later second century, possibly even into the third. Then there is a tail running to the end of the fourth century. Finally, there is a clutch occurring in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Had these been derived from Roman sites, one would expect the distribution to reflect the earlier pattern, and it does not.

c2.b. Fowler C continued. Plate 143. Decorated Rings.

These have circular sections and, usually, cross-cuts on the top or sides. There is, however, a major variation which has groups of cross-cuts (indicated by the suffix g below) rather than cross-cuts running them right round the periphery. 3143 may more properly belong with the weak group sub-type c2.d below, while 3150 is a slightly less likely candidate and has a decorated terminal. 3152* has decorated terminals. 3154 has a beaded ring and terminals like those on 3150. 3170g is silver. Distributions after c2.odd.

40mm	3148g
33mm	3157g
28mm	3156g 11770
25mm	3141 3153
19mm	3145g* 3147 3152* 3170g
17mm	3144 3150g
14mm	3143 3146 11774
10mm	3154
unknown	3142 3149 3151

Dating: 3156g Skeleton Green, 15–25; 3147 Axminster, 225 – mid 4th century; 3154 Colchester, 350–450; 3153 Chichester, mid 4th–early 5th century; 3157g, 3170g Wakerley, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The result of this exercise shows that there are two groups: one is Late pre-Roman Iron Age, and the other is Late Roman and later. It also shows that the grouping of cross-cuts is not likely to be a proper chronological indicator. On the other hand, if one regards the Anglo-Saxons as a reflux Iron Age culture, then we might just see that there is a cultural indicator, but there is no evidence to push this point of view.

c2.c. Fowler C continued. Plate 143. Diamond Section.

As the title says, the ring has a diamond or lozenge section. 3167 and 3171 have cross-cuts on the upper arris. Distributions after c2.odd.

37mm	14210
32mm	14214
28–9mm	3161* 3162 3164 3171 14215
27mm	3089 3167 14213
23–4mm	3163 3169* 10004 12714
20mm	3166
unknown	3113 3158–60 3165 3168 3172 14211–2

Dating: 14214 Dragonby, Iron Age-Roman; 3160 Colchester, 43/44; 3158 Longthorpe, before 65; 3167 Harlow temple, before 80; 3171 Snettisham, late 1st–early 2nd century; 3162 Camerton, mid-3rd century; 3089 Canterbury, 375–early 5th century.

The problem here may be that, rather than being residual in its context, 3089 really does belong to the Late Roman period.

c2.d. Not really coiled, not a Fowler type, copper alloy.

Here are those alluded to under the main definition for sub-type 2.a. There is also a further difference, some having rings with circular sections, c2.d1, and others thin rectangular sections, c2.d2. Here are those alluded to under the main definition.

c2.d1. Plate 144. Rings with round sections. 12704 and 12715 have two longitudinal grooves on each terminal. 12733 has cross-cuts around the periphery. 3103 has the same style of terminal as 3018* in c.1c, but at right angles to the plane of the ring. Distributions after c2.odd.

47mm	12719
30mm	3057 12704
27mm	3092 12725 13030
24mm	12733
21mm	3095* 3103 3110
19mm	3086 3088 12715
17mm	13028 13035*
15mm	13694
unknown	3058 3069 3078

Dating: 3086 Dorchester, ?mid-1st century; 3088 Canterbury, 70/80–300/320; 3069 Portchester, 340–360; 3095* Verulamium, 365–380; 3110 Morning Thorpe, 12704 Kings Worthy, 12715 Sleaford, 12719 Holywell Row, 12725 Barrington A, 12733 Linton Heath, 13028 & 13030 Willoughby on the Wolds all come from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

There is a problem in the dating of 3086 which may be highlighted by the fact that all the others, in a group which has a very high proportion from dated contexts, are obviously Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon, eight coming from cemeteries; the latter in period, if not in manufacture. The one from Portchester, 3069, may or not be genuinely associated with Germans, if that is the right word, in the garrison.

c2.d2. Plate 144. Not really coiled, those whose rings have rectangular sections. As it happens, there is such a sharp contrast between the decoration found on the rings here from the style of the “regular” series of c2.b, married to enough indications of date, that the style of the curl is less important:

3177 has slightly differing terminals which means that one could be in the earlier series and the other just acceptable here. What is important is the style of

decoration. The common form is to have some version of chevron ranging from well-organised to near incompetent (c in the list below), and in such cases the definite coiling, e.g. 3178, is not held to be a bar. However, there is a very small batch, e.g., 3194, characterised by bordering grooves on the upper surface and the use of scorper-graver work or beading, which have definitely coiled terminals which may be consistently early. However, 3195, a member of this group, came from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Distributions after c2.odd.

3211 has a group of cross-cuts on top near each terminal, and 12737* has three equally disposed. 11771* has “chip-carved” (c below) decoration on top around the outer edge and 3184–5 12731–2 have small V-shaped notches so placed, while 3186 has them on both edges. 12739–40 have pairs of cross-grooves in a style which does not particularly recall any Roman brooch. A pair, represented here by 12741 from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Girton, Cambs, has a line of indistinct stamps and these may just be Anglo-Saxon, and another pair with S stamps from Nassington, N’hants. are almost certainly so as their rings are very wide. 13007 has dot and circle stamps, each with a curved tail which run alternately to the outer or inner edge of the ring. 3180 has chip-carved decoration, rather fitfully carried out, which is reminiscent of that found on Crossbow brooches.

Lastly, there are those which have a pair of grooves on the top surface (g below), sometimes with beading between. These may not be late and some have better coiling than the majority here.

32–3mm	3180c 3195g
30mm	3182c 3201 12741
28mm	3184 3186 12727 12730 13036
25mm	3181c 3187 3209 10033 12726 12737*
24mm	3178c 3183c 13007
21–2mm	12731c 12742g 13038g 14216g
20mm	3204
19mm	3177c 3179c
18mm	3203 3211 11771c* 12729
16mm	3200 3208 12728 12739–40
15mm	12744c
14mm	3185
13mm	3176c 3198* 3205
12mm	3212c
11mm	3202
unknown	3188g 3192g 3193g 3194g 3196g 3206–7 3210 12732c 12743

Dating: 3196 Colchester, 49–61; 3208 Canterbury, 70/80–100/110; 3202 Baldock, late 3rd century; 3184 Kelvedon, & 3211 Baldock, 4th century; 12726 Wroxeter, mid 4th century; 3200 Towcester, 350–375/400; 3205 Chichester, late 4th century; 3209 Canterbury, 375–early 5th century; 13007 Kingscote, after 375; 3204 Verulamium, 5th century; 3195 Morning Thorpe, 12727 Fairford, 12728 Ruskington, three pairs each under the numbers 12729 & 12743, Nassington, and 12742 Long Wittenham, 12744 Fimber, 12730 Kenninghall, 12731 Linton Heath, 12732 Ferring, and 12739–40 Winnall, 12741 Girton, all from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

14216 has a series of S marks between bordering grooves and a pin with a very humped pin and is probably mid first century.

There seems to be a progression from the late Roman period into the appearance of this group in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, where it is so relatively numerous that it becomes hard to think that all must be purely Roman.

c2.d3. not a Fowler Type. *Plate 144. Iron, very poorly coiled terminals.* The rings have either a circular or a rectangular section, the latter suffix s below. The difficulty of truly defining the style of the terminal is amply demonstrated by 3125* and 3127*. In the first the “ideal” is reached with the curl scarcely touching the ring, in the other there is a full coil of the minimal type demanded in sub-type c2.a, yet both come from the same site at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, an Anglo-Saxon cemetery [339]. Distributions after c2.odd.

This is compounded further by 3134 which has both styles of terminal and comes from the King Harry Lane cemetery whose dating, no matter whose view one takes, lies mainly in the earlier parts of the first century. The truth is that iron is a less sophisticated material than copper alloy and it must be the thrust of the evidence which dictates the outcome. 3136 is another from the same cemetery and, when combined with 3137* which has one terminal reversed, suggests that there may be a functional aspect to the use of these essentially Iron Age brooches which demands a difference between the two terminals. 3218 from Stockton, Wilts, has a pin with a shovel end.

31mm	14206
30mm	3127*
25–6mm	3125* 3128 3130s 3134 3138 3140 3199s 12718
23–4mm	3136 3137* 3218* 6981s 12720
21mm	3132 12738s 13034s
18mm	3133
unknown	3126 3129 3131 3135 3139 12721 14207 14208 15498

Dating: King Harry Lane Phase 1, 3134 g.146.3, 3136 g.384.7, Phase 3, 3137* g.460.2, 3138 g.174.4 (see Appendix 1); unphased, 3135 g.327.2 but before 45/50; 3139s Weekley, 25–mid 1st century; 14207 Dragonby, Iron Age-Roman and 14206 Dragonby, Roman; 10023 Caernarvon, mid-3rd century–late 4th century; 3140 Lullingstone, 4th century; 3199s Barnsley Park, after 350; 6981 Wroxeter Baths, later 4th century; 3125* 3126 3127* 3128* 3219 Morning Thorpe, 3132–3 Sewerby, 12718 Holywell Row, 12720–1 Great Chesterford, are from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries as is 12738, Mucking, which is specifically given an early 5th century date.

The sharp divide in the dating which demonstrates that there are two quite distinct groups here amply demonstrates that the Anglo-Saxons were essentially Iron Age in culture which raises the question of to whom did the iron Penannulars belong: were they Anglo-Saxon proper, or were they part of the cultural suite of the natives around at that time? This and other matters are discussed in Chapter 11.

c2. odd: 10024 has a rectangular section with nicks around the outer end but with properly coiled terminals at right angles to the plane of the ring. 10032 has a cross-shaped section with the same terminals as the last.

Distribution: KT aaaaaa bbcd 1122222233 SUSS aaaa b 122 HANTS aaaa b 1122 DORS aaa 1 WILTS ac 33 SOM aaa c 1 DEV b ESSEX aaaaaaaa bbbcc 12222333 MSEX 2 HRTS aa bb 1122233333 BERKS 2 BEDS aaaaa b 1 BUCK 1 GLOS aaaaa bb 122223 OXON aa b 23 SUFF aaaaaaa c 1223 NORF aaaaaaaa bcc 1112222222233333o CAMBS aaaaaaaaaaaaaa bcc 1122222o NHANTS aaaaaaaaaaaaaa bbbcc 2223 RUT c LINC aaaaaaaaaaaaaa cccccccccc 122333 NOTTS aa b 11 DERBS a b SALOP 23 YORKS aa b 233 DUR a

c2.a lies in south-east England up to the Humber with a clutch in Gloucestershire, but not really in numbers elsewhere or even north of the Humber-Dee line. c2.b is a reflection of c2.a, but c2.c has a distinctly eastern bias, especially in Lincolnshire. Even removing those from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in c2.d1, there is still an eastern bias to what is obviously a Late Roman group at least, and the same is more true of c2.d2 which really dominates the east, south of the Wash. The two c2.d3 fourth-century brooches with rectangular-sectioned rings are from the west.

Part 2. Folded over

The ends of the ring are returned along the face of the ring so that there is no space between the terminal and the ring. The upper surface of the terminal is usually decorated. In some instances it may be that the terminals belong to Type 2 of the coiled terminals in part 1, but without direct evidence it seems best to leave them here.

f1. Plain and Simply Grooved. These encompass Fowler’s D-D6, although none has an integral terminal which she allowed in her definition. The sub-varieties which follow contain both round and rectangular-sectioned rings, the latter with s as a suffix. 3215s has what seem to be S stamps on its broad upper surface and the width of that is much more commensurate with the very broad rings of 12745s–7s; the last of these may have zoomorphic overtones, and come from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and have decoration which is not like the generality of that found on definite Romano-British examples. 3228–9s have diagonal cross-cuts between bordering grooves. 12734s* from Wroxeter has nicks along both upper edges. 12755, 14220 and 14807 are of iron. Distributions are given after f1.d.

f1.a. Part of Fowler D. *Plate 144.* These have no trace of decoration on the terminal. 3214 has an inturned terminal. Distributions after f1.d.

34mm	12754 14220
31mm	3226
28mm	3215s 3217* 12755
26mm	3223 3228s
24–5mm	13079 14807
22–3mm	3213 3221 3229s 3230 12747s

20mm	12745s
18mm	3219 12734s* 12753
16–17mm	12746s
15mm	3216s
unknown	3214 3220 3222 3224–5 12752 12756

Dating: 14220 Dragonby, late Iron Age ditch; 3214 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 3225 Bagendon, 30–45; 14220 Dragonby, late Iron Age; 3222 Nettleton, mid-1st century?; 13079 Castleford, 71/4–86; 3240 Traprain Law, 2nd century; 3224 Old Winteringham, Severan; 3230 Lullingstone, late 2nd century; 3229 Chichester, mid-4th century?; 3219 Barnsley Park, after 350; 12756 Wroxeter, late 5th–early 6th century; 12745–6s 12747s* Ferring, 12753 Castle Bytham with Quoite Brooch, 12754–5 Pewsey, all from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

f1.b. Fowler D, remaining part. *Plate 144.* Each terminal has one groove or flute across it. There is the danger that very heavily worn brooches of f2.b may look like this. 3237* is an extreme example, it was very neatly made with a single broad flute rather than a groove. 3248 and 13054 are in iron. 3155, 12760 have rings with cross-cuts all round, those on the latter very close set. 3251* and 3252 have carefully formed ends which, by making the end smaller than the ring, suggest snouts. Distributions after f1.d.

29mm	4257 12768
25–6mm	3248 3252 14209 14218
23–4mm	3238 3241–2 12757 12759 13004 13016 13054
21mm	2923 3245 12758
18–9mm	3235* 3237* 3250 12760
15–6mm	3246
10mm	3244
unknown	3155 3233 3236 3239–40 3243 3247 3251* 10038

Dating: 3241, 3252 Hod Hill, before 50; 3247 Polden Hill Hoard, 50–75?; 3243 North Cerney, Claudian-Neronian; 3235* Halstock, before 60 or after 110/120; 3246 Bancroft villa, late 1st–late 3rd century; 14209 Dragonby, 1st–4th century; 3244 Camerton, after 150; 3245 Camerton, 150–200; 12768 Wilcote, before 200?; 13004 Wycomb, late Roman; 12757 Long Wittenham, 12758 Ferring, from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Distributions after f1.d.

f1.c. Not a Fowler Type. *Plate 144.* Here there are two grooves.

33mm	14219
28mm	3269
26mm	11790
24–5mm	3234 3257 3259 3272 3276 3278 10027 13055
22–3mm	3255 3261–2 3273 3277 3280 3283–4 12765–6
20mm	3275 3281* 11776
18mm	3286
unknown	3256 3260 3263–5 3267–8 3274 3279 3282 3285 13017–8

Dating: 3260 Bagendon, 43/45 –47/52; 12765 Wilcote, Claudian; 3263–5 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 12765 Wilcote, Claudian; 3278, 3279 Halstock, before 60 or after 110/120; 3267 Longthorpe, before 65; 3281* Prestatyn, 70–160; 3268 Verulamium, 80–150; 3283 Leicester, early-mid 2nd century; 3261 Caerleon, Hadrianic–Antonine; 3282 Leicester, early

3rd century; 3256 Wilcote, 3rd century; 3272 Somerton, 4th century; 3276 Nettleton, 4th century; 3286 Bancroft mausoleum, mid 4th–early 5th century. Distributions after f1.d.

f1.d. Not catered for by Fowler. *Plate 144.* Three or more grooves across each terminal. 3301 and 12767 have four grooves, 13032 five, 3300 six.

30mm	3299
28mm	13020
24–5mm	3294* 3295 13019 13032
22mm	3290 10028 12767
15mm	3289 3292
unknown	3288 3291 3293 3298 3300–1

Dating: 13032 Middle Duntisbourne, mid 1st century; 3294* Longthorpe, Claudian-Neronian; 3289 Longthorpe, before 60; 13032 Duntisbourne Grove, mid 1st century; 3301 Tewkesbury, 140–160; 3290 Carlisle, late 1st century–110; 3301 Tewkesbury, 140–60; 13020 Kingscote, probably 2nd century; 13019 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century, 3298 Alcester, early–mid 4th century; 12767 Longcot, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Distribution: KT aabc SUSS aaaab DORS aabbbccccc SOM aabbbcccd SC c BRKS bd BDS b BCKS bc HRTS acc NORF c CAMBS cdd NHTS aabcd WILTS aaacccc GLOS aaabbbbbbbcccccccc ddddddd OX bbcc HERE cccd SALOP aab WALES abbcc WKS bbd LEICS cc STFS d DBS b NTS b LINC3S aaaabbbc YKS aa CUMB d SCOT bb

The one example of f1.a comes from the monastic site at Whitby, otherwise the distribution is firmly England south of the Pennines: not even the solitary example from a Roman fort in Wales can seriously disturb that. The two examples from Wales of f1.b build on the number from Gloucestershire while the two from Scotland disturb nothing. F1.c belongs to the West Country and f1.d has no marked home.

2. Articulated Terminals. There is a wide central flute or waist with a groove at one end certainly, but usually with two. Some are carefully modelled so that the flute runs down the sides as well (s in the list below). Distributions are given after f2.b.

f2.a. Part of Fowler D1. *Plates 144–145.* Flute in the middle, and a groove at each end. 3304 and 6980* are exceptional and belong to the Northern Marches, for the moment. 11786 and 12764* are in iron. 3320 has two grooves at each end. Wear can sometimes remove the grooves at each end and in the worst cases there is a possibility that this type of terminal could be confused with one of f1.b. 10026* has extra cut decoration. Distribution after f2.b.

32mm	11786
30mm	3323s 3324
29mm	13011s
27–8mm	3304s 12764s* 13088
26–7mm	14809
24–5mm	3303 3310 3320 3321s* 13009–10s 13033s 14217

22–3mm	3302 3306 3315s* 3322 6980s* 13086 14461
21mm	3309s 3327 10026*
19mm	3307*
17mm	3313 3316 3318
14mm	14920
11–2mm	3308s 6982
unknown	3258 3314s 3324 3325? 3328

Dating: 3309 Bagendon, 20/25–43/45; 3316 Hod Hill, before 50; 13033 Duntisbourne Grove, mid-1st century; 3313 Waddon Hill, c.50–60; 3310 Longthorpe, before 65; 3321*, 3323 Prestatyn, 70–160; 13086 Dorchester, 75–120; 3315* Peterborough, before 155/75; 3328 Whitton, before 160; 3325 Alcester, Antonine–3rd century; 6980* Wroxeter, 2nd–late 3rd century; 6982 Wroxeter, 3rd into 4th century; 11786 Wroxeter, 4th century.

The bias of the dating is heavily towards the first century, such that all might originally have been lost before 100, but an extension into the earlier second century is likely. A case in point is formed by 6980*, 6982 and 11786 from Wroxeter where there was a very high incidence of residual material deriving from the fortress and early town predating the Baths. The same is also true of 3325 from Alcester.

f2.b. Part of Fowler D1, and D2. Plate 145. Here the central flute has been replaced by a curved chamfer on each side giving the appearance of a waist. Many brooches have suffered from wear and it is the groove at each end which tends to disappear first, but the form between them should be a guarantee that the identification is safe. 3331* has the chamfers so arranged that there appears to be a Z on top of each terminal.

24–5mm	3331* 3350 3352 3356 12763
22–3mm	3254 3332 3349 3359–60 12326 13021
20–1mm	3336* 3340 3342–4 3353 11775
18–9mm	12762
15–6mm	3361
unknown	3232 3330 3333 3335 3337–8 3341 3346 3351 3355 13085

Dating: 3353 Bagendon, Tiberian-early Claudian; 3340 Maiden Castle, 25–70; 3341–2 Hod Hill, before 50 (see above); 3346 Colchester, 49–61; 3338 Ditches, before mid-2nd century; 3232 Worcester, 150–200; 13085 Dorchester, 150–250; 3355 Canterbury, 175–300/340; 3344 Stonea, mid-3rd century; 3330 Marshfield, after 370; 3332 Nettleton, 375–400 ?plus.

Distribution: KT b HANTS b DORS aaabbbb WILTS abb SOM aabbbbb ESS b OXON b GLOS aaaaaaaabbbbb HERE ab SWALES ab NWALES aaab NORF aab CAMBS aab NHANTS aaa WARKS aaaaab WORCS b Lincs aaa STAFFS a SALOP aaaa DUR a NHUM b SCOT b

f2.a does not really belong in the South East and shows a preference generally for the west. f2.b is more widespread, but the numbers from the old homeland of the Durotrigan Type (see Chapter 6) with an extension into Gloucestershire suggests that here was its manufacturing base. The others could have travelled largely by boat along the south coast or up the Severn.

f.f. Oddments. Plate 145. These all have one thing in common: they would have been classified as zoomorphic if there had been one other feature, namely some sign that there had been ears. All have circular-sectioned rings. 3571 probably has eye sockets.

23mm	3571* 3572 13097 13103
unknown	3079 12769 12771

Dating: 3571* N Cerney, Ditches, mid 1st century.

Part 3. Knobbed

They all have knobs for terminals, or at least in the case of the first types, incipient ones. They are all divided up basically in increasing order of complexity.

k1. Distributions given after k1.b.

k1.a. Incipient Knobs, part of Fowler Aa? Plate 145. All have indications of knobs, be they just incised lines round the ends of the ring or sunken so that their greatest diameter is no more or hardly more than that of the ring, save for those which have plain butt ends. The justification for putting them here will appear from the rather limited dating available for the whole group.

The difficulty of determining when a plain butt end, such as 3499, begins to show signs of expansion, and hence the development of what might be called a knob, is shown by brooches such as 3498, 3496 or 3500*, is avoided by lumping them all into this single class. They may be seriated as follows:

3495 3499 3496 3498 3500* 12780 12468 12786* 12783 12784 13090 3548* 3549* 3550 3527–8 12735 12781 12787 3406 3521 3532 3529* [14810 card lost]

3549* has a pin with a hump and its end is almost as long as the diameter of the ring. 3495 from Huntow, 3496 from Burton Fleming and 3498–500*, 12780 and the pair 12787 have plain butt ends. 3527–8 and 3532 have two mouldings no bigger than the diameter of the ring. 3529 from Owlesbury is in iron and has a very arched pin. 12781 is similar to the two from Maiden Castle and 12783 would also be if the mouldings had extended all the way round. 12784 has three grooves round one end and four round the other. 12735 has the grouped grooves found on 12786*. Although only two sections of 13090 were recovered, the indicated diameter is in excess of 35mm. 3529* and 12468 are of iron.

33mm	3499
30mm	12468
26–7mm	12786* 12787
24–5mm	3500* 3527 12781
21mm	3495
19–20mm	3529* 3532 12735 12784
17–8mm	3406 3496 3549* 12783
15mm	3498 3548* 12780
13mm	3550
unknown	3521 3528 13090 14810 [card lost]

Dating: 3550 Maiden Castle, 3rd–1st century B.C.; 3548* Gussage All Saints, ?before 200 B.C.; 3549* Maiden Castle,

c.200 B.C.; 3406 Catsgore, after late 4th century; 12786 East Shefford, 12787* a pair, Sleaford from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

There should be little doubt that those from non Anglo-Saxon sites are pre-Roman, and that should include 12468 from near Maltby, Yorks. It may be that those from Anglo-Saxon sites are genuinely examples of a re-importation of a persistent Iron Age style in the homelands of the particular migrants responsible.

k1.b. Fowler A and A1. Plates 145–146. There is a single proper knob. The group could be sub-divided, but there are not enough in each division to justify this. However, the particular sub-groups are indicated, those not distinguished having simple globular knobs. 3422* and 13058* are in iron. The following have less well formed knobs: 3428 3432 3434 (in iron). The following have odd sized terminals: 3438–9 3441*. 3440* 3442 3443 (in iron and with a very long pin), have disc terminals. The following have conical or biconical bosses: 3431 3436–7 11784 (in iron). 13058* in iron has a knob opposite the opening and a very arched pin.

40mm	13096
38mm	3443
29mm	3441*
25–6mm	3422* 11784 13076
24mm	13058*
22–3mm	3433–4 3442 12776 13067
21mm	3440*
19 x 14mm	3430*
18mm	3431–2 3437
16–7mm	3439
13–4mm	3425
10mm	3429*
unknown	3423 3426 3427?–8 3436 3438 3444 10011

Dating: 13076 Castleford, 71/4–86; 13067 South Shields, c.120/130.

Distribution: HANTS abb DORS aaab SOM aaab DEV b ESSEX b BERKS a BUCK a OXON b GLOS bbbb SUFF a NORF a CAMBS b NHANTS aabb LEICS ab WARKS a Lincs aa DERBS bb YKS aaaabbbbb DUR bbb SCOT aab

Iron Age cemeteries provide an answer for the large number of the type in Yorkshire, and the lack of definition as well as a rare strong showing from Scotland may mean that the source of most of the brooches in the writer's index, Roman sites, is irrelevant for the presence of k1.a, but may be more relevant to k1.b.

k2. Knurled Knobs The constant characteristic is the presence of cross-cuts around the edge of the boss giving it the basic appearance of knurling. The form of the knob varies from a near disc to a conical form. As most of these brooches were probably hand forged, and certainly finished by hand, the precise difference is not held to be very important. Distributions are given after k2.b.

The group is divided into two: k2.a, those with a plain knob attached to the ring; k2.b, those with the same but rising from a basal moulding.

k2.a. Fowler A2. Plate 146. Distributions after k2.b.

39mm	3468
31mm	3492*
26mm	3477 6977
24mm	3484 10020 12779 13078
22–3mm	3446 3450 3457 3459 3464 3466 3469* 3472 3474 3483 3486 3493 10006–7 10013–4 10016 11785 12775 13102
18–20mm	3445 3448–9 3452–3 3458 3460 3467 3470 3478 3487 10018 13025
17mm	3471 3473 3479 10017
16mm	3488 15499
14–5mm	3447*
unknown	3451 3454–6 3461–3 3465 3475–6 3480–2 3485 3489–91 3494 10025 12774 12777–8 13062 13091

There should be little doubt that there is some degree of standard sizing and the range 17mm to 24mm inclusive encompasses virtually all for which a size can be given. The other feature is that there are no really large brooches here, nor yet any which are minute.

Dating: 3448, 3467 Newstead, 80–c.200; 3478 Chichester, late 1st–early 2nd century; 3468 Exeter, late 1st century; 3492* Prestatyn, 90–135/40; 13078 Castleford dated 100–250; 3447 Castleford, 100–400; 3486 Leicester, 130–225? (Clay and Mellor 1985, 69, fig. 38,7); 3461 Mumrills, 140–c.163 (x29 555 f. 115,7); 3479 Cappuck, 140–c.200; 3477 Derby, ?mid-2nd century; 12779 Leicester, mid 2nd–early 3rd century; 3494 Carlisle, 150–190; 3450 Carlisle, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 13078 Castleford, after 190; 13062 South Shields, 205–c.230; 3480 Leicester, early 3rd century; 3482 Old Winteringham, 3rd or 4th century; 3452 Carlisle, late 3rd–early 4th century; 3453 Carlisle, late 3rd–mid/late 4th century; 13025 Caernarvon, late 3rd–mid/late 4th century; 3481 Old Winteringham, after 320; 6977 Wroxeter, 4th century plus; 3483 Morning Thorpe, 12775 Giron, come from an Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

None appears to be mid first century; none need be first century at all. There is also, considering the quantity of dating, a fall off in the fourth century which may mean that scarcely any were being made by then. This would allow the modest two from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to be casual finds.

k2.b. Fowler A4. Plate 146. There is a moulding between the ring and the knurled disc. Sometimes the extra moulding is thin, 3372*, on others it is corpulent, 3410*. Occasionally there is only a swell rather than a properly defined ridge, 3413. Brooches like 3419* have no other reasonable place but here.

26mm	3372* 3420–1
24–5mm	3415
23mm	3414 12792 13077
21–2mm	13075
19–20mm	3410* 3416 3418
17mm	3411
unknown	3409 3412–3 3417 3419*

There is no good evidence for any deliberate sizing here.

Dating: 3409 Skeleton Green, before 43; 3417 Carlisle, late 1st century–110; 3411 Newstead, 80–c.200; 13075 Castleford, 100–250; 3412 Portchester, 340–370; 12792 Fonaby, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Now we have indications that the type goes back to pre-Roman times, the third century and later element has virtually disappeared, although one came from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. There were two more brooches, unillustrated, from Castleford dated 100–180? and 140–180 respectively: however, there is no guarantee that their terminals were precisely as defined here.

Distribution: KT aa SUSS a SURR a HANTS aab DORS b DEV a MSEX a HERTS b GLOS bb SWALES a NWALES aaaa NORF ab CAMBS a NHANTS aaaa LEICS aaaa WARKS a LINC aabbbb NOTTS a DERBS aaaaa STAFFS a SALOP aaa YORKS aaaaaaaaaabb LANCS ab DUR aab CUMB aaaaaab NHUMB aaaa SCOT aaaaaaaaaabb

The impression is that k2.a was north British type, although the sites in Scotland and along Hadrian's Wall are either completely Roman or subject to very heavy Roman influence. When the sites from which these brooches came are looked at, it is noticeable that hardly any of them are lowland and rural, the emphasis being mainly on military or coastal districts. As for k2.b, despite its appearance on Hadrian's Wall and in Scotland, it appears in the South in areas where k2.a is missing. This fits with the dating which goes back further and should mean that k2.a derives from k2.b. The question arises as to where the northern form developed, and I doubt if there is enough evidence as yet, at least not from this body of material.

k3. Plain Bosses with Mouldings, Fowler A3. Ostinably the same as k2.a, but without the knurling; in form these owe rather more to the bulbous knobs of k1.b, but have the extra moulding which can be beaded. However, there can be more than one extra moulding and so there is a main division into k3.a, one extra moulding, and two or more. The suffix h indicates that the pin, unlike most, is very well arched. Distributions are given after k3.b.

There are some strange forms, such as the frustum of a cone, 3382* with a hollowed base and 3383 with a ribbed ring and a set of nicks round the edges (c in the list below) of which there are so few examples that there seems little point at the moment to create yet another sub-division to cater for them.

k3.a. Plate 146. Distributions after k3.b.

30mm	3380 3383c 3402c*
26mm	3379h* 13069 13084
24mm	3376 3390h 3392h 11782h* 13071
22mm	3381h 3391 3395 3397 3401 3404h 3388 10015 13072
21mm	13047 13073
19–20mm	3375 3377h 3403 10009 13027
19mm	3408 13048
16–7mm	3386 3405h 12791 13068
15mm	3378
14mm	13051
unknown	3374h 3384h 3387h 3389h 3393 3396 3398 3382* 10010 10012 13070 13082

Dating: 3386 Maiden Castle, 150–100 B.C.; 3380 Hod Hill, before 50; 3388 Waddon Hill, 50–60; 13027 Caernarvon,

Flavian-Trajanic; 3404 Prestatyn, 70 – 160; 13068 Broxtowe, before 70/5; 13069–70 Castleford, 71/4 – 86 and 13071, 71/4–86; 3374 Colchester, 75/80–80/85; 3390, 13074 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 13072 Castleford, 85/90–135/40; 13047 York, late 1st century–c.120/30; 3379* Ilchester, early 2nd century; 3392 Rudston, 140–160; 13082 Castleford, 140–180; 13084 Dorchester, 150–250; 3387, 3389? Rudston, 3rd century; 3395 Vindolanda, 223–5; 3401 Axminster, 225–mid 4th century; 13048 York, 300–375?; 12791 Bidford on Avon, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Essentially, this is not a type to run into the fourth century, and the one from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was almost certainly a chance find.

k3.b. Plate 146. These have two or more extra mouldings, those with more than two having m as a suffix.

31–2mm	13074m
29mm	3370
27mm	3364 11780 13012
25mm	11781
24mm	3369
23mm	3368* 3373 15356m
22mm	3385m*
21mm	3367 12785*
19mm	10021m
unknown	3362–3 3365–6 3371 3400 10008 11779

Dating: 15356 Silchester, 80–125; 3366–7 Newstead, 80–c.200; 3370 Castleford, 85/90–95/100; 13074 Castleford, 86–95/105; 3364 Strageath, 142–158; 3363 Verulamium, late 3rd century; 3371 Chew & 13012 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century; 12785* Blewburton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Distribution: KT a HANTS b DORS aaaa SOM abb DEV aa ESSEX aa MSEX a HERTS b BERKS b GLOS ab NWALES aaaa SUFF b NORF a CAMBS b WARKS a LINC abb NOTTS a DERBS a YORKS aaaaaaaaaaaaaa aaaaaabbbbbb DUR a LANCS a CUMB aa NHUMB aabb SCOT abbb

k3.a shows a predilection for the country covering North Wales and Yorkshire, with a weaker trail down the Severn Valley back to Devon, which should indicate the trade route and with an extension along the coast would cover those examples from Kent and Essex and the Thames estuary. k3.b, on the other hand, shows a strong presence on Hadrian's Wall and Scotland, but there is a weak presence in eastern England and also south of the Bristol Channel, and it may be that these are the late ones in the sequence.

k4. Multiple Disc Terminals. Plate 147. Not a Fowler Type. The circular-sectioned rings have terminals in the form of discs usually separated one from another by deep flutes, but sometimes these become almost closed up. In a few instances there is a flute between the innermost and the ring. Many of the discs have knurling or cross-cuts, but this is not a *sine qua non*. 3506* has a thick ring and a humped or arched pin with a spatula-like end. The odd ones out here are 3509, which has a thin rectangular section with circular stamps, and 12782 whose section has a convex beaded central band. One might have thought that the presence of knurling or cross-cuts on so many would

have related this sub-type to k2.a, but the absence of the decoration on many, as well as the distinct disc form of the moulding unlike the generally slacker form of k2.a, suggests that, while there may have been a close connection, it was a familial one rather than merely part of the same range. The innermost one is sometimes a thickening of the end of the ring next to the terminal rather than a pure disc as such: 3539*.

These brooches are divided relatively informally into k4.a which have two discs, k4.b which are underlined and have three discs, although one or two of these may be weak on occasion: 3546.

The rest, which basically have three discs, but these are not regularly organised, and are in **bold** and form k4.c. This is a mixed bunch: 3518 has three mouldings but the main one is very large and beaded; 3524 has a large central one with curves down to the much slighter end ones; and 3517 has the triple mouldings conjoined and then a set of four similar but smaller ones on the ring next to the terminal.

32–3mm	13059
31mm	13031
28mm	<u>3537</u> 12788*
26mm	3501 3512 <u>3538*</u> <u>3546</u>
25mm	13031
23–4mm	3502 3509b 3511 3514 <u>3544</u> <u>13100</u>
21–2mm	3513 3515 <u>3539*</u> <u>3542–3</u> <u>3545</u> <u>3547</u> 6978
19mm	3506* 3507 3518
16mm	3524
unknown	3503–5 3508 3516 3517 3533 6979 3508 3510 12782 12793 <u>3540–1</u> 13013 13093

Dating: 13031 Latton, mid-1st century; 3547 Maiden Castle, 45–70; 3533 Hod Hill, before 50; 3507 Cirencester, 49–70/5; 3543 Fishbourne, before 75; 3502 Newstead, 80–c.200; 6978 Wroxeter, later 1st century–120; 3501 Leicester, 90–100; 3514 Bancroft villa, late 1st–late 2nd century; 3542 Wroxeter, 100–125; 6879 Wroxeter, c.120–130/5; 3513 Baldock, 120–150; 3545 South Shields, mid-2nd century; 13100 Willington, late Antonine?; 13059* Wall, late 2nd–early 3rd century; 3508 Ravenglass, c.200–350/370; 3538* Old Winteringham, 4th century; 1317 Bidford on Avon, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

There is generally a clear first-century presence, unlike with the apparently basically similar k2.a, and there is a distinct fall-off after, if not during, the second century when it comes to the k4.a form. However, there are dangers here. Take 3533 from Hod Hill. While there should be nothing wrong with the form of the terminal itself, the ribbing next to it should sound a note of caution. This is hardly an early trait, and it is as well to remember that the Durden Collection was gathered off the surface of the site after it had been ploughed for the first time in the nineteenth century: it could be a Late Roman item and would match the odd fourth-century coin found up there.

Distribution: SUSS b HANTS a DORS aaabc WILTS b SOM aaa BERKS a b BUCKS a GLOS bb SUFF a NORF a NHANTS aa LEICS a WARKS ac Lincs aabc DERBS bb STAFFS c SALOP bbb YORKS aaaa DUR b CUMB c SCOT aacc

A fairly general spread with no particular emphasis.

k5. Omega Brooches, Fowler B1 and B2. Ostensibly related to Type k1, the form of the ring and of the terminals shows that this should not be pressed. In essence, the ring thickens progressively away from the terminals so that the thickest part is opposite the opening. The terminals in the primary form, k5.a, turn out and end in knobs to form the Greek letter Ω. In the secondary form, k5.b, the omega shape disappears as the terminals are of the normal facing type, but the section of the ring and the general character of the knobs forming the terminals show that the two were almost certainly the product of the same workshop tradition. Distributions given after k5.b. Distribution after k5.b.

k5.a. Plate 147. The ring may be round or lozenge in section, the latter perhaps being a little more common. The lozenge may be cross-cut on its corners. 3555 is neither one thing nor the other: rounded on outer and inner faces, but flat top and bottom, and 3554* has an extraordinary section based one supposes on the lozenge: the inner diagonal faces have a sunken moulding and the outer ones are convex. 3558* has an extra casting incorporated into each terminal trapped in the curl and the intention was obviously to make the terminals phallic. This casting is in silver and has a small ring around the main one, fairly certainly the lower end of a chain intended to prevent loss. 3564 combines a section like that of 3554* with the terminals of 3558*.

33mm	3556
31–2mm	13101
29mm	3554*
26mm	3552–3
24mm	13022
22mm	3551 3557 3565
20mm	3555 3558* 3564
unknown	3563

Dating: 3556, 3557 Hod Hill, before 50; 3555 Richborough, Claudian; 13022 Adforton, 55–60/5; 3564 Metchley, before 75; 3552 Verulamium, 85–110; 3558* Newstead, 80–c.200; 3553 Verulamium, 130–145.

k5.b. Plate 147. Not a Fowler Type. Very probably a development from the first, basically the terminal is a dome rising from a disc based on a concave sided cone separated from the ring by a plain section with a moulding at each end. The section of the ring is related to the more complex version mentioned under k5.a being commonly a lozenge on the inner side and stepped or lozenge on the outer but finished in the latter case with an extra moulding which forms a wavy ridge.

30mm	3559
27–8mm	3562
20mm	3561*
unknown	3560

Dating: 3560 Staxton, early 2nd century.

Distribution: KT a DORS aac WILTS a ESSEX ab HERTS aa HERE a SWALES b WARKS aa Lincs a NOTTS a YORKS b CUMB b SCOT a

k5.a is military and arrives with the army of conquest: the five examples from Richborough, Hod Hill and Verulamium should be enough to demonstrate this, and the one, with a probable second one, from the fort at Metchley, Warwickshire, and another from Newstead help to emphasise the military bias of the type. The single example from Oxton, Nottinghamshire, where there is a hill-fort, is highly suggestive, and one might ask questions about the examples from Huish in Wiltshire and Winterton in Lincolnshire. k5.b continues the military theme with Caerleon and Vindolanda and possibly Colchester. If that is allowable, one might ask what there was at Staxton in Yorkshire to have produced one.

k. Oddments. *Plate 147.* These are mainly versions of bead and reel, with two, 3394 and 3687, having single knobs with multiple small mouldings or ribbing. 3526 3668 and 3394 have flat inner sides, and 3530* has punched-dot decoration on the ring in curves. All have circular-sectioned rings, except 3687 which has a rectangular section with a broad sunken moulding in its top surface.

28mm	3530*
24–5mm	3668
23mm	3519
21–22mm	11778*
18mm	3687
unknown	3394 3526

Dating: 3526 Newstead, 80–c. 200; 3519 Dalton Parlours, before 200; 3394 Barnsley Park, after 350.

All are probably earlier than 200.

Part 4. Late-zoomorphic and related, Fowler E and Part of F

6. Zoomorphic. *Plates 147–148.* No designated subdivisions of Type 6 are given. The examples are analysed in various ways and conclusions drawn when there appear to be any. Readers must pick their way through this minefield with care. When there are at least three times as many brooches recorded here some conclusions may become inescapable, and others introduced in a tentative fashion. There is no clear break between those which are Roman by virtue of being made and used in the Roman period, and those which are Post-Roman and which may be called Celtic or British as the mood may fall.

Here we move into troubled waters. The major study published by Kilbride-Jones [453] dealt with Irish material first and those items which occurred in Britain second. Where what was taken to be Irish material was found in Britain, it then formed part of his main study. However, he chose to lump under the baggage title “Pseudo-zoomorphic” brooches all those he chose to ignore (*ibid.*, 147). Because those which fall into that “class” are found more frequently in Britain, I, naturally, cannot afford the luxury of deciding I do not want to deal with them. I have no intention of trying to redefine Kilbride-Jones’ work, nor examine his arguments in any detail. I hope that what

arises here will help provide some of the background from which his chosen objects emerged and which he himself decided was not pertinent to him.

I would use the term zoomorphic for an easily recognizable representation of something obviously from the animal kingdom, without requiring that the actual species be identifiable as well ([134], 166, fig. 10.2,16), but there is a convention whereby various highly stylized representations are accepted as being beasts and, once seen, there is no quarrel. Following Kilbride-Jones, they have recognizable ears, head, eyes and snout ([749], 137–8, fig. 59; [453], 93, f. 33,25 from Abingdon). But there is a host of brooches which look as though they ought to be zoomorphic in such terms, yet fail to provide all the seemingly necessary parts ([507], 133, fig. 41,18) and, if care is not taken, there is a slippery slope down to things which look as though they ought to be related.

There are three conditioning factors which help to obscure the issue. Firstly, a lack of care on the part of the creator, secondly the degree of wear the terminals were subjected to before entering the ground, and thirdly the effect of corrosion. There is also the foggy screen which is the illustrator’s interpretation interposed between nearly all the objects and the reader: what appears to be an excellent drawing may, in fact, have seriously misrepresented something, yet the picture beguiles the senses. The converse can be true, but appears to be less likely.

This means that some definition has to be devised which will sort most of the goats from the sheep, and there it must be admitted that what is going to be presented here will not please everyone, but at least the reader will have some idea of what was on those brooches which are not illustrated.

Taking a head has having a cranium with ears, eyes and mouth/snout, then a properly zoomorphic head will have all of these. If any has to be omitted then one might argue that it might be either ears or eyes but not both. In practice, ears appear to be a more recognizable element when it comes to wear, therefore, the absence of eyes with ears is more acceptable than the other way round. However, in cases of doubt as to whether either was present, a properly formed snout should do, but a snout with nothing else where the state of preservation is good enough to show that the ears and eyes had never been there, is another matter.

The presentation is going to use the same body of brooches in different ways. This is because, apart from whether the terminals are cast-in or folded over, the rings themselves offer a further set of variants. Some have circular sections, others rectangular or D-shaped ones. Some are plain and others have ribbing or cross-cuts all the way round or in groups. The standard way of dividing Pennanulars on the basis of what terminals they have may not be the best way to proceed when there are so many variables. It seems inherently unlikely that any one of these differing characteristics will prove to be the best determinant, and it may be that two may not be enough.

It is only by trial and error that what appear to be the significant groupings will appear.

Before beginning the analysis, it may be as well to look at the overall distribution of those being subjected to it.

KT 1111 SUSS 11 HANTS 11111 DORS 111 WILTS 11111 SOM 11111111 DEV 1 ESSEX 1 HERTS 11 BEDS 1 BUCKS 111 OX 1111 GLOS 11111111111111 WALES 111111111111 SUFF 111 NORF 11111 CAMBS 111 NHANTS 11 RUT 11 LEICS 111 WARKS 1 Lincs 11 NOTTS 1 DERBS 1 SALOP 11 YORKS 111111 DUR 1111 CUMB 111 NHUMB 11 IRE 11 SCOT 111

What is immediately striking is, in comparative terms, the virtual absence of Scotland and Ireland. Wales makes a fair showing and, with Gloucestershire, represents a major group. Added to that is relatively large number from Yorkshire and Hadrian's Wall and its immediate hinterland. One may almost add, given the number from there, the absence in the Marches north of Gloucestershire. Having said that, it should be that, if Kilbride-Jones's Zoomorphic brooches derive from any of those gathered here as Type 6, it ought to show in the detailed distributions which follow.

1. The Section of the Ring.

2. **Round O:** r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral. (3615rgI* appears to have been forged from rolled or folded sheet). No comment in the latter two cases means that it is not possible to be sure from the publication. 12804* has a pin significantly longer than usual. 3582 is classified below as ribbed, but seems to have a punched-dot design either intended to give a beaded effect of even a wavy ridge. 3602 has its terminal reversed with an open mouth at the opening end.

80mm	?12810rgI
c.71mm	3613pI
65mm	12809rI
61mm	10039pI
60mm	?12807pI
54–5mm	12806pI
51mm	3600rI
49mm	10058gIo
40mm	3606pI
37–8mm	10041pI
35mm	12801pI <u>13046pF*</u>
32–3mm	?3617gI 8552rgI 12804pI* 12805pI
31mm	3602rI 3605pI 13061gI
29mm	10019rI
26mm	<u>3594rF</u> 12802pI
24mm	<u>3339pF</u> <u>3348pF*</u> <u>3570pF</u> <u>3573pF</u> <u>3582rF</u> <u>3585pI</u> <u>3596r?I</u> 12799pI
22mm	3296pI 3357r
20–21mm	3577rI 3624rI <u>3579gF</u> <u>3586gF</u> 12822gI 12558pI
18–19mm	<u>3567pF</u> <u>3580gF</u> <u>3623gF*</u> 11787rI <u>13005rF</u>
16–17mm	3569pI* 3615rgI* <u>3568pF</u> 13014gI
unknown	12736pI 12790pI 12797rI <u>12800pF</u>

Folded terminals are, with one exception, 24mm or less in internal diameter.

Dating: 3570 South Cadbury, c.45; 3577 Halstock, after

110/120; 3617 Okstrow Broch, ?C2; 3568 Moulton, late 3rd–4th century; 3586 Milton Keynes, early-mid 4th century; 3579 Bancroft villa, mid-4th–early 5th century; 3569, 3615* Barnsley, after 350; 3605 Barton Court, Late Roman; 3602 Wilcote, late 4th century; 12736 Caernarvon, late 4th century; 3600 Feltwell, after 400; 12797 *Brighthampton*, 12799 *Lackford*, 12800 *Sancton*, 12801 *Barrington A*, 12802 *West Overton*, 12804* *Willoughby on the Wolds*, 12805 *Pewsey*, 12806 *Patricxbourne*, *Bifrons*, ?12810 *Alveston*, 12822 *Wigber Low*, all from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

If size is any guide, none larger than 24mm internal diameter is earlier than 400 and it is in this group, and smaller, that practically all the folded terminals are to be found. That is as far as this analysis can go. The next stage is to try and analyse the terminals and this will include items from the other categories of ring.

3570 was found outside the threshold to the south-west gate and doubt must be cast upon the security of this context, as it is so much at odds with the rest gathered here. 3577 must, on all counts, be well after 120. Those with folded terminals are underlined. They are basically small and one dated example would allow it to be late third into early fourth century. The other two, 3617 and 3568, could indicate that all are solidly fourth century, but more dated examples are needed before that is a conclusion which could be asserted with confidence.

Flattened O: r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, d = decorated in another way, F = folded, I = Integral. This may not be a real group, but caution is being exercised at this stage. 6250 is the only terminal showing what is clearly a human face. 3588 has the head reversed with the ears next to the ring. 3189 has a row of punched dots along each upper margin. 3592* is complete: there had never been a terminal like that on the left.

36–7mm	6250rI
31mm	<u>3622gF</u>
26mm	<u>3587gF</u>
24mm	<u>12794g?F(*)</u>
22mm	<u>3189dF</u>
20mm	<u>3574pF</u> <u>3576pF</u>
18mm	<u>3592gF*</u>
16mm	3593rI
unknown	<u>3588gF</u> 12789g?I

Almost all have folded terminals, most have grouped bands of ribbing or cross-cutting, while plain rings are very uncommon.

Dating: 6250 Caernarvon, late 3rd–early/mid 4th century.

3574 has already been cited as a very doubtful case, and that is emphasised when it can be seen that all recorded so far with this ring section have fully or partially ribbed rings. Another feature is the predominance of folded terminals, but this may be a function of size. Without prejudicing the final outcome, and merely drawing attention to the previous group, it might be best if the only dated example, from Caernarvon, was assumed to be mid-fourth century at the earliest, bearing in mind its size and its integral terminal.

D-shaped, r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral. 3612 has enamel. 3634, though its diameter is unknown, it was certainly in excess of 50mm.

50mm	3612gI 3634pI
34mm	?3628rI
32mm	3603rI 3689pF 12960rI
29mm	3590gF
26mm	3601rI 3621gI 6983gI
24–5mm	3597rI 3618gI
23–4mm	1584gI
22mm	3583rI
20–1mm	3626rI
17–8mm	3595rI*
16–7mm	13092rI* 3632rI
unknown	3584pF 12795p?I*

As might be expected, most terminals are integral with the ring which is rarely plain.

Dating: 6983 Wroxeter, 120–130 (see below); 1584 Caernarvon, early-mid 4th century; 3601 Birdoswald, after 383; 3590 Glaston, from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and 12795 from an Anglo-Saxon context at West Stow.

The dating is very sparse and the general lack of these from fourth-century contexts represents a fundamental truth: most are not fourth century in any real sense. The item from Wroxeter came as I well remember from late fourth-century plus deposits in the Macellum. Again, there is an aberrant one from Caernarvon which, in this instance, I suspect is dated too early. There are also many more large ones, which means that half are in excess of 26mm in internal diameter. Only two have folded terminals: 3584 from Cambridgeshire and 3590 from Rutland.

Rectangular, r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral, d = decoration other than ribbing *etc.* 3578 has one terminal which is in effect a squashed coil, the other is zoomorphic.

28mm	3610pF
26–7mm	3591gF*
24mm	3578dF 12796pF*
22–3mm	3575pF 3604rI?F 12750dF
18mm	3589rI 3599pF*
16–7mm	12798rI
15mm	3581dF 13006rF[
12mm	3598rI

Like the flattened circle, most have folded terminals, but there is little in the way of grouped ribbing. There are about equal numbers of completely ribbed or plain rings. Most are also smaller than 24mm and all the dated ones are similarly small.

Dating: 3598 Camerton, mid-3rd century; 3604 Brancaster, 4th century to end; 3581 Verulamium, late 4th century. ?plus; 12796* Wroxeter, 5th–7th century?; 12798 Kempston, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

3598 from Camerton must be wrongly dated.

Lozenge, r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, d = decorated differently, F = folded, I = Integral,

30mm	3175dF
24–5mm	3173rI* 12751dF*

Dating: 12751* Norden, 200–225, but not sealed; 3173* Maiden Castle, c. 375, not before?

12751 from Norden, Dorset, must be wrongly dated.

Unknown. The following have not enough information in either text or illustration to be even partially sure to which group they should be assigned.

c.70mm	3655pI
32mm	3609pI 3627rI
28mm	3619rg?I
26mm	3616g?I 3625rI 3686gI
21mm	3620g
17.5mm	3607pI

Dating: 3655 High Down, Ferring, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Distribution: a = flattened ring, D sectioned rings, □ = rectangular section, ◇ = lozenge.

KT oaaa SUSS a◇ HANTS oaaD□ DORS o◇◇ WILTS oooooaD SOM oooooo□ ESSEX a HERTS a□ BEDS □ BUCKS ooo OXON ooo◇ GLOS ooooooaD□□□◇ WALESooaDDD□◇◇SUFFoD◇NORFoooD□CAMBS oDD NHANTS ooa RUT aD LEICS ooa WARKS o LINGS oo NOTTS o DERBS o SALOP D□ YORKS oooo◇◇ DUR oDDD CUMB DD NHUMB D□ SCOT ooD IRE D

The circular sectioned rings reveal a little bias showing that the Somerset/Wiltshire/Gloucestershire area was favoured: the figure from Somerset is boosted by those from South Cadbury where there was a great deal of excavation. However, on the face of things, and apart from Yorkshire, there is a blank between the Humber-Dee line and Scotland, which does not look too healthy for any influence on what was to happen in Ireland. Apart from the one from Caernarvon, none of those with flattened rings appears to occur north-west of a line drawn from Gloucester to Nottingham.

Those with D-shaped sections present a different picture. For the first time Scotland and Ireland appear. There is a preponderance in the north and west: one small D from, Silchester, another from Suffolk, the Anglo-Saxon site at West Stow, and one from Cambridgeshire, Stonea where there is Anglo-Saxon occupation, and another from Norfolk, an unspecified site, more or less leaves the large ones to the west and north. All this emphasises, by the character of the sites which produce them in the east, how late this group must be. In some senses, there is little difference between the design of these, save the two with enamel and those with round sections, yet the difference in distribution and dating does not arise from the slight difference in the numbers between the two groups, it is more fundamental. This type of analysis appears to have stumbled upon a real truth, which looking at terminals so far has failed to elucidate. But the test of that should come when those are examined in detail: if there is indeed a truth here, then the terminals should show a split such that the

same brooches will fall out as they do now. However, the trial is too imprecise to undertake.

Those with rectangular sections tend to the south and west with a presence of sorts in the north. This might reflect the D-shaped sections, but there is not enough here really to be sure. The ambiguous type with a near lozenge section does not appear north of Yorkshire on the east or Wales on the west and has a sporadic distribution in the rest of southern England.

2. The Style of the Terminal

The results arising from arranging the rings according to their sections have been satisfactory, but they are not purely based on the section alone. Three other factors also came into play: size, decoration and technical style of the terminal. Each could be simply characterised and so the whole body be reduced quickly to a purely formulaic basis. When it comes to looking at the style of the terminal, matters are different. It is true that the analysis can use the fact of whether it is folded or integral, the kind of section of the ring as well as size, but the chief feature will have to be how the real or pseudo-zoomorphic element is treated.

The first, and probably the most unpalatable, fact which has to be understood before any progress can be made is that the terminals were largely finished by hand; they get worn and are frequently damaged. Consequently there can be difficulties in several cases about to which sub-division the example should be assigned. Secondly, most of the material has been culled from publications and the quality of the draughtsmanship can vary from excellent to pretty dire. Furthermore, no matter how good the illustrator in terms of line quality and ability to convey a readily perceptible image of the object, we have to rely upon that person to have observed correctly what was there to be seen.

These caveats inevitably befog the issue, yet it has been by looking at terminals that studies in Penannulars have proceeded. In those cases in which it is certain that the design of each terminal differs from the other, what is perceived to be the fuller pattern has been chosen in preference to any other method.

Now we come to the definition of what each part should look like before it can be accepted as a proper feature. All terminals seen but one, 6250, are arranged with the snout eating or biting, as it were, the ring, although it is equally possible to see the ring as a joint tongue. The snout is narrower than the cranium and may be marked by a long tapering indentation in the side or by a lowering of the top surface. In each instance the tendency is for the snout to widen towards the ring. Secondly, the cranium is the large bulbous, short or elongated, feature between the opening and the snout, and a further feature is used to define a sub-set: a median groove. Thirdly, the ears are indicated either by a tripartite division of the terminal at the opening by having two parallel grooves or nicks, or by cutting the corners to look like small lobes, or by creating two long ears divided by an indentation. There is

a trial group in which ears may be shown notionally by a single cross-groove defining a very narrow band next to the opening. Fourthly, eyes may shown directly as features in their own right by circular indentations or small bosses, or by a cut in the side of the terminal between ear and snout to indicate the location of the socket.

From this it can be seen that the range of variables is wide, and subdivision is not made any easier when condition and the perceived quality of the illustration are taken into account. Some things have to be taken on trust and only in the most obvious instances will the illustration be called into question. In the matter of ears, the presence of lobes or parallel lines becomes an immediate case for division. As for eyes, whether there is only a socket or a proper eye is one straight-forward criterion. When it comes to snouts, these are divided into three: indentations, reduced level of the top surface, and the last will become clear in the instances where it has to be invoked. The cranium has to be present and so it is taken as a *sine qua non*. Now, as in theory any of these different divisions may be combined with any one of the others, we have potential for a series of sub-sets in which the same brooches may re-appear more than once and possibly thrice. If this proves to be the case, then hope of a simple outcome may well be dashed.

In the last analysis, it has to be understood that other people using the various criteria used here would undoubtedly move individual items around, and there would be as many variables as there were people undertaking the exercise. What is important is that the conclusions should be based on more than one brooch: it is the trend which is important. Some of the material must belong to post-Roman times and it is my aim only to point to those elements which might or must be. The title of this work quite firmly points to the Roman Period as being my proper study and it is for others to argue about the precise chronology of the fifth, sixth and later centuries in relation to Penannular and other brooches.

There is one brooch made in silver which undeniably has a zoomorphic head, but its cultural associations, both in design and site – it came from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sewerby, Yorks. – show that not all Penannulars from such sites can be called British in any real sense: 12829 ([401], 57, fig. 41, G24.4).

In each of the categories which follow, the following other features are indicated.

Sections: o = round; D = D; (= flattened o; [= rectangular; < = lozenge-like.

Other: r = ribbed; g = groups of ribs; rg = mixed; d = other decoration; F = folded terminal; I = integral terminal.

Ears	a	lobes short (3)
	b	// lines
	c	long divided by indentation (2)
	d	No ears
	e	cross-groove
Eyes	f	eyes proper: modelled
	g	eyes, side projections

	h	eye sockets
	i	sharp stepped sockets
	j	concave indentation
	k	no eyes
Cranium	l	cranium median groove
Snout	m	flat top, square-ended.
	n	flat top, rounded or pointed end.
	o	top cut down to turn up at the end of the snout
	p	flat-topped profile, sides shaped to form an arris.
Pins	q	straight-forward narrow wrap-round
	r	three mouldings
	s	wide generally with four mouldings
	t	expanded, some incipient tubes
	u	tubular heads

Ears**a. Ears lobes short (3).**

80mm	12810rglo
71mm	3613plx
65mm	12809rlo
61mm	10039plo
60mm	12807plo
55mm	12806plo
51mm	3600rlo* 3612gID
49mm	10058glo
40mm	3606plo
37–8mm	10041plo
35–6mm	12801plo
32–3mm	3609plx 3617rlo 3627rlx 12805plo 12960rID
31mm	3605plo 3622gF(3689pFD
27–8mm	3590gFD 3610pF(3625rlx 10019rlo
26mm	3601rID 3616rglx 3686p/glo
24–5mm	3578dF(3582dFo 3597rID 3618gID 3621rgID
22mm	3189dF(12750dF(
21–2mm	3567pFo 3579gFo 3620glx 3624rlo 3626rlo 12558pl
17mm	13092rID*
15–16mm	3632rID
12–3mm	3568pFo
unknown	3569plo* 3583rID 3588gl(3634pID 6983gID 12790plo 12795pID* 12800pFo

12 of the 50 have folded back terminals, none occurring on a brooch larger than 31mm internal diameter.

Dating: 6983 Wroxeter, 120–130 (see below); 3568 Moulton, late 3rd and 4th century; 3579 Bancroft villa, mid-4th–early 5th century; 3560 Staxton, after 350; 3605 Barton Court Farm, Late Roman; 3601 Birdoswald, later than 383; 3600* Feltwell, after 400; 12795* *West Stow, Anglo-Saxon settlement*; 3590 *Glaston*, 12800 *Sancton*, 12801 *Barrington*, 12805 *Pewsey*, 12806 *Patricxbourne*, *Bifrons*, all *Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

Five come from Roman sites, as opposed to six from Anglo-Saxon ones. This proportion between the two types of sites cannot be due to casual site collection of discarded items by the later culture.

b. Ears // lines. 3596 is an aberrant in that the head seems to be reversed, both terminals having short parallel lines. On the other hand, one terminal has a groove which

might place it in e, except that would make the snout very peculiar with its indentations. 12822 is here as a pure courtesy: the snout would have to be the section of ribbing next to the apparent terminal.

27mm	3591gF[* 3594rF?o
23–4mm	3339pFo 3596rlo
21–2mm	12822glo
19mm	3580gFo 3623gFo* 11787rlo
18mm	13005rFo
17mm	13014glp
15mm	3581dF(
unknown	3584pFD 12736plo

What is interesting here is that no fewer than eight of the eleven examples have folded back terminals; there is one D-shaped section, from Stonea, Cambridgeshire. Four have plain rings and four of the others have grouped ribs.

Dating: 3594 Catterick, with 4th century pottery; 12736 Caernarvon, late 4th century; 3581 Verulamium, late 4th century, ?plus; 12822 *Wigber Low, Anglo-Saxon burial*.

c. Ears long divided by indentation (2)

40mm+	12797 rlo
34–5mm	3628rID
32mm	8552 orgl
28mm	3619rglx
23–4mm	1584rgID 3570pFo 3575pF(12796gF[* 12799plo
22mm	3604rID
18mm	3607 plx
unknown	12789gl(

The three folded back terminals are all small, as are all the plain rings.

Dating: 1584 Caernarvon, early/mid 4th century; 3604 Brancaster, 4th century to end; 12796 Wroxeter, 5th–7th century?; 12797* *Brighthampton* and 12799 *Lackford, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

d. No ears. Note 3602 has mouth at opening end. 3574 is a very dubious member of this type.

36–7mm	6250rlo
35mm	13046pFo*
31mm	3602rlo 12804plo* 13061glo
26mm	12802plo
24mm	3575pFo 12751dF< 12794gF(*)
22mm	3586gFo
18mm	3595rID* 3599pF[*
16–7mm	3593rlo 12798rl(
unknown	3577rlo

Only one D-shaped section, from Silchester.

Dating: 3577 Halstock, after 110/120; 12751 Norden, 200–225?; 6250 Caernarvon, late 3rd–early/mid-4th century; 3586 Milton Keynes, early- mid-4th century; 3602 Shakenoak Farm, late 4th century; 12798 *Kempston*, 12802 *West Overton* and 12804* *Willoughby on the Wolds, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

3577 and 12751* cannot be correctly dated, and 6250 should perhaps be placed near the end of the range available for it.

e. Cross-groove, in which the narrow zone next to

the opening could be interpreted as resulting from a simplification of separate ears. In 3573 there is not so much a groove as a concave step. On 3585 there are two grooves on a terminal which might be interpreted as really belonging to a 2.a brooch, with one groove transferred to join the other at one end. If there had been brooches with two grooves only at the other end, one might have had confidence in such a view. 3348* also has two grooves, but also has a very convincing snout. The side view of 3615* belies the plain plan view, which looks like a 2.b, with a convincing face which might even be humanoid. Each terminal on 3592* differs from the other: the right-hand one has a section of ribbing, the other a proper folded terminal, and that is what places this brooch in this group. 3589 has precisely the same design. In 3173* the snout end is narrower than the ring and has a rounded end.

30–1mm	3175dF<
25mm	3173rI< 3348 pFo* 3585p?Io
22mm	3296pIo 3357rFo
18–9mm	3589gI[3592gF(*)
16mm	3615gIo*
15mm	13006rF[
12mm	3598r?F[
unknown	3535rID 3573pfo

The truly odd one out is 3535 which not only comes from the famous Glastonbury Iron Age “village” site, but has a ring design which does not fit either. 3585 must remain in limbo.

Dating: 3585 South Cadbury, c.45; 3598 Camerton, mid-3rd century; 3615* Barnsley villa, after 350; 3173* Maiden Castle, after 375.

Again, the one from Camerton must be wrongly dated. The South Cadbury specimen is difficult: the drawing supplied has some doubts, principally because of its quality.

Distribution: KT aaad SUSS ac HANTS bbde DORS dde WILTS aabcd SOM abbceeee DEV a HERTS bd BEDS d BUCKS aad OXON aacd GLOS aaaaabbbccddeeeeee WALES aaaaaabacd ee SUFF aac NORF aabcd CAMBS aab NHANTS aac RUT ac LEICS aad WARKS a LINC ae NOTTS d DERBS b SALOP ac YORKS aaaabc DUR aaad CUMB a NHUMB aa SCOT aaa IRE a

e seems to be centred on Somerset and southern Gloucestershire, otherwise only a is found as far north as Hadrian's Wall, Scotland and Ireland. b is absent largely from the deep South East, the Midlands Plain and the East Midlands. No clear message comes out of a, c and d, except that a appears everywhere and is actually very prominent in the north and occurs in Ireland.

Eyes

Sections: o = round; D = D; (= flattened o; [= rectangular; < = lozenge-like.

Other: r = ribbed; g = groups of ribs; rg = mixed; d = other decoration; F = folded terminal; I = integral terminal.

f. Eyes proper. There are occasional similarities between

these, as well as with other sub-divisions, mostly with the next, g. The eyes are nearly always punched dots, but 3602 appears to have small bosses, 6250 with its humanoid face and hair has the most realistic eyes. The most extraordinary eyes are on 3655 where the crania appear to have eye-brow ridges.

70mm	3655pIo
36–7mm	6250rIo
31mm	3602rIo
28mm	<u>3610pF[</u> 10019rIo
25mm	3616rgIx
18–9mm	<u>3607plx</u>
15–6mm	3568pFo
unknown	3583rID

The range of sizes is wide. 28mm and over is generally on the large size, the table for circular-sectioned rings showing that the major groups are significantly less than that. If there is any overall similarity between particular terminals, then 3607 3610 might be grouped. The only things they have in common are that their rings are plain and that the distribution runs from York into Scotland, and 3583 might associated.

Dating: 6250 Caernarvon, late 3rd to early/mid 4th century; 3602 Shakenoak Farm, late 4th century; 3568 Moulton, late 3rd and 4th century; 3655 *High Down, Ferring, Anglo-Saxon cemetery*.

6250 is dated too early.

Distribution after g.

g. Eyes, side projections. 3612 is enamelled. 3587 is here by courtesy: either the published drawing is poor, or the terminals were very badly finished. The illustration of 3627 is equally unconvincing.

80mm	12810rgIo
72mm	<u>3613plx*</u>
63–4mm	12809rIo
61mm	10039pIo
60mm	12807pIo
56mm	<u>12806pIo</u>
51mm	3600rIo* 3612gID
40mm	3606pIo
37–8mm	10041pIo
34mm	3627rFo 3628rIx
32mm	3609pIx 8552orgI 12805pIo 12960rID
31mm	<u>13061gIo</u>
29mm	<u>3590gID</u>
26–7mm	3587gI(3625rIx
21mm	3626rIo
unknown	<u>3605pLo</u> 3634pID 6983gID

Distribution: KT f SUSS g HANTS f WILTS fff SOM f BUCKS f OXON gf GLOS ff WALES gffff SUFF g NORF f NHANTS g RUT f LEICS ff WARKS f SALOP f YORKS gg DUR gff NHUMB g SCOT f

There are two definite groups of f, one of which is relatively carefully modelled with an articulated head, the other being much more schematic (underlined in the list above) and all come so far from well south of the Dee-Humber line. The first group is hardly much more widespread: only three north of the Dee-Humber line and they belong

exclusively to the military zone. There are hardly any from the eastern side of England; the singletons from Kent up to the Wash and Norfolk make the point. **g** has been added to the distribution for the sake of saying that it has little extra to add to the perceived pattern.

The writer sees **f** as the original of Fowler's Type F: if one follows the logic of her argument through, as represented in her 1964 paper ([283], fig.1), then it is the eyes which become dominant. In this context, it is important that members of this sub-type should have found their way to Ireland.

Dating: 6983 Wroxeter, 120–130 (see below); 3605 Barton Court, Late Roman; 3600* Feltwell, after 400; 3590 Glaston, 12805 Pewsey and 12806 Patricxbourne, *Bifrons from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

The item from Wroxeter came as I well remember from late fourth century plus deposits in the Macellum. The heavy bias on the very latest Roman Period and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries says more about the fundamentally fifth-century and probably later dating of these than a host of sophisticated art-historical arguments.

h. Eye sockets. These have a separate indentation between the ears and the snout. The cut-out is the weak form with no emphasis laid on either end. 12795* is included here as it seems likely that the short section of ribbing next to the upstanding terminal is the snout. 3618 might actually be a member of **g**, but the drawing is not good enough to confirm this. 12802 is the only brooch in the whole of those being analysed with a terminal which tapers to a very narrow blunt end in plan view. Distribution after **k**.

49mm	10058gIo
35mm	13046pFo*
28–9mm	3619rgIx
27mm	3591rgF[*
26mm	3618gID 12802pIo
23–4mm	1584rgID 3339pFo 3578dF[12794gF[*
21mm	3579gFo
18mm	3595rID*
16–7mm	3632rID 13092rID*
unknown	12795pID*

Dating: 1584 Caernarvon, early–mid-4th century; 3579 Bancroft villa, mid-4th–early 5th century; 12795* West Stow, 12802 West Overton, both from *Anglo-Saxon sites*.

While some may be mid fourth century, the trend of the evidence is that 1584 with its groups of ribbing and D-sectioned ring is most unlikely to be as early as the report suggests.

i. Eye sockets. Here are those with sharp stepped sockets defining the cranial end. 3357, here by courtesy, has a sharp step at each end of the indentation.

23mm	3357rFo 3573pFo
21mm	3620gIx
19mm	3580gFo 3623gFo*
18mm	3589gI[3592pF[*
17mm	12798rI[
15mm	13006rF[

12mm	3598r?F[
unknown	3588gI(

What stands out here is how small they are, which may account for the fairly crude representation of the head. One has a fully ribbed ring; the others mainly have groups of ribs and most have sections which tend to be rectangular.

Dating: 3598 Camerton, mid-3rd century; 12798 Kempston, *Anglo-Saxon cemetery*.

j. The eyes are assumed to lie at the upper end of a concave indentation which defines the side of the snout and the lower end of the cranium. 3581 has a single indentation running from the side of the ear to the side of the snout. 3570 is a little ambiguous as it has a groove across the snout which disturbs the simplicity demanded by the definition. 3574 has already been cited as lying at the very extremity of the zoomorphic terminal. Distribution after **k**.

40mm+	12797rIo
33mm	3617rIo
32mm	3622gF(
31mm	3175dF< 12804pIo*
25–6mm	3173rI> 3348pFo* 3601rID 3621rgID
23–4mm	3570pFo 3575pF[3596rIo 12796gF[* 12751dF<*
	12799pIo
22mm	3604rID
21mm	3586gFo
20mm	3567pFo
18–9mm	3574pFo 3599pF[*
16–17mm	3615gIo* 13014gIo
15–6mm	3581dFo
unknown	3569pIo* 3577rIo 3584pFD 12800pFo

The range in size is fairly great, but few can be classed as large, even if the dividing line is set at 28mm as has been done here. Few have D or rectangular sections, and there are even fewer with flattened O sections.

Dating: 3577 Halstock, after 110/20; 12751* Norden, ?200–225; 3586 Milton Keynes, early–mid-4th century; 3604 Brancaster, 4th century to end; 3569* and 3615* Barnsley villa, after 350; 3173* Maiden Castle, c. 375; 3601 Birdoswald, later than 383; 3581 Verulamium, late 4th century and later; 3584 Stonea, late Roman and Anglo-Saxon; 12796* Wroxeter, 5th–7th century?; 12797 Brighthampton; 12799 Lackford, 12800 Sancton and 12804* Willoughby on the Wolds, all from *Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

12751* must be later than the third century. A date after 350 for the rest would be in order and the number in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries coupled with those in the latest fourth century suggests that many of these are truly fifth century. Perhaps, if sizing were to prove to be significant, most of these would be counted as being earlier rather than later in the century.

k. no eyes.

35–6	12801pIo
31–2mm	3689pFD
27mm	3594rFo?
26mm	3686gI?o
24mm	3585p?Io 3582dFo 3597rID

22mm	3296pIo 12750dF[
20–1mm	3624rIo 12736pIo 12822gIo
18–9mm	11787rIo 12558pI
16mm	3593rIo
unknown	3535rID 12789gI(12790pIo

Dating: 12736 Caernarvon, late 4th century; **12801** Barrington and Wigber Low, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

There are not really enough dated examples to be useful.

Distribution: KT ijk HANTS hhii DORS jij SO M hijjkkk DEV k BDS i BCKS hj HRTS jk SUFF hj NORF hijk CAMBS hjk RUT k NHTS k WILTS hk GLOS hhiiijjjjjj WALES hhjjkk OX ij SALOP j WKS LEICS h DBS k NTS j Lincs jj YKS jkkk DUR h CUMB j NHUM k SCOT hj IRELD j

The area covered by **i** is, so far, south of a line drawn from the Lower Severn Valley to The Wash. **h** spreads further out than **i**, but is still essentially in the same area. However, there are outliers in Durham and Scotland. If the areas producing more than one **j** are looked at, it is the lands bordering on the Bristol Channel and the lowest Severn Valley which seem to have the most, with a light scatter up the eastern side of England into Scotland. It is a member of this group which made its way into Ireland. In as much as **k** represents a single “type”, it is found as far away as Yorkshire and Wales.

l. Cranium. The only useful feature appears to be the presence of a median groove. The brooches placed here divide naturally into two: those where there is little doubt, and those whose design is either ambiguous or less well formed. The latter two are underlined and designated as **x** in the distributions below.

80mm	12810rgIo
51mm	3600rIo*
34mm	<u>3627rFo</u> 3628rIx
32mm	<u>3609pIx</u> 8552orgI
28–9mm	3619rgIx 10019rIo
27mm	<u>3587gI(</u> <u>3594rF?o</u>
26mm	3616rgIx
18mm	<u>3595rID*</u>
unknown	6983gID 12736pIo 12789gI(

Seven belong to the definite class, eight to the less certain. Five of the former have D-sectioned rings, and only one of the latter. All of the former have integral terminals, six of the latter have them. Six of the former belong to the defined large class, three of the latter. Judging from what has gone before, there is a fair chance that more of the former will be later than 400.

Dating: 6983 Wroxeter, 120–130 (see below); 12736 Caernarvon, late 4th century; 3600* Feltwell, after 400.

As mentioned above, the item from Wroxeter came from late fourth century plus deposits in the Macellum. The real date will have to rely on more examples from well-dated contexts.

Distribution: SUSS x HANTS x WILTS x SOM I GLOS I WALES lxx SUFF I NORF I NHANTS x RUT x WARKS I SALOP I YKS lx

There may be a slight tendency of the definite group to

favour the west and north, but more supporting evidence is needed.

Snouts

m. Snouts. Flat top, square-ended. Much depends on the maker; for instance, 3595*, which is dubious anyway, has a rounded end on one side of the opening, as does 3610 which has proper zoomorphic terminals complete with proper eyes. Distribution after **p**.

40mm	3606pIo
36–7mm	6250rIo
35mm	<u>13046pFo*</u>
33mm	3617rIo
31mm	12804pIo*
27–8mm	3591rgF[* 3610pF[10019rIo
26mm	3616rgIx
24mm	3578fF[12794gFo*
22–3mm	3573pFo
20–1mm	3586gFo 3620gIx
18mm	<u>3574pFo</u> 3589gI[3607pIx 3623gFo*
18mm	<u>3595rID*</u> 13005rFo
15–6mm	3581dF[3592pF(* 12798rI[13006rF[
12mm	3598rI[
unknown	<u>3535rID</u> 3577rIo 3588gI(3605pIo 6983gID 12800pFo

There is a good range of sizes, but most are less than 28mm internal diameter. The section of the rings reveals little except that those with D-sections are few and all are small which may indicate that it was the small size which gave rise to the squared end. As those with rectangular sections form only about 10% in the overall group and most of them are here, the style may well have been suited to that type of ring.

Dating: 3577 Halstock, after 110/20; 6983 Wroxeter, 120–130 (see under **l**); 3598 Camerton, mid-3rd century; 6250 Caernarvon, late 3rd–early/mid-4th century; 3586 Milton Keynes, early–mid-4th century; 3605 Barton Court, Late Roman; 3581 Verulamium, late 4th century plus; 12798 Kempston, 12800 Sancton and 12804* Willoughby on the Wolds, from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

The dating shows a spread through the fourth century, but the one from the middle of the third should be ignored. As for the one from Wroxeter, see comment under *crania*. There are a few which are courtesy inclusions (3535 3574 3595, underlined above) and they would remove two of the D-sectioned rings if discounted, and make the overall date more acceptably earlier, although the dating for rectangular sectioned rings does not indicate one way or the other (see above).

n. Snouts, Flat top, rounded or pointed end. These range from fairly well formed to fairly careless, 3570. Distribution after **p**.

80mm	12810rgIo
61mm	10039pIo
60mm	12807pIo
49mm	10058gIo
40mm+	12797rIo
37–8mm	10041pIo

35–5mm	12801pIo
34mm	3628rIx
31–2mm	3609pIx 3689pFo 12960rID 13061gIo
28–9mm	3590gID 3619rgIx
25–6mm	3587gI(3621rgID 3625rLx 3686gI?o
23–4mm	1584rgID 3339pFo 3570pFo 3596r?Io 3597rID 12751dF<* 12796gF[*]
21–2mm	3624rIo 12822gIo
17mm	3615gIo* 13014gIo
15mm	3568pFo
unknown	3584pFD 12790pFo 12795pID*

Most are less than 28mm in internal diameter. There is also a greater feeling that these items come in set sizes, mainly in the range 21–6mm. This, as well as the positive indications of type in relation to date, also aids the impression that this may be a genuine grouping, even if there is a mixture of full ribbing, grouped ribbing and plain rings amongst the dated items.

Dating: 12751* Norden, 200–225?; 3568 Moulton, late 3rd and 4th century; 1584 Caernarvon, early–mid-4th century; 3615* Barnsley villa, after 350; 12796* Wroxeter, 5th–7th century?; 12975* *West Stow, late Roman-Anglo-Saxon*; 3590 *Glaston*, 12797 *Brighthampton*, 12801 *Barrington A* and 12822 *Wigber Low, from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

All those purely fourth century and onwards have integral terminals and most, including those from the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, have circular sectioned rings.

o. The top is cut down at the cranium end and then turns up for the end of the snout. Distribution after **p**.

72mm	3613pIx
70mm	3655pIo
66mm	12809rIo
56mm	12806pIo
51mm	3600rIo*
33–4mm	3627rFo 12805pIo
32mm	8552orgI
26–7mm	3594rF?o
25mm	3585pI?o 12799pIo
23–4mm	3582dFo
21–2mm	3189dF(3296pIo 3579gFo 3626rIo
19mm	3580gFo 11787rIo 12558pI
16mm	3593rIo 13092rID*
unknown	3583rID 3634pIo 12736pIo 12789gI(

Most have circular sectioned rings and there is a higher proportion of large ones than in the previous groups. Again, when coupled with the dating, we seem to have a genuine group. The rings have a tendency to be plain amongst the late dated ones.

Dating: 3579 Bancroft villa, mid-4th century–early 5th; 12736 Caernarvon, late 4th century; 3600 Feltwell, after 400; 3655 *High Down, Ferring*, 12799 *Lackford*, 12805 *Pewsey*, and 12806 *Patricbourne, Bifrons*, all from *Anglo-Saxon c meteries*.

None need be as early as the middle–late fourth century, the bulk of the dated ones *e* being either fifth century plus or fifth century at the least.

p. The profile is flat-topped, but the sides of the snout are shaped so that the top becomes an arris. In a few instances,

the arris is blunted, but it lacks the width found in **n**. 3612 is enamelled.

50mm	3612gID
31–2mm	3622gF(
25–6mm	3348pFo* 3601rID 3618gID 12802pIo
23–4mm	3575pF[
22mm	3604rID
20mm	3567pFo
18mm	3599pF[*]
16mm	3632rID
unknown	3569pIo*

The largest have D-sections. Most are, however, small and no clear message comes out: there is a mixture of integral and folded terminals which does not point clearly to this being a real group.

Dating: 3604 Brancaster, 4th century to end; 3569* Barnsley villa, after 350; 3601 Birdoswald, after 383; 12802 *West Overton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery*.

This is, on the whole, meagre and spreads itself thinly over the whole of the fourth century and runs off into Anglo-Saxon cemetery: one is enough to demonstrate this.

Distribution: KT no SUSS mmnoo HANTS n DORS n WILTS mmnoop SOM mmnnnooo DEV o HERTS mo BUCKS mmoo OXON n GLOS mmmmmnnnopppp WALES mmmmmnnnooop SUFF no NORF mmmnoop CAMBS nno NHTS nno RUT mno LEICS n WARKS n LINC pp DERBS n SALOP n YORKS mmnoo DUR mmmnoop CUMB mp NHUMB n SCOT p IRE n

m is a little light on the east side of England north of the Thames and south of the Humber, while **n** belongs to the West Country and Wales, an example occurring in Ireland. Snout **o** seems not to have any particular emphasis. As for **p**, it is the west side and in the north of England, along with Scotland which is seemingly favoured: the two from Lincolnshire and the singleton from Norfolk are aberrations and do not seriously disturb the perceived pattern.

Pins

These are looked at from two viewpoints: firstly, the style of the wrap-round, secondly, their length in relation to the external diameter of the ring. It is a perceived fact the “Dark Age” brooches have tubular ends to their pins, and that there is tendency for the pin to get longer until it achieves quite ridiculous lengths as, clearly, people vied with each other. They also became formidable weapons.

Wrap-round The typical Romano-British wrap-round tends to be just that, the end of the pin beaten out to form a narrow strip which is wrapped simply round the ring. Decoration does occur, usually in terms of cross-cuts at the start of the coiling and occasionally longitudinally along that as well. However, the post-Roman pin is usually equipped with a tube which has a prominent moulding at each end and a bulge in the middle where the pin joins. There is no straight-forward change, there is, in effect a transition and what will be the subject of the next

stage of analysis will be the evidence for its progress and chronology.

The wrap-rounds are being divided into five groups:

q. Straight-forward coil, some with a slight flute and including the ones with cross cuts and other grooves round the ring. The latter are underlined.

35mm	13046pFo*
32–3mm	<u>3609pIx</u> <u>12960rIo</u>
26–7mm	3587gI(
23–4mm	<u>1584rgID</u> 3596r?Io
22mm	3189dF(3604rID
18–9mm	3567pFo 3580gFo 11787rIo
17mm	13092rID*
15mm	13006rF[

It might be expected that the more ornamental pins would be on the larger examples.

Dating: 3604 Brancaster, 4th century to end; 1584 Caernarvon, early–mid-4th century.

Nothing outstanding here, unless the dated example from Caernarvon is actually too early: it is noticeable that the same brooch appears to be too early in every group in which it has appeared.

r. There are three main mouldings running round the wrap-round, with a tendency for the middle one to become wide (underlined below).

34mm	3628rIx
31mm	13061gIo
28–9mm	<u>3610pF[</u> 10019rIo
20–1mm	3624rIo
18mm	3595rID*
15mm	3568pFo 3581dF[13006rF[

The top size of the ring is larger than before.

Dating: 3568 Moulton, late 3rd and 4th century; 3581 Verulamium, late 4th century plus.

The dating is, admittedly only on two examples, a little later than previously.

s. The wrap-round has expanded and tends to have four mouldings round the curve. 3600* has cross-cuts at the base of the curve and three simple grooves, but the pin itself is chamfered on the upper half, with a small nick on either side at the top.

51mm	3600rIo*
36mm	6250rIo
33mm	3617rIo
30mm	12804pIo*
19mm	3623gFo*
16mm	3615gIo*

12804* is the first example so far to have an exaggerated pin with a kink to fit snugly over the inner edge of the ring. Here is the largest size of ring so far.

Dating: 6250 Caernarvon, late 3rd–early/mid-4th century; 3615* Barnsley villa, after 350; 3600* Feltwell, after 400; 12804* *Willoughby on the Wolds, Anglo-Saxon cemetery*.

The dating suits the later fourth century and the expected Anglo-Saxon cemetery evidence, even if a little sparse. The

brooch from Caernarvon is, like the one noted above, dated too early.

t. The head of the pin is now expanded laterally. 3618 has two careful mouldings facing outwards, 3597 has recognizably incipient tubes, and the others are either plain or have grooves/mouldings of no great import. Although only a broken pin, 13049 cannot have come from a brooch smaller than 55mm internal diameter.

35–6mm	12801pIo
33mm	12805pIo
32mm	8552orgI
28–9mm	3590gID pin broken 3619rgIx
25–6mm	3601rID 3616rgIx 3618gID 12806gI?o
24mm	3597rID
21mm	3579gFo 12558pI
unknown	13049

There are several D-sectioned rings and all but one have integral terminals.

Dating: 3579 Bancroft villa, mid-4th–early 5th century; 3601 Birdoswald, after 383; 3590 Glaston, 12801 *Barrington A and 12805 Pewsey, from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries*.

The dating is now firmly late fourth century and Anglo-Saxon.

u. Proper tubular heads to the pin. 3612 has enamelled terminals.

80mm	12810rgIo
72mm	3613pIx 3655pIo
62–4mm	12809rIo
61mm	10039pIo
60mm	3612gID 12807pIo
49mm	10058gIo
40mm	3606pIo
3708mm	10041pIo
20–1mm	3620gIx 3626rIo
18mm	3607pIx broken pin.

The point about the gradually increasing size of the ring as time goes on is basically borne out in this study of the pins. All the brooches have integral terminals. The bulk has circular-sectioned rings. However, as the analysis of the section of the ring shows, that is a product of distribution: if the ones which still have large rings come from the general South East, *i.e.* away from the Marches and below the Humber, then that is likely to be the case.

Dating: 3655 *High Down, Ferring, from Anglo-Saxon cemetery*.

The only dating to have come the writer's way is Anglo-Saxon.

Distribution: KT t SUSS qu HANTS qrs WILTS qrtu SOM qt HERTS r BUCKS tu OXON u GLOS qrstu WALES qqqsu SUFF t NORF qqqt CAMBS qtu NHANTS rr RUT t LEICS uu Lincs q NOTTS s YORKS rtu DUR rtu CUMB t NHUMB r SCOT rsuu

It is by no means certain that the distributions have any clear message. At present, **q** does not occur north of the Dee-Humber line, **r** occurs north of that and in Scotland, **s** makes a fleeting appearance in Scotland, **t** is also north of

the Dee-Humber line, but not yet in the deep South East. Finally, **u** is ubiquitous, though not in Ireland. No brooch with a pin from Ireland has come the writer's way.

Length: The main table below gives the percentage of the average external diameter exceeded by the pin, measured from the outer limit of the ring and not from the outer edge of the wrap-round.

Only one, 12804*, has an excessively long pin at 50% greater than the external diameter of the ring. It comes from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Willoughby on the Wolds and was dated there to the mid-late sixth century. The terminals are a travesty of the zoomorphic form and the item was only included because the right-hand terminal can be broken down into cranium, eye sockets and a snout indicated by lines scribed on the ring next to the terminal. The wrap-round shows a slight expansion

and has four almost equal-sized mouldings. Otherwise, the main increase is up to the range of 20–30%. If any of these brooches is contemporary with its deposit and from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and can be dated to the sixth century in the main, then the great increase in length noted does not take place before the later sixth century at the earliest.

The schedule below lists all the brooches in the analysis by order of its number in my master serial list. To each is added the style group by feature in which the brooch appears, as well as the full quota of sub-set features. With a bit of luck, appropriate groupings will show in the collection of features which should accrue to each example.

Those in **Bold** conform to Kilbride-Jones' criteria and are drawn mainly from his corpus [453] and are listed below as (6).

Dated ones are underlined.

	Ears	Eyes	Cran	Snout	pins	% long	% term		Ears	Eyes	Cran	Snout	pins	% long	% term		
<u>1584</u>	c	h		n	q	15	rgID	--	<u>3601</u>	a	j		p	t	16	rID	52
<u>3173</u>	e	j		odd	--	--	rI>	--	<u>3602</u>	d	f					rIo	
3175	e	j		odd	--	--	dF<	--	3603	--	f			--	--	rFD	
3189	to do				--	--	dF(	--	3605	a	g		odd	--	--	pIo	
3296	e	k		o	--	--	pIo	--	<u>3604</u>	c	j		p	q	5	rID	--
3339	b	h		n	--	--	pFo	--	<u>3605</u>	a	g		m			pIo	100
3348*	e	j		p	--	--	pFo	--	3606	a	g		m	u	14	pIo	60
3357	e	i		odd	--	--	rFo	--	3607	c	f		m	u	--	pIx	83
3476	--	--		--	--	--	rF(	--	3608	a	f		o	r	--	pID	50
3535	3	k		m	--	--	rID	76	3609	a	g	x	n	q	14.5	pIx	80
3567	a	j		p	q	2.5	pFo	--	3610	a	f		m	r	2.5	pF[	120
<u>3568</u>	a	f		n	r	26	pFo	70	3611	a	g		o	u	9.5+	pIo	83.3
<u>3569*</u>	a	j		p	--	--	pIo	--	3612	a	g		p	u	--	gID	85.7
3570	c	j		n	--	--	pFo	--	3613	a	g		o	u	24	pIx	146
3573	e	i		m	--	--	pFo	--	3614	a	g	l	o	--	--	pID	46
3574	D	j		m	--	--	pFo	74	3615*	e	j		n	s	4.5	gIo	--
3575	c	j		p	--	--	pF[	--	3616	a	f	l	m	t	14	rgIx	52
3577	d	j		m	--	--	rIo	94	3617	a	j		m	s	4.5	rIo	80
3578	a	h		m	--	--	dF[	33	3618	a	h		p	t	8.5	gID	160
<u>3579</u>	a	h		o	t	20	gFo	--	3619	c	h	l	n	t	8.5	rgIx	--
3580	b	i		o	q	9	gFo	--	3620	a	i		m	u	17.5	gIx	50
<u>3581</u>	b	j		m	r	10	dF[	--	3621	a	j		n	--	--	rgID	--
3582	a	k		o	--	--	dFo	--	3622	a	j		p	--	--	gF(	--
3583	a	f		o	--	--	rID	60	3623*	b	i		m	s	12.5	gFo	--
3584	b	j		n	--	--	pFD	--	3624	a	k		n	r	8.5	rIo	40
3585	e	k		o	--	--	p?Io	--	3625	a	g		n	--	--	rIx	95
<u>3586</u>	d	j		m	--	--	gFo	--	3626	a	g		o	u	26+	rIo	77
3587	c	g	x	n	q	--	gI(	--	3627	a	g	x	o	--	--	rFo	42
3588	a	i		m	--	--	gI(	--	3628	c	g	x	n	r	2.5	rIx	--
3589	e	i		m	--	--	gI[	--	3629	a	g		p	--	--	rID	34
<u>3590</u>	a	g		n	t	--	gID	--	3630	a	g	l	o	--	--	rID	66
3591*	b	h		m	--	--	rgF[	--	3631	a	g	l	p	--	--	rID	69
3592*	e	i		m	--	--	pF(	--	3632	a	h		p	--	--	rID	50
3593	d	k		o	--	--	rIo	--	3633	a	g	l	n	t	14.5	rgID	175
3594	b	k	x	o	--	--	rF?o	--	3634	a	g		o	--	--	pID	130
3595*	d	h	x	m	r	3.5	rID	38	<u>3655</u>	--	f		o	u	20	pIo	155
3596	b	j		n	q	--	rIo	--	3686	a	k		n	t	29	pIo	127
3597	a	k		n	t	20	rID	65	3689	a	k		n	--	--	pFD	--
<u>3598</u>	e	i		m	--	--	r?F[	--	<u>6250</u>	d	f		m	s	2	rIo	53
3599*	d	j		p	--	--	pF[	--	6983	a	g	l	m	--	--	gID	--
<u>3600*</u>	a	g	l	o	s	8	rIo	44	8552	c	g	l	o	t	22	rgI	80

	Ears	Eyes	Cran	Snout	pins	% long	% term		Ears	Eyes	Cran	Snout	pins	% long	% term	
10019	a	f	l	m	r	0	rlo	--	12558	a	k		o	t	13.8	pIo 160
10039	a	g		n	u	6	pIo	160	<u>12736</u>	b	k	l	o	--	--	pIo 50
10040	a	g		m	u	6.6	pIo	100	12750	a	k		odd	--	--	dF[--
10041	a	g		n	u	17.5	pIo	30	<u>12751</u>	d	j		n	--	--	dF< 43
10042	a	g		n	u	15.5	pIo	50	12789	c	k	x	o	--	--	gI(33
10043	a	f	l	n	u	20	gIo	150	12790	a	k		n	--	--	pIo 86
10044	a	g		n	u	29	pIo	115	12794*	d	h		m	--	--	gF(40
10045	a	g		n	u	22.5	gIo	160	<u>12795*</u>	a	h		n	--	--	pID 50
10046	a	g	l	n	u	--	gIo	160	12796*	c	j		n	--	--	gF[--
10047	a	g		m	u	--	gIo	100	<u>12797</u>	c	j		n	--	--	rIo --
10048	a	f	l	n	u	25	pIo	130	<u>12798</u>	d	i		m	--	--	rI[33
10049	a	f	l	n	u	--	gIo	145	<u>12799</u>	c	j		o	--	--	pIo --
10050	a	g	l	n	u	18	gID	160	<u>12800</u>	a	j		m	--	--	pFo --
10051	a	g	l	m	t	19.5	gID	150	<u>12801</u>	a	k		n	t	13.5	pIo 141
10052	a	g	l	n	s	13	rIo	125	<u>12802</u>	d	h		p	--	--	pIo 44
10053	a	g		n	u	36.5	pIo	160	<u>12804*</u>	d	j		m	s	50	pIo 40
10054	a	g		n	u	36.5	pIo	200	<u>12805</u>	a	g		o	t	19	pIo 100
10055	a	j		n	u	27	pIo	200	<u>12806</u>	a	g		o	--	--	pIo 165
10056	a	g		m	u	33.5	pIo	160	12807	a	g		n	u	17.5	pIo 185
10057	a	g		n	u	13	pIo	140	12809	a	g		o	u	9.7	rIo 70
10058	a	h		n	u	17	gIo	80	12810	a	g	l	n	u	8	rgIo 106
10059	a	g		n	u	4.7	pIo	180	<u>12822</u>	b	k		n	--	--	gIo 84
10060	a	g		n		--	pIo	100	12960	a	g		n	q	11	rID 35
10061	a	g	l	n	r	10	gIo	100	13005	b			m		--	rFo --
10063	a	g		n	u	8.3	gIo	87	13006	e	i	l		qr	--	rF[--
10064	a	h			p	--	rIo	100	13014	b	j	--	n	--	--	gIo --
10116	a	g		n	r	--	pIo	160	13046*	d	h	--	m	q	--	pFo --
11787	b	k		o	q	7	rIo	--	13061	d	g		n	r	--	gIo --
11870	a	g		m	r		pIo	160	13092*	a	h	--	o	q	--	rID --

The last piece of analysis concerns the width of the terminal at the opening in relation to the width or diameter of the ring opposite the opening. This follows the perceived increase in width in the terminals of post-Roman brooches and, while these form the material for specialists in that period to study, it may be worth looking at this aspect amongst those brooches which are Roman as they seem to contribute to the body of brooches which have this feature. In other words, is there any evidence within the fourth century at least for a development in width?

Unfortunately, measuring from drawings is a crude affair, but as that is all the writer has to go on, the reader is asked to bear with this. Where the terminal is as near as makes no difference the same width as the ring all round, the brooch is omitted. Therefore the only brooches which will appear here will be those which have a minimum of 1mm increase and, as the terminal is largely in proportion to the overall size of the brooch, the changes are expressed as crude percentages of the increase over the width opposite the opening.

As the differences between the width of the terminal

and the ring may only be 1mm, it means that there can be some doubt as to whether there was any serious intention to make the terminal significantly wider. Because many were hand-made, and all were presumably hand-finished, there can be some element of doubt about where to begin. If a ring is 3mm wide or in diameter and the terminal is 4.5 wide, then there is a significant increase in width which, in the case of a 2mm ring and a 3mm terminal may be less convincing. For present purposes, an increase of 50% is taken as the minimum requirement. This will allow thin and small brooches a chance of appearing without, one would hope, confusing the issue.

There is one brooch which calls for attention: 12802 from West Overton. Here the terminal actually narrows and the characteristics which demonstrate beyond cavil that this is a zoomorphic design appear on the sides. The reduction is of the order of 40–45%. It was found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The following table places the brooches in order of increasing width.

								%	10060	a	g		n	--	plo	100	
3614	a	g	l o	--	--	pID	46		10061	a	g	l	n	r	10	glo	100
3608	a	f		o	r	--	pID	50	10064	a	h		p		--	rlo	100
3632	a	h		p	--	--	rID	50	<u>12805</u>	a	g		o	t	19	pIo	100
<u>12736</u>	b	k	l	o	--	--	pIo	50	12810	a	g	l	n	u	8	rglo	106
<u>12795*</u>	a	h		n	--	--	pID	50	10044	a	g		n	u	29	pIo	115
<u>3601</u>	a	j		p	t	16	rID	52	3610	a	f		m	r	2.5	pF[	120
3616	a	f	l	m	t	14	rglx	52	10052	a	g	l	n	s	13	rlo	125
<u>6250</u>	d	f		m	s	2	rlo	53	3686	a	k		n	t	29	pIo	127
3583	a	f		o	--	--	rID	60	3634	a	g		o	--	--	pID	130
3606	a	g		m	u	14	pIo	60	10048	a	f	l	n	u	25	pIo	130
3597	a	k		n	t	20	rID	65	10057	a	g		n	u	13	pIo	140
3630	a	g	l	o	--	--	rID	66	<u>12801</u>	a	k		n	t	13.5	pIo	141
3631	a	g	l	p	--	--	rID	69	10049	a	f	l	n	u	--	gIo	145
<u>3568</u>	a	f		n	r	26	pFo	70	3613	a	g		o	u	24	plx	146
12809	a	g		o	u	9.7	rlo	70	10043	a	f	l	n	u	20	glo	150
3574	D	j		m	--	--	pFo	74	10051	a	g	l	m	t	19.5	gID	150
3535	3	k		m	--	--	rID	76	<u>3655</u>	--	f		o	u	20	pIo	155
3626	a	g		o	u	26+	rIo	77	3618	a	h		p	t	8.5	gID	160
3609	a	g	x	n	q	14.5	pIx	80	10045	a	g		n	u	22.5	gIo	160
3617	a	j		m	s	4.5	rIo	80	10046	a	g	l	n	u	--	gIo	160
8552	c	g	l o	t	22	rgl	80		10050	a	g	l	n	u	18	gID	160
3607	c	f		m	u	--	pIx	83	10053	a	g		n	u	36.5	pIo	160
3611	a	g		o	u	9.5+	pIo	83	10056	a	g		m	u	33.5	pIo	160
<u>12822</u>	b	k		n	--	--	gIo	84	10116	a	g		n	r	--	pIo	160
3612	a	g		p	u	--	gID	85	11870	a	g		m	r		pIo	160
12790	a	k		n	--	--	pIo	86	12558	a	k		o	t	13.8	pIo	160
10063	a	g	n	u	8.3	gIo	87		<u>12806</u>	a	g		o	--	--	pIo	165
3577	d	j		m	--	--	rIo	94	3633	a	g	l	n	t	14.5	rgID	175
3625	a	g		n	--	--	rlx	95	10059	a	g	n	u		4.7	pIo	180
<u>3605</u>	a	g		m			pIo	100	12807	a	g		n	u	17.5	pIo	185
10040	a	g		m	u	6.6	pIo	100	10054	a	g		n	u	36.5	pIo	200
10047	a	g		m	u	--	gIo	100	10055	a	i		n	u	27	pIo	200

The following are the dated examples kept in order of increase and with the detail of the increase, so to speak, in the length of pin. The style of the ring is also given.

	pin	ring	term.	date
12736	--	plo	50	late 4th century
12795*	--	pID	50	Anglo-Saxon cemetery
3601	16	rID	52	later than 383
6250	2	rlo	53	late 3rd / mid 4th century
3568	26	pFo	70	late 3rd and 4th century
12822	--	glo	84	Anglo-Saxon burial
3605		plo	100	Late Roman
12805	19	plo	100	Anglo-Saxon cemetery
12801	13.5	plo	141	Anglo-Saxon cemetery
3655	20	plo	155	Anglo-Saxon cemetery

Of all these, 6250 from Caernarvon stands out, as it with its partner 1584 has done in every category in which it has appeared, and there is more than a suspicion is that they are dated too early. Otherwise, there is a good progression from the late fourth century into a phase where material only appears in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Once, of course, the cemeteries become the only contexts producing such material, a different set of rules apply. As most cemeteries run from the later fifth century through the sixth, one would imagine that what is seen is material

passing out of use at the earliest at the end of the fifth, but it depends very much on the individual history of the cemetery concerned.

(6) These are Nos. 1–30 in Kilbride-Jones series [453] plus those which he would have included, had he known of them. The cut-off point chosen is when the combined length of the terminals is one third or more of the circumference of the ring. The ones selected are only here on the grounds that those of **6** proper are the natural parents of the beginning of the series chosen by Kilbride-Jones.

81mm	10049glo afnu
70mm	10057plo agnu
65mm	10043gID afnu
63mm	10048plo afnu
60mm	3633gID afnr 10045glo agnu 10046glo aglnu 10047glo agnu 10050gID aglnu 10063glo agnu 11870plo agnr
57–8mm	10053pID agnu
56mm	10044plo agnu
54–5mm	10059plo agnu
52–3mm	10056plo agmu 10116plo agnr
51–2mm	10040plo agnu 10051gID aglnr
50mm	10061glo? aglnr

45mm	10055pIo ajnu
43mm	10052rIo aglns
38–9mm	3608pID aflnr 3614pID aglp 10054pIo agnu 10060pIo agn
34mm	3611pIo agnu
unknown	3630rID aflo 3631rID aglp 10064rIo ahp

Dating: 10061 Abingdon, A-S cemetery 2, 5th–early 7th century.

The common form of terminal is designated agnu. That is to say, the ears are little projections on each side of the cranium; the eyes are similarly single elements; the cranium is flat and rounded or pointed at both ends; and the snout tends to be cut down from the cranium to turn up at the beginning of the ring. All the terminals are integral: in the main schedule above, plo glo glo glo gID glo plo pID plo plo plo plo, twelve out of 33 of which ten have o sections and five have g rings. In all, of the 33, 17 have rings ribbed in some manner. The distribution of the twelve is given as 1 in the list below.

Distribution: GLOS a BCKS a OX a DBS a WALES aa11 CMBR 1 SCOT aaaaa11 IRE aaaaaaaa 11111111

On any view, the distribution is heavily weighted to what is called today the Celtic World, and is definitely lacking in any proper archaeological dating. Such dating as there is comes from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the single example being most probably earlier than the mid-seventh century. The twelve indicated are markedly at the west and north of the distribution.

7. The relatives of the Zoomorphic. *Plates 148–149.* The sections of the ring reflect those found amongst those with zoomorphic terminals. There are also connections with the terminals as well and these will be given when necessary. The analysis will proceed the same way by beginning with the ring, and following with the terminals. As these are on the whole less susceptible to fine analysis, the reader will be spared a host of sub-divisions. Fowler's classification includes individual items here in several groupings. There is no particular virtue in the way in which they have been divided here, unless the generally greater emphasis on the style of the ring is counted as one.

O. The ring has a circular section. 3654 13053 have no surviving terminals, 3497 has plain ends to the ring.

r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral.

62mm	12808pI
43mm	3658pF 3659pF*
26mm	3347rF
23–4mm	3287pI 3664gI
22mm	3657pF
20–1mm	11777pF* 12824I
19mm	3534rI*
16–7mm	3497r 3654g 3660pI*
unknown	3676pI 13053r 13063pF

Most are classifiable as small, using 28mm as before as the dividing diameter.

Dating: 3347 Star villa, 315–350; 3659* Barnsley, Glos, after

350; 3534* Great Horwood, c.350–425; 3660* Catsgore, after late 4th century; 13063 South Shields, latest 4th into 5th century; 3287 & 3664 Wakerley, 12808 Staxton and 12824 Kempston, are from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

All are fourth century or later, possibly running well into the fifth century. 3664 and 3660* have simple cross-cuts on a basically rectangular panel.

Flattened O. The ring has a flat top and bottom, but rounded sides. 12761 has no surviving terminal.

r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral.

25–6mm	12803pF
unknown	3656rI* 12761r

3656* and 12803 have incised Xs on their surviving terminals.

Dating: 3656* Ilchester, after the 4th century?

D. The ring has a rounded top rising from a flat base.

r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral.

30mm	3682pI
14mm	3662pI*
unknown	3661pI 12823pI

Dating: 3682 Newstead, 80–c.200; 12803 Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

[] The ring has a flat rectangular section. 3354 is shown with S stamps on the ring, but these are probably pairs of punched dots misinterpreted. 2933 has incised an X on one terminal and the same with a bar between the four arms.

r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral.

30mm	3536pI*
29mm	3190dF
27mm	3354dF 12749dF
25–6mm	3253pF 3305dF 3334dF*
24mm	3191dF 3329dF 3407dI 13024rF
21mm	12825rI
20mm	2933rI
19mm	3297rF 13008pI
18mm	3270gF
17mm	13081dF*
14mm	3358rF
unknown	3197dF* 3227dF 3249gF 3345dF 3663rgI 12748dF* 12770 13023rF 13080dF*

Dating: 3345 Colchester, 10–43; 3191 Wroxeter, ?80–120; 13081 Castleford, 95/80–135/140; 13080* Castleford, 140–180; 13023 Abergavenny, mid-2nd century; 3407 Barbrugh Mill, 142–58; 2933 Camerton, 150–200; 3190 Ilchester, late 2nd–before earliest 4th century; 12748* Wroxeter, 4th century; 3270 Wroxeter, after 350; 13024 Caernarvon, late 4th century plus; 3197* Exeter, 5th century plus; 12825 Baginton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

12748* and 12749* came from P.A. Barker's excavations at Wroxeter [41] and are later than 400, if not 550. 3191 came from Bushe-Fox's excavations at Wroxeter which were cleared by labour. There are two groups here. Those

underlined are essentially the early one. 3249 and 3229 are almost certainly of the early group. The guaranteed late ones have the slack curl of c2.d2 with an expanded terminal and this means that 13080* must have been wrongly assigned at Castleford and joins 3197* from Exeter and the one from Ilchester, 3190, must be placed right at the end of the range of its context.

<> The section is a lozenge with an arris top and bottom. 3435 is, in fact twisted into a tight spiral.

r = ribbed, g = groups of same, rg = a mixture, p = plain, F = folded, I = Integral.

23–4mm 3271dF* 3326pF* 3174dF 12772dF
 22mm 3319pF
 20mm 3424pI
 unknown 3311pF 3317pF 3435

Only one has an integral terminal, a knob, and only the largest appear to have decorated rings.

Dating: 3174 Hod Hill, before 50; 3271* Dorchester, late 1st–early 4th century. a e

The one from Hod Hill has an element of doubt attached to its date as its terminal is very much like a c2.d2.

Distribution: KT □ HANTS o◇ DORS □◇◇ WILTS oo SOM ooo□□◇ DEV □ ESSEX □ HERTS o BEDS o BUCKS o GLOS o□□□□□◇◇ WALES □□□□ NHANTS ooo WARKS □□ Lincs ◇◇◇ SALOP □□□□ YORKS o□□ CHESH oDUR o□ CUMBDD SCOT oD□□

Those with lozenge sections appear to be largely from central and south-west England, except for a clutch in Lincolnshire. As the dating of both the circular and flattened circle-sectioned rings are both late, they could be seen as forming a kind of horizon: the latter from west and north, or in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the former from south of the Dee-Wash line, and with a western bias, or from Hadrian's Wall and the north. The D-sectioned ones are all northern and, if one does not discount the one from Newstead because of its highly individual design, they may well be early and specifically north.

Other Terminals These are divided into main groups designated by letter. There is little point in discussing styles in relation to the size of the ring as there is not a great enough range of these to provide any information.

a. Knobs. There is no pattern to these and much probably depends on the style of the ring.

3534rIo* The thin end moulding is separated from the ring which is made up of thin mouldings by a flute.
 3407dI[the ring is beaded between bordering grooves, the knob has a basal moulding.
 3424pI< plain blob knobs.
 3435pI< biconical knob fitted to a square-sectioned ring twisted into a tight spiral.

Dating: 3407 Barbrugh Mill, 142–58; 3534 Great Horwood, c.350–c.425.

b. Folded 1. These bear resemblances with f1.a–d and f2.a–b and, as such, possibly bear the same relationship

with these that f2.b–c has with the very large group in f2.a.

3297ro
 3347ro
 3358r?o
 3191dI[
 3305dI[
 3329dI[
 3334dI[*]
 3345dI[
 3354dI[
 13023dI[
 13024dI[
 3174d<
 3311p<
 3317p<
 3319p<
 3326p<[*]
 12770d<

There is one dated example for each of the ring sections, except for the D, but there is only one of those in this analysis anyway.

Dating 3174 Hod Hill, before 50; 3191 Wroxeter, ?80–120; 3345 Colchester, 10–43; 13023 Abergavenny, mid-2nd century; 3347 Star villa, 315–350; 13024 Caernarvon, late 4th century plus.

c. D Section. The terminal of the one and only example is a version of 3595 and 3357 in Type 6. The difference being that there is no extra element to suggest, at a considerable remove, a zoomorphic relationship.

3661pF

Dating: None as yet.

d. Double Cross-cut on terminals

3660pFo*
 3664gIo
 3287pI(
 3249gF[
 3270gF[
 13008pI[
 12749dF[*]
 12772dF<
 3271dF<*

Dating: 3271* Dorchester, late 1st–early 4th century; 3270 Wroxeter, after 350; 3660* Catsgore, after late 4th century; 3287 and 3664 Wakerley, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The only immediate conclusion is that the dating evidence supports a Late Roman plus range for this style of terminal.

e. Incised X, Fowler D3

3657pFo
 3658pFo
 3659pFo*
 15412pFo
 3656rI[*]
 12803pF(
 2933d?I[
 3190dF[
 3197dF[*]
 13080gF[*]

The use of grouped ribbing on 13080 from Castleford may be dated too early.

Dating: 13080* Castleford, 140–180; 2933 Camerton, 150–200; 3190 Ilchester, late 2nd–before earliest 4th century; 3659* Barnsley, Glos, after 350; 3656 Ilchester, after 4th century?; 3197* Exeter, 5th century plus.

f. Blunt Ended, probably Fowler's H1 or H/E. All come to a butt end, even if not all are plain. This group is the only one which displays any sign of the end by the opening getting wider than the ring, and this is expressed in the same way as it was in Type 6. 3536* is, like others from guaranteed later fourth century and later deposits from Wroxeter, in iron. The brooch from Newstead is not typical with its elongated terminals defined by shallow ridges and being inlaid with silver and enamel.

	terminal		% expansion
21mm	12825ro	expanded ends	130
unknown	3676po	expanded ends	117
29–30mm	3682po	decorated expanded ends	71
20mm	12824po	hammered down to a bar	61
unknown	12823pD	one end hammered to a wedge	28.5
28mm	3536p[*]	plain square ends	--
17mm	3654go	one end hammered to a wedge	--
16mm?	3497ro	ribbed all round	--
14mm	3662pD*	single line	--

Dating: 3682 Newstead, 80–c.200; 12823 Sleaford and 12825 Baginton, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

The dating does not help in any typological considerations.

Distribution: KT bf HANTS ak DORS bdf* WILTS ex SOM bdeeff**xxxx DEV ex ESSEX bf BEDS u BUCKS k GLOS aabbbbddeefffk**x WALES bbbddfff* WARKS befxu NHANTS d**u Lincs bbbffu SALOP bdf*u YORKS ex CHESH u DUR ex CUMB Du NHUM c SCOT abdkuu

* = double cross-cut terminals; u = blunt-ended terminals.

Too few to be really useful except to note that Somerset, Gloucestershire and Wales figure well.

Y. Oddities. This is a rag-bag of items.

Too few to be really useful except to note that some are related in general style only to what has gone before. Its distribution is meaningless.

35–6mm	3253pF[	plan view of terminals have waists
21mm	11777pFo*	nicks in sides of terminals, no definite pattern
17mm	13081d[*]	each terminal is narrowed to wire coiled to form a tube rising from the ring
unknown	12748dF[*]	both S and O stamps used, the latter on the surviving terminal
unknown	3227dF[	both ring and terminals have two longitudinal grooves
unknown	3663gI[	each terminal is waisted in plan view

unknown 13063p?Io two V shaped nicks each side of terminal

Dating: 13081* Castleford, 85/90–135/40; 12748* Wroxeter, 4th century; 13063 South Shields, latest 4th into 5th century.

Part 5. Others

Here are all those which will not fit conveniently into any of the previous sections. They are presented plainly without any attempt to seriate the varieties themselves. Most belong to varieties generally accepted as being Post-Roman. No attempt at a general survey is given.

8. Castellated, Fowler D7. Plate 149. These all have upstanding integral terminals. Even in the case of iron specimens where one can be fairly certain that the terminal was formed by folding over the wire from which the whole was being made, the completed brooch would not have revealed this fact to the naked eye. The name derives from the dominant type, but concave hollows and V notches can also be found. All the rings have a circular section. The way of distinguishing the style of the ring is the same as that used in Varieties 6 and 7: p = plain, r = ribbed, g ribbing in groups. Those that are underlined have terminals reminiscent of those of Type 2. 12814 12815* 12826–8 and 13052 are iron.

A note of caution: Fowler's scheme as published in 1960 allowed both D7 and H3 to cover those brooches which are given here. However, in her paper of 1963, H3 was redefined to be H2 but with enamel ([282], 111, fig. 1).

32mm	12817p
30mm	3641p 3643p 12816p
28mm	12814p
26mm	3640p 12815g*
24mm	3635g
23mm	3636p 3645p 11788p*
21mm	3637r
19–20mm	3644g 12812g 12813p 15500p
18–9mm	3638g* 12818p 13064p 13065p
17–8mm	3642p
16mm	3639p
unknown	12819p

The pins may be instructive. Firstly the wrap-rounds, and only those with complete pins appear, along with the excess length over the average external diameter:

3639p	simple	--
3645p	simple	--
12812g	simple	15.5
12817p	simple	--
12818p	simple	45
3644g	fluted	27
3635g	three mouldings	--
3637r	three mouldings	14
3638g*	three mouldings	15.5
11788p*	expanded head with two mouldings on each expansion	18.5

If these have any relationship with the results of the analysis of the pins of Type 6, then these do not run on so late. As it happens, the longest pin is in iron and belongs to an iron

ring: nothing is really to be deduced from it having a simple wrap-round, but that four of the five more elaborate ones show signs of the pin lengthening may be significant.

Dating: 3640 South Cadbury, *c.*45; 3645 Gloucester, ?1st century; 3635 Baldock, late 4th century; 3636 Dalton Parlours, later 4th century; 13064 South Shields, mid-late 4th century plus; 13065 South Shields, early post-Roman; 13052 Easton Maudit, from an Anglo-Saxon pit.

The one from Gloucester cannot be as early as the third century, let alone the first. The drawing supplied for 3640 is suspect.

None of the seven from the Baths Basilica at Wroxeter ([41], 211, fig. 309) came from any stratified or nearly stratified deposits.

Distribution: KT a HANTS aaa SOM a HERTS a GLOS a NORF a CAMBS a NHANTS aa LEICS a SALOP aaaaaa YORKS aa DUR aa SCOT

All those from Shropshire were found in an area at Wroxeter with undoubted fifth and sixth century occupation. Those from Hampshire come from Silchester. The two from the Hadrian's Wall zone come from South Shields which can now be added to the list of sites with undoubted fifth century occupation. The one from Kent comes from Richborough where the same is also true, and Burgh Castle in Norfolk also has fifth-century occupation ([437], 88).

9. Fowler 1964 H3. Plates 149–150. In Fowler's 1960 scheme, H3 was really a version of D7, the Castellated Type, but in her paper of 1964, H3 was redefined to be H2 but with enamel ([283], 111, fig. 1). The terminals are circular and recessed for enamel or glass. This is dangerous ground for such brooches are counted as belonging to the Dark Age specialist. All I intend to do is to draw attention to four examples which have come my way, two from Norfolk.

34–5mm	3680p*	Anglo-Saxon cemetery
27–8mm	3678dD*	Roman villa
23mm	11789*	Canterbury
14–5mm	3679p[	Dorset

They are very different. The most elaborate is 3678*, the D-sectioned ring having lightly incised ribbing defined by helical lines. Each terminal has a circular cell at the end separated from the ring by two mouldings with a wide bead between. It came from the Feltwell villa ([352], 1–48) which produced a Germanic sword and a Type 6 Zoomorphic Penannular dating to *c.*400 and later (see the analysis above). 3680* has a plain ring with simple circular terminals each of which has an annular cell round a very narrow hole through the metal. Surely the two exceptional finds from Feltwell should be coupled with two more in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, none of which is definitely full Roman in nature, and so should be fifth century. The third, 3679, from Dorset has a plain ring and with round-ended terminals from which rise circular studs set with dimpled dark blue glass beads. The fourth, from Canterbury, has flattened terminals making

a square on which is inscribed an annulus with a dot. These are exceptional items and could possibly reflect a non-Germanic element in society.

10. Fowler G. Plate 150. Conveniently gathered by Tania Dickinson [222] with a few additions here, these are essentially post-Roman and their connection with all that has passed before is in some senses tenuous. However, 13066* has features which relate to brooches of both Type 7 and to k3b which, as far as most dated specimens are concerned, is essentially a Principate style of brooch. There are, however, some late ones and 12785* is of interest. Found loose in a grave fill in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Blewburton, Berkshire, Roger White was inclined to think that it had derived from an Iron Age site underlying the cemetery. But the pin is almost twice as long as the internal diameter and that means that it is no earlier than the late fourth or fifth century in use. The link to 13066* is provided by 12804* in which a rounded end is set off from the ring by a flattened moulding, or the end part of 12805, or 3626, or 12795*, or 3616, all in Type 6. What they show is that the ribbing next to the terminal can be retained while allowing the end itself to be reduced to a corner-chamfered block. In typological terms, the late fourth century and probable fifth century usage of these examples can give rise to the plainer forms of Fowler's Type G. The only thing lacking, as is often the case in transitional times, is a strong representation of transitional forms.

Complete ribbing = r; groups of ribbing = g; ribbing next to the terminal = t; no ribbing = p. The items from the moulds recovered from the Mote of Mark and Dunadd are underlined, as they might have been hand finished with ribbing or other decoration. It is not always possible to tell from the published illustrations what the section of the rings is, therefore, no attempt has been made to divide the material on this basis.

42.5mm	3690p
40mm	11783p
35mm	12850p 12890p
32mm	13099t 13098t
28mm	12883r 12888p 12889p
26mm	12867g 12885p
24mm	12886t
22mm	12849r
21mm	12857?r 12872p
19mm	12899?r
18mm	12812p 12865g 12884p
17mm	12851r 12852p 12873r 13045r
16mm	12869p 12870r 12871p 12874p 12879g
15mm	12853g <u>12855</u> 12860g 12868r 12875r 12881g
14mm	12876p 12877g 12887p 12891p
13mm	12854p 12864g 12880r 12882t <u>12896p</u>
12mm	12861g 12862g 12863r 12894p
11mm	12856p 12859p 12866g 12900g
Unknown	<u>12892p</u> <u>12893p</u> <u>12895p</u> <u>12897</u> <u>12898</u> 13066t*

Dating: 12861–2 Congresbury, Late Roman–6th century; 12850 Driffield, basically 6th century; 12812 Londesborough, 6th century; 12886 Trewiddle, later 9th century.

The dating is exiguous. What may be the best guide in general is that the characteristics which show through clearly in Type 6 are the ribbing etc. on the ring. In the list above what comes out is that most of the brooches are small and under the size of *c.*20mm internal diameter. Above that size, plain rings are more common, and it is also there that ribbing next to the terminals is the most common. How one translates these tendencies into some form of chronological scheme is for others, for the period of Romano-British brooches is now over and there are emergent Celtic cultures, the Anglo Saxons bringing, in effect, reflux Iron Age culture with them.

The distribution, for what it is worth, is:

WILTS 11 SOM 111111 CORN 111 OXON 11 GLOS
111 WALES 111111 BDS 1 NORF 1 CAMBS 1 WARKS
111 Lincs 11 YORKS 1 LANCS 111 DUR 1 NHUMB
1 SCOT 1111111111111111 IRE 111

The distribution alone shows how far we have strayed from the normal conditions of brooches in Roman Britain: 6 out of 56 with provenances belong to the eastern side of England and south of the Military North while 34 of the rest belong to the Celtic west, counting Scotland as part of that world.

Envoi: An example of how far in one direction the zoomorphic forms can go is illustrated by Fowler's Type F3 brooches [546]. The one illustrated, 12836*, shows the general form. The head has been reduced to three thin mouldings for the snout which might be a tongue appearing between lips, and two for the end with the ears which, individually, have disappeared. Between there is a waist from which rise a pair of staring eyes on stalks. The nearness of this pattern to many of those in Type 6 is shown by 12848. The distribution is, apparently, entirely in Ireland with a few appearing in Scotland.

12836* 12837-8

Penannular Oddments

X1. Plate 150. The terminal turns up as a stalk and is fitted with a knob. In some senses, these ought perhaps to be related to brooches of *c.*2, but are too various to be associated with those. There are only three placed here, the unillustrated one having cube knobs with chamfered corners. 3685* might be Iron Age, it came from a site with next to no Roman content.

3683* 3684 3685*

X2. Plate 150. These are all versions of a knobbed/integral terminal, ranging from 3399, through 3520*, 3523 and the extraordinary 3671, to 3652, 3681 and 12828 which defy easy classification beyond being Penannulars.

3399 3520* 3523 3652 3671 3681 12828

Dating: 3399 Mumrills, 140-*c.*163.

X3. Plate 150. Folded. Both have no obvious home. 3266 might just have been regarded as being related to pseudo-zoomorphics, but is too extreme to be included in any

definition of those, and 3688* has no place but here.

3266 3688*

Dating: 3688* is given to the Polden Hills and was bought by the British Museum along with the famous hoard in the Austin sale of 1846. One presumes therefore that it was part of that and it probably fits with the Colchester Derivative Polden Hill Type brooches named after the very same ones from the eponymous site, and which may provide the best dating for the hoard, rather than any art-historical reasoning.

X4. Plate 150. Rings only. The three here have a lozenge section. Two have traces of terminals, one being folded, but nothing can be made of them. There is no dating either. 3647 and 3651 have cross-cuts on the corners facing up or down.

3646-7 1651

X5. Plate 150. Pins. The defining feature of a pin from a Penannular Brooch from one from any other, save the Dragonisque, is the nature of the wrap-round. The ones gathered here are either demonstrably longer than the diameter of the ring, or are humped. Many also have either an elongated tube at the head end or a tendency for the wrap-round to be wider than is strictly necessary. They are arranged from simple to less simple. 12830 has a high hump and might have been thought to have been a bow, but for the complete absence of any catch-plate at the relevant end. 3649 is a wire pin, with a hump, and a very simple turn over. The next three in order 3677, 3648* and 13049, are humped and move from the plain extended tube towards the more elongated type with developing mouldings such that the last has a central one between flutes and then a pair on each side. 3648* has a ring 40mm in diameter. The last two are complete and in iron and 12821 from Wroxeter gives no good sign of what the diameter of the ring had been, but the small hump in 12820 shows that to have been about 29mm internal diameter; the pin is 74mm long.

12830 3649 3677 3648* 13049 12821 12820

Dating: 12821 Wroxeter, late 4th century; 12820 Wroxeter, 5th century.

The dating is thin and it is only the two items from the baths' Basilica at Wroxeter which really call for comment. On a site which had an extensive sequence which must have reached all the way through the fifth century, the dating evidence was exiguous and not aided by having the archaeology cut into discrete blocks by the activities of earlier antiquaries. The abundant Roman material could only be dated by conventional means, which means that the coinage takes one to the fifth century, and that is essentially all. The authors of the report, naturally, wished to be conservative in the presentation of the evidence, it being up to future commentators to provide the detailed speculation which is out of place in a primary report. This means that one has to accept the dating for 12821, but no contextual evidence was offered for 12820. Nevertheless, the fact that the pin was more than twice in length the

internal diameter of the ring, should only mean that a date after 400 must be accepted. However, precisely when and for long it lasted is unknown.

XX. Plate 150. Ultimately, we come to a small group which has Germanic origins. In one way these hark back to Penannulars of Type c1a: it is as though the coils in the same plane as the ring have become fused leaving a slot for the end of the pin. It is with this in mind that 3672* and 3673* are put here. The first has coils which face inwards, but they are placed at the ends of long arms

attached to the ends of the ring, the other has what looks like a claw mounted on a triple moulding the inner one of which faces back into the ring. There were obviously many individual designs, but only one is given here: 3691* from Verulamium which is often overlooked: no one specialising in these would normally look in a report dealing with purely Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman matters.

3672* 3673* 3691* 12831–5

Dating: 3691 Verulamium, after 300, perhaps into the 5th century.

Chapter 11. Usage, Tribes, Fashions and the Demise of the Bow Brooch

Part 1. Who Wore Brooches, Why and How

When the Roman Army arrived the natives south-east of what became the Fosse Way more or less habitually wore brooches and, in that sense, were like their Gallic counterparts. The habits and mannerisms of the population of the original Province were familiar. The initial lands contained the most abundant iron-producing areas as well as the best tin producing area. It would be the politics of the excluded area as well as the lure of other metals such as copper, lead, silver and gold which dictated a move into inhospitable Wales and the unkind north, lands where the bow brooch was a foreign fashion. The effect of expanding the Province to the north and west was to spread the brooch-wearing habit amongst the newly encountered natives.

The common perception is that brooches were to secure cloaks and the like, but there is just enough evidence that they were also used for what seem to have been a type of kilt: cf. an iron brooch, 6927, at the hip of an inhumation at Rotherley ([580], 195, pl. 126, f. 8) which suggests that many of these iron brooches would have been hidden under a tunic. The large numbers found on some sites may represent normal casual loss resulting from the common use of this style of clothing. But the copper alloy brooches of the Conquest period produce a more interesting aspect as they allow discrete groups of peoples to be detected.

The Colchester marks the lands of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni of the south part of East Anglia and Hertfordshire (Chapter 2 part 3, *passim*). North of them, the development of the Rearhook (Chapter 3, Part 2) reveals the Iceni and derivative hinged styles show that their influence crossed to the western margins at least of the Fens (Chapter 3, part 2). In 2008 two brooches from Norfolk [812] underlined this. It belongs to a group named The Rest (CD RH X in the database) with the casting simulating a spring behind the left-hand wing and is related to Types 6, the Nene Group, and 7 amongst the hinged-pin Colchester Derivatives (Chapter 3, part 4).

What may be represented here is the only trace of what was happening in the manufacture of brooches amongst the Iceni, at the moment of Boudicca's uprising. The crushing of that and the ravaging of Icenian lands would have destroyed any home-based market and what we see may be the migration of bronze-smiths from a devastated and impoverished land to a more congenial area. How

the mechanism of the move was set in motion, indeed what agencies were used, is beyond reasonable conjecture. However, this connection has much to say about the dating of Types 6 and 7: they only get underway after 60/65

South of the Thames in Kent the native brooch was the Nauheim Derivative (Chapter 2, Part 1) which was in common use there and in the lands of the Atrebatii. To the West again lay the school of brooches deriving from pre-conquest types called here the Durotrigan. However, amongst the border lands of this nascent continental habit there is only isolated evidence that tribal elites dressed as the dominant tribes to the south east did, principally the Catuvellauni, cf. the silver-gilt Rosette from Leicester, the Roman *cheflieu* of the Corieltauvi: (12410, Chapter 2, Part 2, Type 9.b). It might be pushing matters too far to suggest the early brooches from Prestatyn, which preceded the Roman occupation (in [71]), belonged to a native aristocracy rather than belonging to people fleeing the unwanted political system of the Romans.

Thereafter, the Colchester in its homeland was replaced by the Harlow (Chapter 3, Part 1) and with the spread of influence from the south east brooches developed new types, especially the Polden Hill (Chapter 3, Part 3) which became a mark of the West Country. The Iceni developed a highly individual and eclectic series of designs all using the Rearhook system (Chapter 3, Part 2). The east passed through a brief pseudo-sprung pin phase to become a mainly hinged-pin area (Chapter 3, Part 4). The most interesting area in many ways lay in the lands around the Humber estuary, part of the lands of the Corieltauvi. It was here that the Trumpet was born (Chapter 5) and north of the Humber the Dragonisque took hold (Chapter 7, Part 4). How much these successors to pre-Conquest styles and political entities represent the new order of government, while yet retaining some kind of internal cultural union, is beyond knowing.

The common perception is that bow brooches were worn mainly by men. It can be difficult to decide which ones could be worn by women: in theory any of them, but there tends to be a difference in dress. Men wearing cloaks fastening on the shoulder would tend to have one brooch, but women wearing cloaks seemingly wore them open at the front when frequently a pair of brooches joined by string or metal chain would have allowed the gap to be wider. Any single brooch with a loop would

have been worn in this way, but it is also possible that it was fastened to the cloak so that this could be laid aside leaving the brooch open but tied to the garment and this would apply to a man as much as to a woman. Even if the loop is missing, the catch-plate was often pierced and so could also be tied to the cloak. However, brooches found in pairs, with or without a chain, are likely to have been worn by women.

And what of Plate brooches? Few are sturdy or large and it may be that they were best suited for those engaged in less strenuous tasks. If one takes Type 20 of Continental Plate Brooches (Chapter 7, Part 2), Colchester produces the greatest variety of subject. This cannot be because of the extensive excavations there; it must have something to do with its status before Boudicca's men arrived on the scene. That disaster overtook a body of people wearing it, thus leaving us with this strange concentration. As a *Colonia* it would have had perhaps a higher incidence of citizens not attached to the army than almost any other place in Britain at the time and perhaps the greatest incidence of women wearing continental dress.

In archaeological literature the convention in drawing brooches is to have the pin of bow brooches pointing downwards. Yet most were probably worn the other way up, the difficulty is demonstrating this. Graves are no use for none has a body wearing a brooch. Most cemeteries yielding brooches are cremations. An example of a Polden Hill of Type 9.c (Chapter 3, Part 3) which have unconventional designs, 13485* (Plate 54), has a head on the bow which, when the brooch is reversed to be worn with the pin pointing upwards, reveals itself as a head and shoulders subject. Moreover, it is easier to

fasten a brooch when the pin and catch plate are visible, *i.e.* pointing upwards.

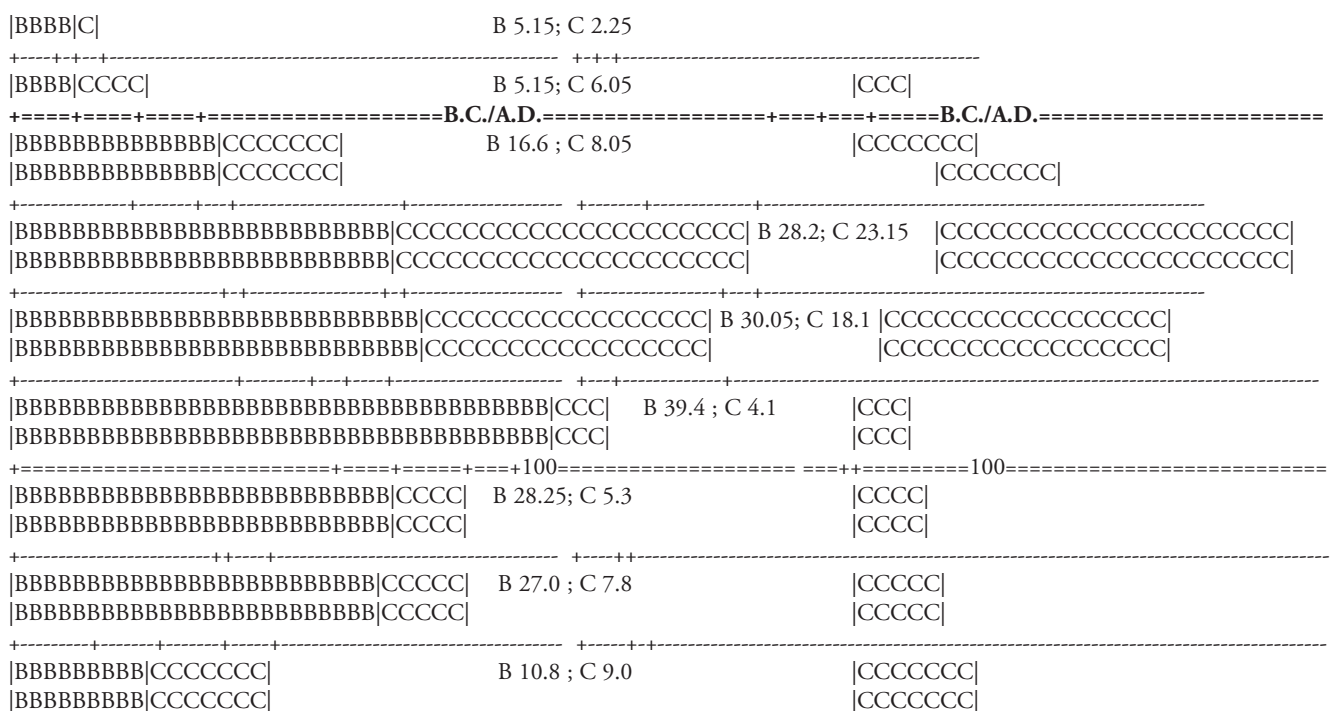
This brings into play the matter of Plate brooches (Chapter 7) both British and Continental. It is hard to demonstrate which were for men and which for women: one is seldom given such a heavy clue as that offered by Type 7.b, 11216, which has a bar between two terminals on which is mounted an etui set, surely for women, and which shows that it was intended to be worn with the pin pointing upwards. It might be that the horse and rider brooches which appear to have a heavy religious connotation, were intended for both sexes, with perhaps men in the preponderance; were these worn so that the wearer could see the subject properly, or placed to that the onlooker could see the subject the right way up? It may be that the smaller circular ones were for women and children, the larger brooches having a more mixed clientele. However, it is unlikely that there will ever be enough evidence to be sure.

Part 2. The Problem of Military Brooches

A necessary prelude is to consider the general wearing of brooches in the period covered in this book. The following chart, prepared for a preliminary study in 1992, represents, crudely, the division between British and Continental brooches over the period from c.100 B.C. to A.D. 400 and subdivided into quarter centuries. It is further subdivided by placing all the continental brooches in Diagram 2. This allows the ebb and flow of specifically British brooches to stand out.

B = British C = Imports from the Continent

DIAGRAM 1



| DIAGRAM 2

-----++-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
BBBBBBBB CCCCC	B 9.8 ; C 6.5	CCCCC
BBBBBBBB CCCCC		CCCCC
+++=====200=====++=====		
BB CCCC	B 3.0 ; C 6.5	CCCC
BB CCCC		CCCC
-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
BB C	B 3.0 ; C 1.5	C
BB C		C
-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
B C	B 1.0 ; C 1.5	C
B C		C
-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
B C	B 1.0 ; C 1.0	C
B C		C
+++=====300=====++=====		
B C	B 1.0 ; C 1.0	C
B C		C
-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
B C	B 1.0 ; C 1.0	C
B C		C
-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
B C	B 1.0 ; C 1.0	C
B C		C
-----++-----	-----++-----	-----++-----
B C	B 1.0 ; C 1.0	C
B C		C
+++=====400=====++=====		

In short, the explosion of brooches, of both types, takes place, not surprisingly, in the Conquest period with British brooches gaining the upper hand, so to speak, up to the end of the first century. Although numbers seem to fall off in the first half of the second century, with a slight increase in continental types, the real change is in the second half of the century. Dating becomes more difficult at this time, but the dramatic decrease at 200 is a real one with basically only the round/oval gilded brooches (Chapter 7, Part 1, Type 3.b) persisting. Thereafter, the only British type as such is the Penannular (Chapter 10) which runs well into the post-Roman period. We are faced with the fact that, from c.225–250 at the latest, only the military or officialdom wore bow brooches.

These people would be all males and the one element in society needing brooches as a matter of course. Some types stand out precisely because their military contexts seem to suggest that their highly distinctive designs were exclusively military. Take the iron *Kragenfibel* from Alcester (Chapter 2, Part 2, 5766). Not only was the type very old hat at the time, but iron was a very unusual material and possibly favoured by mid first-century soldiers who also wore iron finger rings with *intaglio*es. The only other possible brooch of the same type in iron (14821) comes from Piddington, Northants, which may have derived from the very probable military site underneath.

To these two can be added the Colchester with the rectangular-section bow and a right-angled bend at the

top (Chapter 2, Part 1, Type 8), which occurs outside its normal chronological horizon and the La Tène II brooches (Chapter 2, Part 6) which are wholly anachronistic by the time the army of Conquest arrives. This may be married to the Headstud Type 11 (Chapter 4) with its spring system, especially with those members in Type 11.a using the Colchester spring system. All these seem to favour military sites when it comes to their distribution.

Now we come to the vexed question of whether some brooches were marks of particular units in the army of Conquest. This thought arises from the apparent predilection of the XIV GEMINA for Aucissas. This unit is known to have been overwintered at Wroxeter where Hod Hills are very rare in comparison with the Aucissa (see Mackreth in [739]). The two Atrebatian Nauheim Derivatives there should surely have been picked up as the legion crossed the tribal lands around the Atrebatian *cheflieu* at Silchester.

The selection of a brooch type to be a feature of a particular uniform would surely have developed when a legion has been stationed long enough in a region for the common brooches to be the ones bought. One may note that before the conquest LEGIO II had been stationed at Strasbourg, LEGIO XIV at Mainz and LEGIO XX at Neuss, all on the Rhine frontier. This condition was brought to an end on the transfer to Britain of legions under Claudius. The fairly rapid changes as the campaign of conquest continued would have destroyed any attempt

to maintain the brooch as a badge: not all areas occupied by military units would have brooch-wearing natives in them, and such areas tend, therefore, to lack the manufacturing facilities for producing in great numbers what was in effect a foreign item of costume.

Perhaps other legions might have been marked by particular brooch types in the first ten to twenty years of the settlement. For instance one variety of Bagendon (Chapter 6, Part 2, Type 12.a) stands out for its localised distribution in Gloucestershire and for a marked presence in the east and this may have been due to the XX VALERIA VICTRIX. On the other hand, Gloucester city and Kingsholm have also been extensively sampled and have yielded Hod Hills Types 1.a and 3 (*ibid.*) in sufficient numbers there and in the eastern parts of England for that to have acted as the main identifier of XX VV, the only major unit available to put down Boudicca's rabble: XIV GEMINA had probably formed the main thrust of Suetonius Paulinus' attack on Anglesey.

Furthermore, in the early Conquest period legions seem to have been divided into battle groups of auxiliaries brigaded with legionary vexillations. XX VV had certainly spent time in such formations, and Cirencester might have been the centre for one. Certainly those brooches at Colchester should mark the occupation of the site there before the decision to found the *Colonia*. There may have been a presence at Holbrooks, Old Harlow, and this could then account for a strong presence in Norfolk and Hertfordshire as part of the mopping up operations after the defeat of the Iceni.

But what could have marked II AUG and IX HISPANA?: we still wait for extensive brooch collections from sites positively identified with the II AUG and IX HISPANA. Examination of the Augenfibel, Types 1.2 and 1.3 (Chapter 6, Part 4) shows these to belong to the eastern side of England south of the Humber and they could mark the path of IX HISPANA, especially as Type 1.2 does not so far occur in East Anglia, or the lands dominated by the Iceni. E.J.W. Hildyard [392] used the Panonnian as the origin of the Trumpet type. Unfortunately, we have seen in Chapter 5 that this is unlikely, there being a British type native to the area which better foreshadows the Trumpet. This leaves only one legion unaccounted for so far: II AUGUSTA which ended up in Exeter. Whatever the case may be, in the decades following the Boudiccan episode the supply of these early brooches dried up and what may have been used in later times as a marker is not known until the later second century and beyond.

Examination of the Knee Type (Chapter 8, Part 1) showed that its varieties have distinctive distributions. The analysis looked at their occurrence in towns and military sites and some things became apparent. However, only the extreme cases should be considered: every brooch type of the later first century and onwards shows some sort of bias towards these two types of site because they have on the whole received the greatest attention from archaeologists.

The undoubted British Knee, Type 1.a, is distinctly southern British and decidedly not favoured by the military. Type 1.b was divided into two by me and 1.b1 behaves as 1.a, but 1.b2 with its fan-shaped head belongs more in the north than the other. In other words, it is the spring case which marks the British style and, although the ornament shows that 1.b2 is also British, it is the head which is the distinctive feature.

However, that this is not an absolute is shown by Type 2 brooches which were divided the same way: 2.a spring-cases it seems were found everywhere in the north, including Scotland, but not in such a way that their dating can be dictated by the occupation of the Antonine Wall. The fanned heads of the 2.b are predominantly military and it might, therefore, be said that the distinctive head could have been a mark of the military. But Type 4 has this kind of head and is not only firmly southern English, but of the South West. Type 5 might be said to be ambivalent. But with the Continental types 1 and 2 we seem to be with the military. Type 3 stands out as it behaves as the British Type 4 while the Continental Type 4 comes generally from southern England with a slight emphasis on the South West and the same applies to the rest of the types grouped under the general heading of Continental. Thus there are distinctions, but their significance cannot be identified as yet.

Moving on to the end of manufacture of British brooches in the main and the later Roman period, the last purely British brooch, other than the Penannular, was the Plate Type 3 (Chapter 7, part 1). The summarised dating given shows how pathetic it is, especially when other classes of brooch are looked at. Appendix 2 sets the evidence for the dating of the use of white metal trim and it will be seen that it roughly covers the 100 years 125–225. But we cannot automatically assume that all brooch types using it were in being at the beginning or the end. The very lack of a solid second-century body, coupled with its absence from Scotland, that is the Antonine Wall and Newstead, suggests that Type 3 may in the end be later than 150 in its inception, and the pressure on the third century in this, as in the dating of the gilded series, may mean that we are looking at the very last British brooches made for the indigenous population. Thus the latest type I can identify is the Type 3 gilded round/oval brooch, the very type used by Tania Dickinson in an attempt to demonstrate an origin for a particular gilded round Anglo-Saxon type ([221], 39–80). I suspect that a sumptuary law came into being which dictated who should wear what brooches under what circumstances. This governs everyone belonging to officialdom, be it at court, in the civil service or holding a military rank. At the very base it covers the bow brooches of the late second and third centuries, and is an indication that the appearance of gold was forbidden to all but a select few.

Turning to the period between the Knee and the Crossbow, there is the sprung-pin brooch dealt with in Chapter 9, Part 1. Type 1 has a curious distribution:

virtually all are on the eastern side of Britain with a marked presence in the Military North, which might suggest that those on the eastern side of England may also have a military connotation. Those from Scotland are the most significant as far as date is concerned: they belong specifically to the Severan presence to which may be linked the four from South Shields which was largely rebuilt as a granary/depot for those campaigns. The eastern emphasis may be a timely hint that the navy would also have used brooches and that Knee brooches from the Continent may be an indicator of this. Type 2 is more or less a repeat and so is Type 3, except that the latter does not appear in Yorkshire. There is, thus, a strong case for seeing all the Proto Crossbows as being in some way associated with state enterprises and in that sense official issue.

Looking at the Proto Crossbows (Chapter 9) for signs of special treatment, and beginning with Sprung 1.a, out of 26, eight are gilded against four with a silvery finish. That is a very high proportion of gilded examples bearing in mind that the surface finish does not always survive or even get noticed by the person writing the report. In 1.b, there are three gilded brooches to one silvered out of 12; in 1.c, the position is reversed, six silvered to two gilded out of 12. Of these, the dating of 1.a favours a Severan introduction, 1.b and 1.c having no good dating at all.

When it comes to examples of 2.a, six have silvery finishes and none is gilded out of 18; in 2.b, four are silvery, none is gilded out of nine and three at least have double springs. There are not enough examples of 2.c for any argument to be based on them. The bias for 2.a, ignoring the example from Chichester, is again in favour of a Severan introduction and 2.b and 2.c follow that same poor dating as for Type 1.

Moving to 3.a, none is recorded as either gilded or with a silvery finish out of seven examples of which 6 were derived from published reports. But with 3.b, three are parcel gilt, and five have a silvery finish out of 21 examples. For 3.c, three were parcel-gilt, and one other probably had the gilded insert and was otherwise silvery. The others had no finish surviving or noted in their respective reports. 3.d has five silvery finishes with only one noted as having a gilded strip down the bow, while singleton 3.x was gilded. The dating for Type 3 is heavily in favour of their having been introduced in Severan times. These were all with sprung pins and the limit to their currency may well be set by the introduction of the Crossbow with its hinged pin.

The first of these to pass in revue was the 2.1a. Out of 20, four were given a silver finish and one was of silver: none was gilded either wholly or in part. Of 2.1b, five were silvery and four gilded or parcel gilt out of a total of 30. There were 12 examples of 2.1c and only one had a definite finish, in that case silvery. Of the 25 examples gathered under 2.1d, only four had a definite finish, silvery. In 2.1e, one was of silver and one was given the appearance of being of silver out of a total of 18. The six examples of 2.1e1 had no trace of any special finish. The dating of these

varieties is: 2.1a, second half of the third century; 2.b has weak dating and, ignoring an example from Castleford, is basically third century; 2.c is mid-late third century; 2.d is basically second half of the third century; 2.e only has fourth century dating.

There is, thus, a positive shift in date from the sprung-pin brooches forward to the earliest using hinged pins. The occurrence of gilding and the silvery finish in the first half of the century is not continued in anything like such a definite manner.

At this stage it might be as well to consider what A. H. M. Jones [438] has to say about the civil and military organisation in the third century. There are two substantial changes which had an effect on both the army and society at large. The first was Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, promulgated the year after his father had died at York. This effectively removed the legal distinction between the Auxiliaries and legionaries, all becoming citizens at a stroke. The distinction had already become a little blurred and the *Constitutio* regularised matters. Caracalla also legitimized marriages in the army. However the other great change emphasised the division of the citizenry effectively into two classes, the *humiliores* and the *honestiores*. The lesser could be flogged while the superior rank was supposedly immune from this. With the increase in the citizenry, this division became more marked ([438] 16–7).

There were, no doubt, other changes and matters of uniform and distinction may well have been part of them: generals have always liked changing details in uniform. Jones (*ibid.*, 17) indicates that the lowest ranks for the *honestiores* seem to have been *decuriones*, or town councillors, and veterans, but it seems likely that the non-commissioned officers in a military unit would also have qualified. Is it possible to read into brooches that the chief distinction lay in the gilding of some as opposed to the silver of the others? Possibly not, otherwise the gilded examples would have been far fewer than the others. When it comes to the fine detail of military dress, it is only necessary to note that the scarlet dress tunics of the British Guards regiments are, to the untutored eye, all the same. The reality is that each regiment has its own style in the buttoning governing the number of groups and the numbers in these groups.

What prompted the change from sprung-pin brooches to those with hinged pins is unknown. It occurs in the middle of the third century, a time when what was happening in the Empire is obscure. However, with the accession of Diocletian in 284, things become clearer. Apart from establishing the Tetrarchy, he busied himself in a whole series of reforms, not all of which were successful, such as the Edict on Prices. One reform, however, which came in fairly slowly, was the separation of the civil administration from military (*ibid.*, 45) and most members of the Civil Service were classified as military (*ibid.*, 566). He reformed the ranks of the *honestiores*, creating new, higher, ones. He reformed the payment for offices and also the coinage. He is credited with creating the

hieratic system whereby the emperor became more of an icon than a human being. He very probably standardised the signs of rank of which the brooch was a prominent one: all military, and those classified as holding military rank in the civil service (*ibid.*, 563–6), received military pay and would have worn a brooch as part of the standard uniform. Dr John Peter Wild tells me that *fibulatoria* in Diocletian's Price Edict (*ibid.*, 849) could be a snare and delusion. Rather than referring to a brooch manufactory, it is best read as referring to a cloak with that name worn with a brooch and costing much more than a *sagum*. The prices of brooches would have depended entirely on the materials from which they were made. One has to assume that gold brooches belonged only to the top ranks with silver gilt and then copper alloy gilt coming before silver or silver plate.

The Monza Tablet ([802], pl. 241) displaying Stilicho wearing a crossbow of Type 3.6 (*ibid.*, pl. 142, 10528) with the foot pointing up, shows what was the *visible* indicator of rank. Only the emperor wears a different brooch: in the third-fourth century being portrayed with a bejewelled round/oval brooch, with or without the pearly pendants (see [802], pls 187, 204–6, 254). Thus the gilded round/oval British brooch would surely become forbidden to the ordinary populace. Similarly, bow brooches would become forbidden to those who were not officials of some kind in the army and civil service. A corollary of this is that manufacture of these badges of rank or office was licensed by the state, if not carried out in state *fabricae* such as the one deduced to have been at Trier. There *might* have been one in Britain, but its products were not precious enough to be given a place amongst the *fabricae* listed in Diocletian's Price Edict. In any case, there would have been strict control over who received these precious outwards marks.

The distributions of both the sprung and hinged-pin brooches can be described as being peripheral, that is, absent from the Midland Plain and the bulk of the West Country. At the least, this looks like a defensive system largely concerned with the east and South East.

When it comes to the Crossbows proper, 3.1a dates from the early fourth century onwards in residual contexts. 3.1b has no real date; while 3.2, with only two examples, has the only precisely dated brooch from Britain: 20th November 303. 3.2b begins at the end of the third century at the earliest and has the widest distribution of all so far. There is also a high proportion of bullion brooches: we may be moving away from purely military contexts here. 3.3 begins in the early-mid fourth century and is also widespread with, perhaps, a tendency not to occur in the far Military North. 3.4 belongs to the mid-fourth century and has the same sort of distribution with only a very weak appearance in the Military North. 3.5 is definitely away from the Military North, its dating, late fourth century plus, and 3.6 brings the same basic message.

Having made a play so far with the increase in bullion or gilding to give the illusion of that, it would be as well

to examine more closely their occurrence along with one other factor, the use of sheet metal to make these elaborate brooches. It may be doubted that there was any real attempt to save metal, either copper alloy or bullion, as the process of making these brooches must have been arduous. So much so, that the only real point of the exercise must have been to make sure that the object weighed as little as possible because of the fragility of the textile with which it was to be used – silk for instance. If there is any real merit in this line of thought then it will be to enhance the status of those who used such brooches.

Therefore, to look at all classes of developed Crossbows, we begin with 3.1a. Out of a total of 16, one is heavily silver plated and one is gilded; two have the pin slot on the left. 3.1b consists of 19 examples, three with the pin slot on the left, but only one which may be silver. There are only three examples in the Corpus for 3.2a, two of which are of gold; the odd one out has the pin slot on the left. Of the 18 examples of 3.2b, eight are fragments of which one is partly melted (10502); one brooch is of silver, one of gold and four are gilded; four the 10 complete examples have the pin slot on the left.

Type 3.3a is represented by 13 examples of which one is gilded and two have pin slots on the left; there are three fragments. There seems to be a shift back to the figures for 3.1. As for the seven examples collected for 3.3b, one is a fragment and there are two with the pin slot on the left. Again, there is a hint of the figures for 3.1. 22 brooches are listed under 3.4a1, none is of bullion or plated or dipped in any way in gold or silver. One might be of sheet metal and no slot is recorded as having been on the left. In other words, this is a standardised, ordinary brooch. 3.4a2, with ten examples, has none with any evidence for gilding or silvering and there is only one slot recorded as being on the left: another ordinary type? 3.4b has only seven examples, two are recorded as having been gilded and none has a pin slot on the left. 3.4c has, out of the eleven listed, two examples with the slot on the left and three other examples with traces of gilding.

Moving on to the acknowledged late to very late Crossbows, and the 17 specimens making up 3.5, all but four had gilding, and those four may also have been, but they had lost all trace due to their state of preservation. Of the total, six had the slot for the pin on the left and the rest lacked any evidence one way or the other. All were made from sheet metal. Here is a clear indication of a higher class, especially if the change in the position of the pin slot indicated that the brooches were worn with their feet pointing up. When it comes to those given under 3.6a, three of the four are of sheet metal, with the pin slot on the left, the fourth had a retractable pin as the left-hand knob unscrewed; all were gilded. The nine gathered under 3.6b were of sheet metal, or had a screwed terminal, or both, five were gilded, one of gold and another may have been of silver, the other two had no evidence. 3.6c gathers the screwed terminals only. There are eight including one noted at Wroxeter, but lost, and a

reference to another at Richborough and not illustrated. However, the publication in 2004 of the brooches from Richborough [45] has dramatically altered this position: figure 92 republishes 10523 in a new drawing and adds no fewer than eight screwed terminals.

What seems obvious is that there are two classes of brooch, but which belongs to which is only clear in the group classed as 3.6: these were for very high status people. But that was only in the latter part of the fourth century. The Erichstanebrae brooch (10484) shows that the same applied at a much earlier date and here the position is less certain. Let us look at the army to start with.

The late Roman army, ignoring types of units implied by their names, became divided into three main classes of unit: the *limitanei*, *comitatenses* and the *palatini*. Put crudely, the first element was based in frontier zones, the next were relatively mobile field armies which could operate in as a back-up to the first. The last, as might be guessed at from its name, was a body of troops attached to an emperor's person and could transcend provincial and vicariate borders. This system did not spring into being all of a sudden nor was it immutable ([438], 125–6, 608–9, 649–54).

If one looks at the distribution of developed Crossbows, then 3.1 with its strange distribution might fit the disposition of mainly *limitanei*. The same might also be said of 3.2b, except that it is definitely biased towards the south and the east: the number from Norfolk is more than can be explained by the bias in collecting. 3.3 shows up in the west for virtually the first time and it is possible that some of these mark *comitatenses*, and 3.4 emphasises this. 3.5 is entirely south of the Midlands Plain and in the case of 3.6 even more so. However, when it comes to 3.3 and 3.4, the element of the civil service with military ranks has surely to be taken into account, and with 3.5 and 3.6 the upper echelons of Roman society are surely involved. The mosaic of Justinian at Ravenna may be cited as showing that a civil costume may be worn at court, the military distinction being given solely by the brooch, which might indicate civil service or a real soldier.

To return to Britain, that is why the official aspects of Crossbows suggests that the basic British person only had the Penannular. The lack of Crossbows in burials later than the identifiable fourth century is no surprise to me: the civil service and army had gone, taking their badges with them. Constantine III's army almost certainly contained the last major exodus of military brooches, and the bulk of his civil service went with him to staff his new realms. The cemetery at Lankhills represents this late phase and it may be asked whether or not brooches such as 10397, made up from fragments and with a sheet metal sheath representing a decorated foot, was concocted to represent a status when the real thing was no longer available: does it date to after the departure of the last adventurer? If so, the burial would date to the early fifth century.

However, there is a larger question which concerns the Military North. We have seen that, in Britain, there is very

little support for the precise scheme adumbrated by Keller when it comes to dates. If brooches denoted ranks, and possibly what kind of army unit, then one should ask what kind of brooches were being worn by the army, settled on the land or not, at the end of the fourth century, for it seems that one should take a positive military presence in c.390 as assured. If one cannot identify what brooches of the period were there then, perhaps it should be assumed that the brooch type had now become the Penannular and so indistinguishable from the native background of the region.

There is a catch, however: the switch to the left-hand side of pin-slots in the catch-plate from the right, when the brooch is viewed from the front with the wings at the top, is not well documented. It is highlighted by an utterly plain foot from Atworth, 9677 (chapter 9, Oddments, 1.b), which when viewed from the front has its slot on the left. This was looked at after 3.6c in Chapter 9 purely in terms of Keller's *Typen* which were arrived at by considering the divisions perceived to be successive stages in the development of the Crossbow based on coin-dated graves in Southern Bavaria [445]. In his terms, it is valid, but that a purely *functional* aspect of a brooch, on which side the pin slot lies, shows an overwhelming date-range in the second half of the fourth century and beyond would, I think, have surprised him. One only from Caernarvon in group 6 is potentially earlier, and the dating there has in other types been at variance with the normal trend.

However, the close examination of the position of the slot showed that examples were to be found in Keller's *Typen* 1, 2, 3 and 4. This shows that it did not exclusively belong to the specific late types, 3.5 and 3.6. It is hard to believe that this must be chance and, if it has to be accepted as a deliberate feature in some brooches, tight division on the style of decoration may be inadvisable. What may actually be represented by the "styles" is a designation of rank. Could it be that the slot on the right, as seems normal, is for brooches worn with the "foot" below the bow, and those worn with it above the bow were supplied actually with the slot on the right? In other words, is the answer that simple?

But we come to the major problem of who precisely was wearing Penannulars in the fourth century. 18.2% are being worn in the north, as far as my records can be relied on, which means that 81.5% lie south of the Humber-Dee line. Even if the bias of my records is towards the south, and a factor is introduced to correct for this, it should by no means even things out. Looking at the total numbers of brooches I have recorded, only 5.4% date after 225 and only 1.9% can be described as being British after 250. These are, of course, the Penannulars. If one looks at the continent, Penannulars are not to be expected inside the empire. They are, however, found in Free Germany and were brought in with new settlers in the fifth century, but the preferred brooch amongst migration peoples is a bow brooch and those with social clout end up wearing the great gilded, floriated examples of the later sixth and seventh centuries. The Penannulars familiar to Free

Germans, in any case, are remarkably like those which had last been seen in Britain in the first century A.D. The fourth-century Penannulars are purely Romano-British and have no parallel of significance outside Britain.

Therefore, if so few were being worn, who was wearing them? Their relative rarity shows that they were not part of common dress. The one thing one can be fairly sure about is that there was then no significant element of society which behaved like today's less than gilded youth who recently sported near-shaven heads, Doc Martins and battle fatigues. Is it conceivable that they were being worn by people who could socially emulate military dress without transgressing the bounds of propriety, or even had some kind of rank? Who knows?, but it may help to explain why it was that the Penannular was taken up by the inhabitants of Caledonia and Hibernia, it possibly representing some kind of status.

Part 3. Religion

There is only one overtly religious brooch known to the writer and it represents Cernunnus grasping a deer in each hand. It comes from a temple site at Thornborough and is now in a private collection (Chapter 2, Part 4, Plate 30, 9995*). Otherwise all rests upon near certainty to loose connections. The first is best seen in a paper by Nina Crummy [803]. In it, she explores specifically those brooches which are surely associated with Mercury. God of thieves and merchants in Rome, his connotations in Britain may well have been very different owing to an application of the *interpretatio Romana* which allows native gods to be assimilated to their nearest Roman equivalent and to retain, in this instance, a female associate, Rosmerta.

Nina Crummy uses attributes known to belong to Mercury to isolate cockerels and equates a brooch type (Chapter 7, Part 3, Type 4) which I had always taken to be a hen sitting on a nest with the cockerel of the god. In retrospect, the jury may well still be out on which sex the bird actually is, even if there is better reason to see it as male, given the possible religious context: it would remove the awkward point of trying to explain why a hen would be so popular. On the other hand it might be that the hen, as a producer of that symbol of prosperity, the ever-marketable egg, is seen as a natural extension of the cockerel. 69 are listed in the database out of the 100 which are birds of one sort or another. The other identifiable birds are doves and raptors and one type of the latter has a hare in its claws. There are three of these and they are subject of a separate section below.

Crummy also associates the familiar shoe sole (Chapter 7, Part 3, Type 1.1) noting that Mercury has winged sandals. It is a pity that none in Britain has any sign of the wings of the deity's footwear. Nonetheless, it is, perhaps, as likely an association as any other. Some 49 are listed in the database. None has a sprung pin, which would mark it out as an indisputably British product. On the other hand, none is noted as having been finished with

the white metal trim which the flat enamelled surface would suit. They seem not to be as common on the continent as they obviously are here. Without trawling through vast numbers of reports, one may note just a few of the larger publications: Feugère has only one from the whole of the Midi ([270], pl. 156, 1961); Ettlinger has two from Switzerland ([253], *Taf.* 14, 24, 25); four from Saalburg-Zugmantel, sites much closer to Britain than the others ([77], *Taf.* 26, 1020–3); the Titelberg yielded 11 ([804], *Taf.* 95, 2139–49). The last site gives one pause for thought: there seems to be no other possible British brooch in the collection garnered from the site which raises the possibility that the type is not British at all. In other words, the absence of a sprung pin and any trace of applied white metal trim are positive indicators against a British origin. The purse would also be an attribute of Mercury, but such brooches were never common.

The horse and rider series (Object, 2.1) is well known, being both a distinctive type and remarkably common. These also occur with the single horse and brooches showing a raptor and its prey. They can be found associated with religious sites such as Hockwold cum Wilton, some eight having been recorded by the writer from there. The site also yielded three disc brooches with human subjects as well as four plain discs which had lost their applied plates. There was also a raptor holding a hare.

Cold Kitchen Hill produced only two horse and riders, but the collection at Devizes came from gathering over many years from a large site, as well as from one or more unpublished excavations so it is less easy to tell how much was from a specifically religious site such as that at Hockwold. However, there are four disc brooches of the same basic type as those at Hockwold plus one of the raptor and hare. These two sites may perhaps have hunter gods, the raptor being a hawk.

Lamyatt Beacon, a temple site, produced at least five horse and rider brooches, but in contrast, none of the others was there and the site seems to have been entirely late Roman. This introduces a slightly different note, the matter of ritual gear. One does not know how much custom ruled the costume of the officiant, and so how much was out of its correct chronological horizon: none of the other brooches from the site matched any of those from the two other sites cited. As for raptors, there are single ones without prey of which one (10569) came from the Henley Wood temple at Yatton.

There is a newly discovered (2008) temple site at Sutton Cheney in Leicestershire (FN) which has so far yielded 64 horse-and-rider brooches, one horse brooch with a possible second one, one raptor and a double axe brooch (Leicestershire Museum Services). If one assumes that hunting was an aspect of the cult, then the five hare brooches may also be included. However, the presence of horse and rider brooches in numbers on temple sites may be related as much to the deity worshipped, as to a major element in the local economy to do with horse breeding. That so many come from late occupation on these temple

sites could have more to do with displaced votive offerings or priestly garb, or both, than with anything else.

One point to bear in mind is that the occurrence of lots of brooches at temple sites may not mean that there was a regular practice of making votive offerings of them. Some may, indeed, have been offered, but there is no evidence for this as yet. What is indicated, however, is that there were multitudes present, and the lack of brooches in the late Roman period is replaced by the vast quantity of coinage from temple sites but coins would not really have been votive offerings. What it means is that brooches could be lost in a crowd and so the collection will only be able to hint at a particular cult if many such brooches were present occurring in sufficient quantity that they stand out.

In contrast, when hounds and hares are looked at, the sites from which they have come do not show any religious bias. The same is true for ducks and also for what I have called hens, and which Nina Crummy equates with cocks and the god Mercury. The position changes when one moves on to the raptors. Here, there is a clear link with religion; therefore the ties given above would seem to be true. A note of caution must be sounded: Ernest Greenfield's temple beside the Roman Great North Road just south of the fortified area of Durobrivae was certainly for the cult of Mercury – as is evidenced by the inscribed pots, but there were no brooches.

4. Marketing and Money

How customers paid for brooches can only be guessed at during a time when there was no full monetary system with what can be called small change until the fourth century: payment should have been by means of goods, services or scrap metal of whatever type, or a combination of two or more. The nearest we can come to a possible solution derives from the inscription on the statuette found in the Foss Dyke ([806], 274): To the God and the Deities of the Emperors the Colasuni, Bruccius and Caratius, presented this at their own expense at a cost of 100 sesterces; Celatus the coppersmith fashioned it and gave a pound of bronze made at the cost of 3 denarii. One would imagine that here, at least, there is some correlation between weight and cost. The object weighs 3lbs 10 oz or 1.624kg. This is a matter for metrologists: what weight at what time did the sestertius have? The object is said to be probably mid-second century (*ibid.*): did it vary significantly in the period 125–175, or 150–200? If it did, were the sestertii all of one type? There are too many imponderables to pursue the matter here.

What the distribution of individual types of British brooches shows clearly is that for the period before c.125 at least, each type was restricted to a certain area. A case

in point is that some Dolphins and Trumpet brooches with hinged pins were centred on the Southern Pennines and it is significant that a lead possible pattern and an unfinished casting were found in Poole's Cavern [88]. The number of actual workshops as such producing brooches in Roman Britain is very small. Apart from Prestatyn, there was one at Caister St. Edmund's, Norfolk (Norwich Castle Museum, Commander Mann's excavations), and another at Compton Dando, Somerset: waste from it came from a pit when a gas main was laid. The possibility that there had been one at Nor'Nour should be discounted ([240], 5–7, 17–8; [312]). The blanks from Baldock came from an indeterminate context ([674], 122–5). Other evidence is very weak and, along with the evidence from Gussage All Saints ([715], 125–49), probably indicates that in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period there were no workshops as we would understand them. The craftsmen were almost certainly itinerant and travelled on a more or less fixed annual route through their market territory.

Even when a centre is indicated, as in the case of two Knee brooches (Chapter 8, Part 1a, Type 3, pl. 131), there is no certainty. One brooch was unlocated and the other came from near North Alford, Lincolnshire. The latter gives a clearer reading: FIBVLA EX REG / LAGITIENSE. There is no *Lagitium* in [620], but there is a LAGENTIUM as indicated in the surviving ancient forms given in two versions of the Antonine Itinerary – Iter V, LEGEOLIO, Iter VIII, LAGECIO – and in the Ravenna Cosmography – LAGENTIUM/LAGUENTIUM. Both sources are only known in post-Roman copies and probably gave the Late Roman forms when changes in pronunciation, and consequently in how they were written, had taken place ([368], 396). In which case, the T of the brooch name could become C, as Rivet and Smith say. Be that as it may, in both itineraries, the place is equated with Castleford. Here was an extensive manufactory including enamel on copper alloy ([164], 195–224), and one may take the EX REGIO on the brooch to indicate the active presence of the Roman officer in charge. One may note that the term REGIO covers a district and so the brooches might have been made elsewhere in the jurisdiction. And the discovery of odd moulds and patterns is no help. 1911 from Hanbury, Worcs is alike in one thing with the remains of copper alloy moulds from Old Buckenham and Felmingham, Norfolk: all are odd finds and careful survey of the area around the Old Buckenham finds failed to reveal any other archaeological activity. That clutch of copper alloy objects was almost certainly a bag of scrap lost in transit.

FN I give my thanks to Wendy Scott and Richard Knox of the Leicestershire Museum Service for laying out the material from the site for me.

Appendix 1. The Dating of the King Harry Lane Cemetery

The most important collection of brooches of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age tradition is that from the cemetery excavated by Dr. Ian Stead [675]. In the writer's view there is an error in the published dating of its phases. Briefly, Dr. Stead and Valery Rigby adopted a conservative view in the dating based on known occurrence of aspects of the material culture in early Roman deposits. This is a naturally cautious approach which has much to commend it, and it should be remembered that the report was finished many years before it saw the light of day. However, the authors of the report acknowledge that the cemetery may have begun as early as 15 B.C., but preferred to use A.D. 1 ([675], 83), which has had a knock-on effect on the dating of Phases 2 and 3 leading to what seems to the writer to be an unacceptably late date for the end of Phase 3. The importance of this point is that, if as much as half the material culture in the cemetery is assigned to the Roman period, then similar brooch collections must inevitably conform and there will hardly ever be any good basis for seeing what properly belongs to pre-conquest times. Therefore collections truly belonging to the early Roman period must also conform. Hence those items acknowledged to be of early date must occur in a proper ratio in the cemetery. Yet this is not the case.

The discussion of these types in the body of the book has used adjustments to the dating of the cemetery phases and these need to be discussed so that these changes are properly understood. No radical alteration is suggested, only that the early start of 15 B.C. is raised in status from possible to probable. Such a change will not of itself automatically place all such brooches before the conquest, only place most of those in this particular cemetery before then. The charts which accompany this discussion will make the matter clear, as they contain all the dating evidence available to the writer (August 1995) and should show what is common to the whole of the relevant parts of Britain. They, however, once divorced from this appendix, inevitably show the "corrected" dates for the King Harry Lane cemetery.

The basis of the argument is presences and absences. The cemetery lay just outside the Roman town of Verulamium known to have been founded immediately after the conquest. There is no evidence for a chronological gap between the purely native occupation and the earliest stages of the Roman town. Therefore, if the cemetery runs as late as the authors have it, there should be a major

overlap between the brooch assemblages of both cemetery and town. The brooches from the site above the cemetery are ignored as there is a strong suspicion that many were derived from that, and this would cloud the issue. Similarly, only brooches guaranteed to have come from the town are used on the other side of the equation. The two main tables are divided into two parts: the cemetery and the town.

The presences are obvious, for they dominate the cemetery, but what are the absences? These are the Colchester Derivatives and the Hod Hills which dominate all assemblages from the moment of the conquest. In the cemetery there is only one Colchester Derivative, a Harlow, Grave 316.4 (fig. 154), Phase 3. The latest, typologically speaking, of the Colchesters are: Grave 28.5 (fig. 93), Phase 4; Grave 233.2 (fig. 132), Phase 3; Grave 306.6 (fig. 151), Phase ?; Grave 431.2,3 (fig. 176), Phase 4. There is only one Aucissa: Grave 362.2 (fig. 163), Phase ? In short, there is one Colchester Derivative and no Hod Hill, unless Grave 153.2 (fig. 114), Phase 3 in catalogue, Phase 4 p. 84, Grave 233.3 (fig. 132), Phase 3, be counted. The first is atypical and the second is a member of Hull's Bagendon which is considered below in any case and occurs with a Colchester of Type 7.

There is one proviso: at this stage, the writer has only the published reports to go on and it has to be assumed that the items included in these are truly representative of the collections recovered. There should be little problem when it comes to Professor Frere's reports, as these seem to be a fairly standard group (Frere 1972 and 1984). In the case of the report on Wheeler's work, he should have dealt with every Rosette and Langton Down that came his way, and probably with all the Aucissa-Hod Hills as well, but fragments may have been ignored [757]. Richardson's report [606] on her excavation in *insula* XVII may have been selective in what was published. The writer has not been able to see what other brooches in the Museum can be demonstrated to have come from the town rather than the overall area.

However, plain figures from wherever they come cannot be used blindly. Firstly, all brooches belonging to Phase 1 can be removed from the argument: they are pre-conquest by any reckoning. Secondly, not all the brooches from the town are pertinent, and all belonging to the second century or later are omitted. Further refinement is possible: Phase 2 is said to begin at *c.*30 which means

that about half the brooches of that phase should also be pre-conquest and the same thing applies to a lesser degree to Phase 4 as that begins at *c.*40. For practical purposes, the writer has, in the charts gathered here, dealt only with increments of five years, which means that the political act in 43, having little to do with the general cultural trends of the time, falls in the period 40/45 and is taken as 40. Once that is understood, the charts and other comments should be looked at without thinking about Claudius' image-building activities. The chief difficulty in the first century lies in the period 40/45: the quality of dating changes abruptly for the better once the effects of the conquest begin to shape the material culture. A too strict adherence to 43 places the Harlow (Chapter 3, Part 1) in an equivocal position as it had come into being at a point in time so close to the conquest that to insist it must be after 43 is plainly a nonsense. 40 is more practical and has the advantage of being an arbitrary point not having any historical overtones.

The brooches used in this exercise are the Colchester, the Rosette, the Langton Down (all Chapter 2), the Harlow (Chapter 3, Part 1) and the Aucissa-Hod Hill sequence (Chapter 6, Parts 1 and 2). The latter is divided into four parts: the Aucissa and transitional items having separately-made foot-knobs; straight-forward full-blown Hod hills, but still with only the simple two-part design of the Aucissa; more complex forms of Hod Hill; and, lastly, Hull's "Bagendon" type ([151], Chapter 6, Part 2, Type 12). The first three are recognized as being of pre-conquest origin and are the chief types in the cemetery. The Hod Hill proper cannot yet be proved to have been here before the conquest and was, in any case, the chief introduction from the continent at that time. The Harlow has a limited range of true varieties dealt with in Chapter 3, part 2.

The last consideration is the date-range of a brooch. Any brooch type comes into being at a certain time (a), a period will elapse before it becomes popular enough to begin to occur as a matter of course in the archaeological record, either, (b), during the period of use, then, (c), as they fall out of use, and finally (d) as residual items in the archaeological record. Most brooches in (b) and (c) are casual losses, their recovery as grave goods is distinctly at odds with the mass. In other words, while the *floruit* of a type may be established, there will be a lapse in time at each end, very few brooches being recovered in deposits belonging to the inception of a type.

With such a uniform and remarkable assemblage as that from the King Harry Lane cemetery, in which development can be seen through the three main phases, esoteric arguments based upon the clearing away of grandma's broken finery has little place. These brooches are broadly contemporary with the disposal of the dead. This is emphasised by the development in the pottery through the phases. If only old material were being got rid of, how is it that the groups forming the phases hang

together so well? Ordinary site assemblages are usually heavily skewed by a marked residual content [73]: as for the King Harry Lane site, only finds from above the cemetery can contain such an element, quite possibly derived by ground disturbance from the cemetery itself, which is why they have been ignored.

Argument from presences and absences, see Tables 1 and 2, is all well and good, but other evidence is needed to back-up the assertions which will be made. This is presented in a series of charts each built up from all the evidence in the author's brooch corpus.

- 1 Colchesters, using DFM's adjusted dates for KHL
- 2 Colchester giving the published KHL dating
- 3 Langton Downs, using DFM's adjusted dates for KHL
- 4 Langton Downs giving the published KHL dating
- 5 Rosettes, using DFM's adjusted dates for KHL
- 6 Rosettes giving the published KHL dating
- 7 The Harlow
- 8 Alesia-Aucissa/transitional types
- 9 Simple Hod Hills
- 10 More complex Hod Hills
- 11 Hull's Bagendon types

No dated example has been omitted, unless its context was post-Roman. This is deliberate: the only way to determine the time after which a type is truly residual is a matter of fine judgement based upon the type's behaviour through time. Charts 1, or 2, and 11 represent almost ideally the opposite ends of the scale of the problem. Chart 11 shows a clear break later than that at which residuality can be guaranteed, but there is still question of where the real point may lie: it can be argued that the relatively even progress breaks down at No 26 and that 55/60 represents the real end of the *floruit*, after which no significant examples are still in use. As for Charts 1 and 2, there is a more regular curve making the judgement of where the *floruit* should lie more difficult, but 60 should perhaps be seen as very close to the point after which next to none was to be seen in use.

All the charts are arranged in order of initial date, and the temptation may be to look only at these to see where major changes take place. However, archaeological dating is not like that. A brooch would be lost on a specific date, but the deposit in which it finds itself seldom closes at the same time, and it is a matter of chance whether anything present will indicate the true latest date. Perhaps the best way of looking at the charts to see both ends of the date range. In which case, to return to Chart 11 and to look at the lines joining the tops of the columns, more than half would fit happily before A.D. 55, No 18 could perhaps be discounted, but a termination at 60 would bring in No 25. In the case of the other two charts, but especially Chart 2 using the published dating of the cemetery brooches, a termination at 60 would safely contain two-thirds of the whole, and this is without examining the precise location in the chart of the demonstrable late examples.

Table 1

SITE	KHL		THE TOWN		
TYPE					
COLCHESTER	(100%)	(88.5%)	86 (55.5%)	(11.5%)	11 (23.4%)
LANGTON DOWN	(100%)	(100%)	25 (16.1%)	--	
ROSETTE	(100%)	(97.5%)	39 (25.2%)	(2.5%)	1 (2.1%)
HARLOW	(100%)	(11.5)	1 (0.6%)	(88.5%)	8 (17.0%)
AUCISSA/TRANS	(100%)	(50%)	3 (2.0%)	(50%)	3 (6.5%)
SIMPLE HOD HILLS	(100%)		--	(100%)	14 (29.0%)
COMPLEX HOD HILLS	(100%)		--	(100%)	11 (23.5%)
BAGENDON	(100%)	1 (0.6%)	----	155 (100%)	48 (100%)

Italic %: the balance between the sites within single types.

Non italic %: the balances within each site between various types

Another way of expressing similarities and contrasts between the two sites, ignoring residual elements from pre-conquest occupation under the town, is to look at the number of brooches of a type from the cemetery to see what proportion can be theoretically assigned to post-conquest times: add the total years represented by Phases 2 and 3 (4 can be ignored as there are so few that the changes in the figures are negligible), deduct the total number before A.D. 40 and multiply the remaining

total by the fraction given by the post 40 brooches over the total. This artificial device should bring the cemetery more in line with the post-conquest brooches from the town. However, to make things even, the brooch types in the town not found in the cemetery should be reduced by the proportion of their *floruit* extending beyond 60. This means that the likely *floruit* of each type needs to be looked at. See Table 2.

Table 2

SITE	KHL		THE TOWN	
TYPE				
COLCHESTER	67	(66)	11	
LANGTON DOWN		19.5	---	--
ROSETTE	30.5	(6)	1	
HARLOW	0.78	(14.4)	2.4 (60% reduction)	
AUCISSA/TRANS		2.0	(18)	3
SIMPLE HOD HILLS		--	(44.4)	7.4 (43% reduction)
COMPLEX HOD HILLS		--	(37.8)	6.3 (ditto)
BAGENDON		0.78		

120.56 (22% reduction) (186.6) 31.1 (34% reduction)

Charts 1–6 show that using the amended dating, the Colchester, Langton Down and Rosette can be taken as having largely passed out of use by 60. The starting point should be the Harlow, the only definite Colchester Derivative type to occur in the cemetery (g. 316,4). Chart 7 shows in graphical form the relevant information. The change in initial date marking some degree of residuality appears to be at item 40, or A.D. 90. Looking at the individual date-ranges, 90 seems to be a fairly good termination date: a third of the whole is safely residual and the next group back to 35 belong mainly to the usual wide time-span of late first–early second century. The date-range is reasonably 40–90, of which 60% falls after the end-date used here for the cemetery, A.D. 60.

Of the Aucissa-Hod Hill sequence, Charts 8–11, the earliest, on Chart 8, are safely before 60. Charts 9 and 10 present a less clear-cut picture. The first shows that half should have been lost before 75, the nine after 100 are either residual or contain the one element continuing to the end of the century and with mutations into the second. However, this strand should more properly occur amongst those in Chart 10. Thirteen items are, therefore, in limbo, but the distribution of Hod Hills in Britain guarantees that almost all had been consigned to the ground before 70/75, as there are so very few in Northern England. The result is that 75 is taken as a limit. This means that approximately 57% are likely to be earlier than 60. The curious feature of Chart 10 is that the pre-75 element is

quite marked, the late first-early second-century group is perhaps more marked here than in Chart 9, the distortion should represent the later group, which has, in any case been omitted here. Therefore, 75 can be taken as the limit. The last chart, 11, is more of a curiosity than anything else, but the end-date of 75 quite safe, 55/60 is also good and there is no need to apply a reduction percentage.

Other variations could no doubt be introduced into these figures, but as they stand the message is clear, the only major change could only come from adding relevant unpublished material in the Museum. There is an imbalance between the two sites when it comes to the major categories: Colchesters, Langton Downs, Rosettes and Hod Hills. The carry over of the Colchester into the town is largely accounted for by the high proportion of the type known to the writer under the mnemonic "Late Smalls", and these can be shown to continue to c.60/65, and no later, the bulk of the main series runs to 55/60 at the most. The Harlow type has been reduced to a minimum, as has been explained, and it almost certainly came into being before the conquest: one from Harlow being a Colchester only by virtue of its spring system. The figure given to Harlows does not allow for the possibility that it may have been more plentiful before 65/70 than afterwards.

Another, perhaps more immediately comprehensible, way of showing the differences is to increase the brooches in the town by a factor representing a genuine shortfall in quantity when compared with those from the cemetery. The Colchester is obviously the chief brooch type in the cemetery, and, as the two columns in Table 1 are intended to cover exactly the same time-span, the figures for brooches in them have been multiplied by 6. The results are shown in brackets in front of the reduced figures. This shows how few Hod Hills there are in the cemetery: none. Nothing can hide this absence and it is the prime evidence that something must be wrong with the published dating. When the Rosettes and Langton Downs are looked at, it is obvious that they and the Hod Hills are mutually exclusive. As the former have such a marked presence in the cemetery, and the Hod Hill is such a mark of the Romans, it can only mean that Phase 3 in the cemetery effectively closes on the arrival of the Romans as political masters. The single Harlow brooch is acceptable, just as the one at Skeleton Green would be, had it been demonstrably under the flood silts ([566], 137 fig. 69,25). The Aucissa/transitional brooches also lie correctly and the single representative of Hull's "Bagendon" type is also not out of place.

Whatever the dating of the brooches elsewhere in Britain may be in terms of survival in use, the cemetery has a good cut-off point. The probable inception date of

15 B.C. should be used as a matter of course and some adjustment made in the Phases thereafter, with only Phase 4 being later than 40/5. The cemetery should represent what was truly current in the region in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, free of any contamination from the Romans in Britain. It cannot be emphasised too much that what may be true of this one site in particular, is not true of the south-east of England in general. The charts are ample demonstration that great care has to be taken. It is only when assemblages of brooches from individual sites begin to resemble that at King Harry Lane that a more confident tone about there having been a significant pre-conquest presence can be taken.

The writer does not have the necessary competence to consider the complete redating of the phases and has, therefore, adopted a cautious approach, as the table below will show.

Table 3

Stead and Rigby dating:	DFM adjusted dating:
Phase 1 – 1–40	Phase 1 – 15 B.C.–A.D. 30
Phase 2 – 30–55	Phase 2 – 20–40
Phase 3 – 40–60	Phase 3 – 35–55*
Phase 4 – 60+	Phase 4 – 45+

The argument is that the Phase 3 should end in 43/4, in other words at 45 at the absolute latest in terms of the five year steps adopted by the writer when dealing with the dating throughout the preparation of a couple of score of charts. But A.D. 55* has been used so far in brooch reports on the grounds that that is the common condition as shown by the *adjusted* dating of Chart 1, and over precision in using the King Harry Lane material as being almost exclusively pre-conquest in date needs more argument than normally allowable, as this discussion has shown. No great distortion is introduced by not restricting the end of the cemetery, the town shows that Colchesters at least continue. What may need more careful assessment is the presence as genuine survivors-in-use of the full blown Rosette and Langton Down after the conquest: their general absence from the town could be a little disturbing. However, the finding of one or two, without any commensurate increase in the numbers of Colchesters could quickly restore the balance: 6:1 in Colchesters, cemetery to town, therefore 3 Rosettes and 2 Langton Downs in the town are all that are required, if Table 2 is a guide.

A telling guide to the date of the cemetery may be the dating of Colchesters of Type 4.bc. These have circular holes in the catch-plate and are so directly related to Type 7. Those that occur in the cemetery are given above, what needs to be said is that proper Colchester with circular holes do not occur, and these seem to be almost exclusively after 35/40.

dates of Colchesters, including Marlow sites

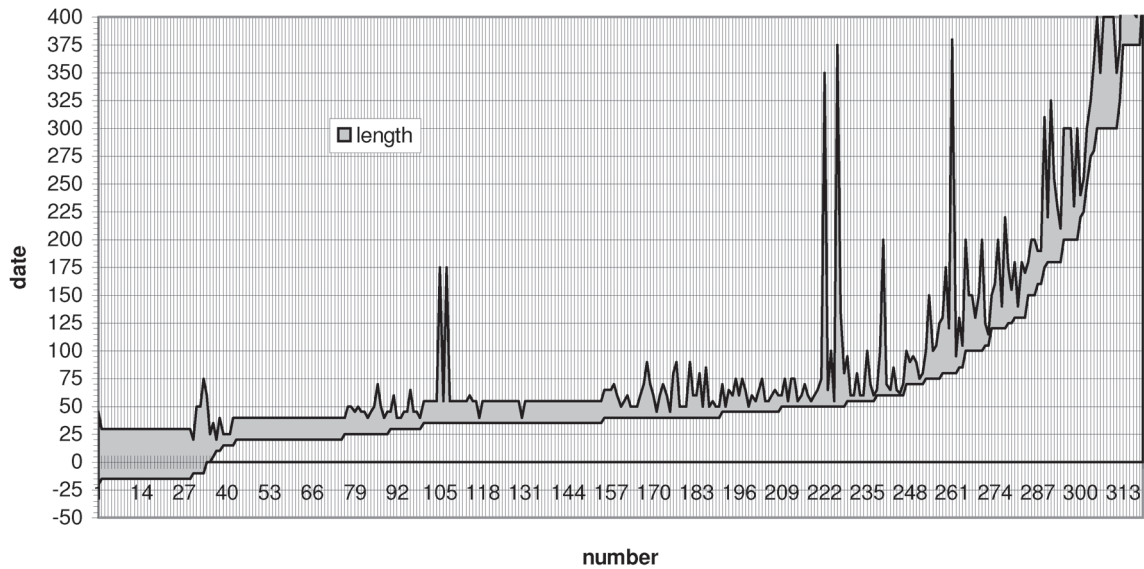


Chart 1. All Colchester XL Chart using the DFM changes to the published King Harry Lane phase dating.

Colchesters, KHL published dating

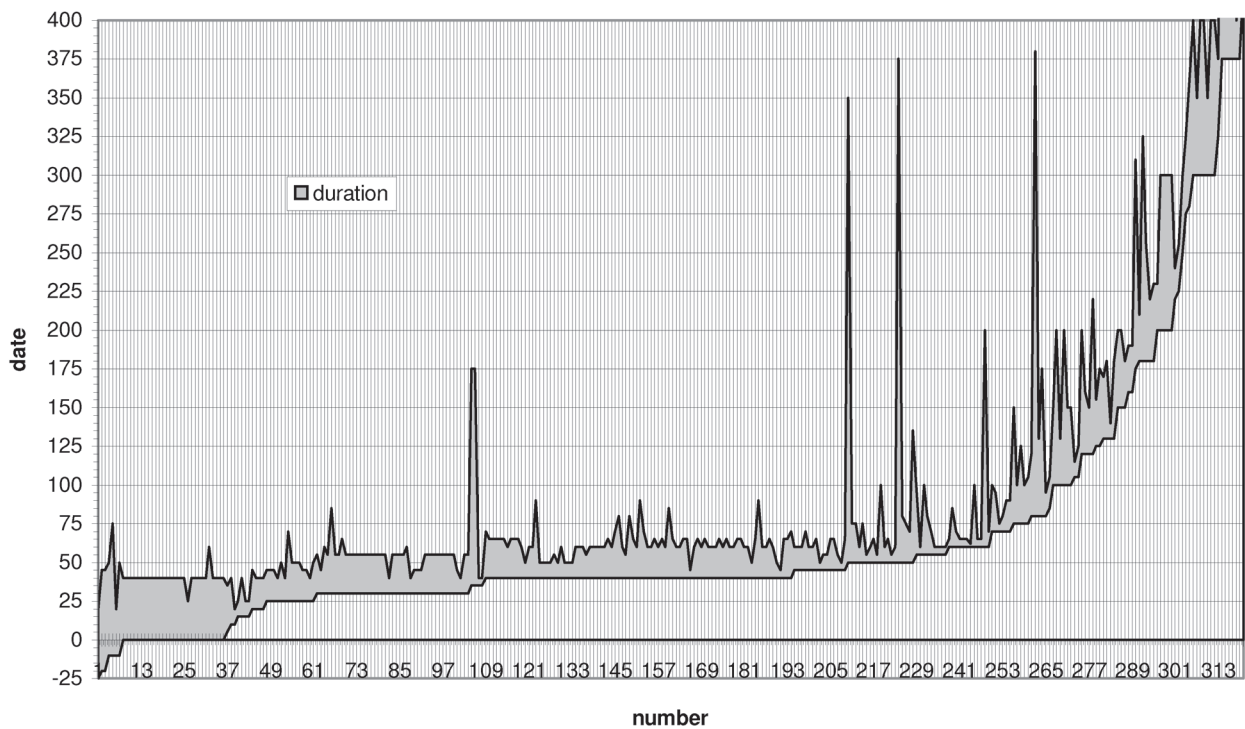


Chart.2 . All Colchester XL Chart without DFM's alterations to the published dating.

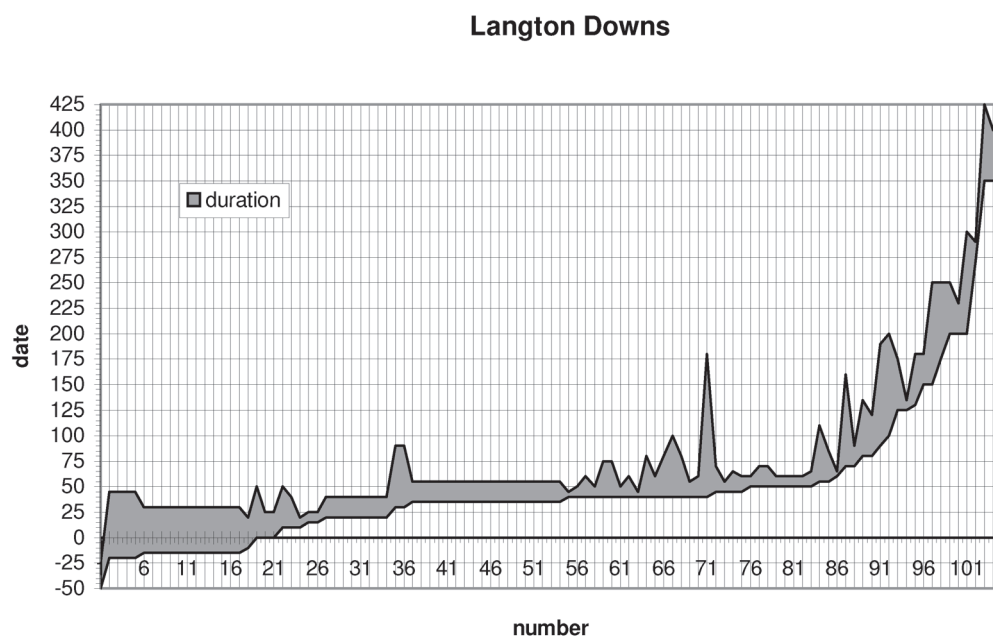


Chart 3. The XL Chart using DFM's alterations to the published King Harry Lane phase dating.

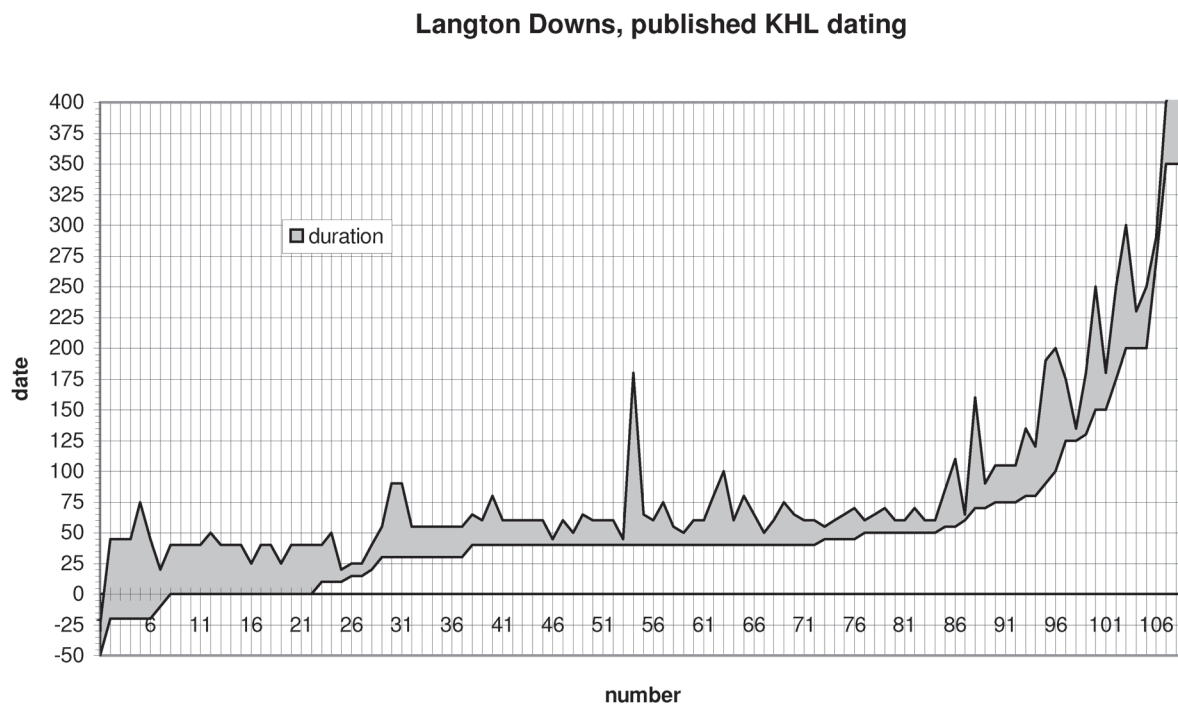


Chart 4. The XL Chart without DFM changes to the published King Harry Lane phase dating.

Rosettes

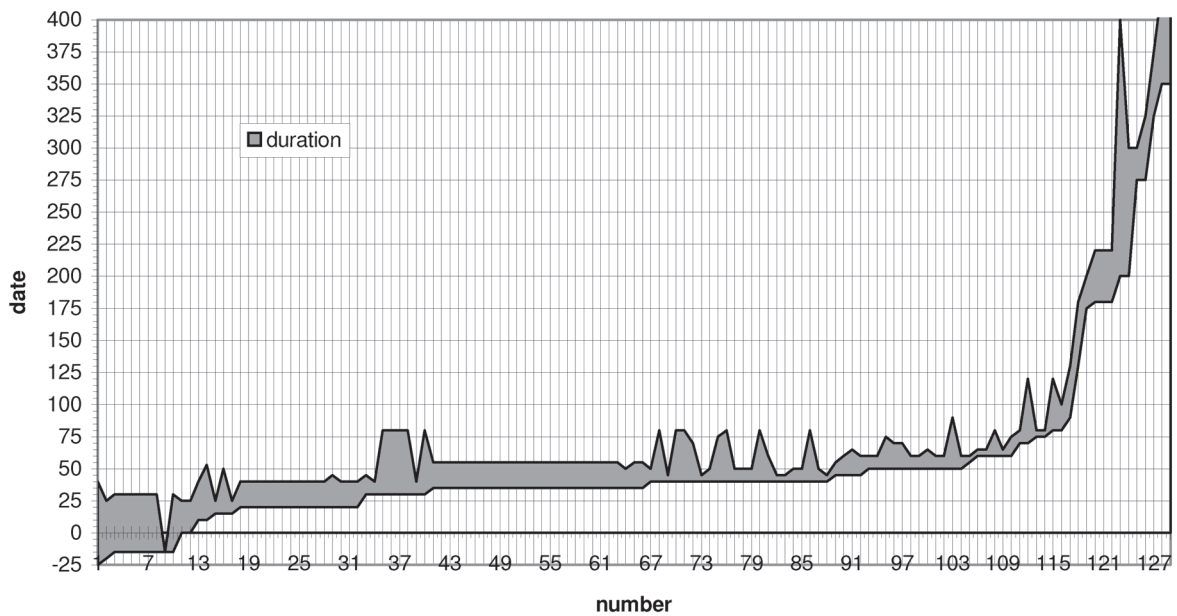


Chart 5. The XL Chart using the DFM changes to the phase dating of King Harry Lane.

Rosettes, published KHL dating

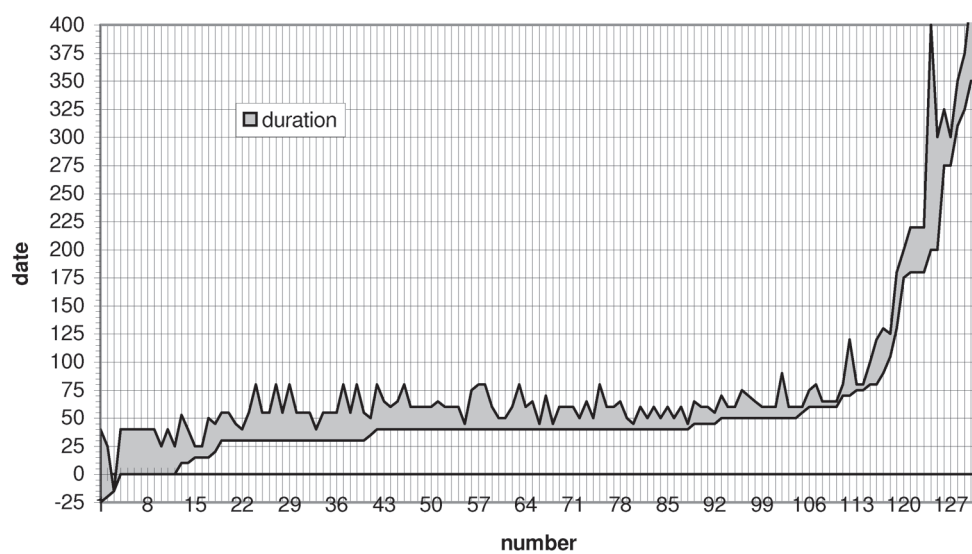


Chart 6. The XL chart without the DFM changes to the King Harry Lane phase dating.

The Harlow Brooch

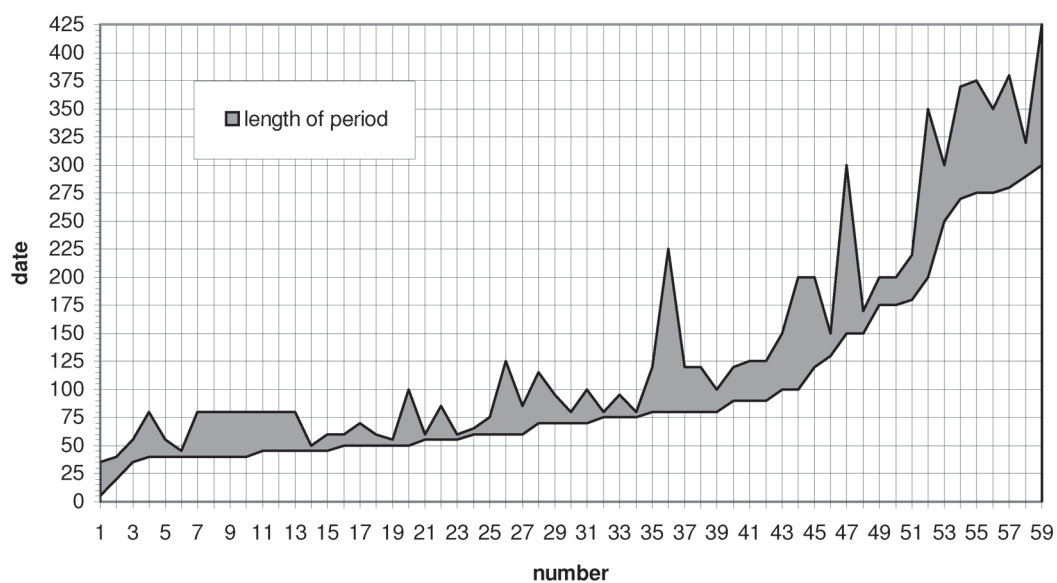


Chart 7.

Alesia-Aucissa-Transitional

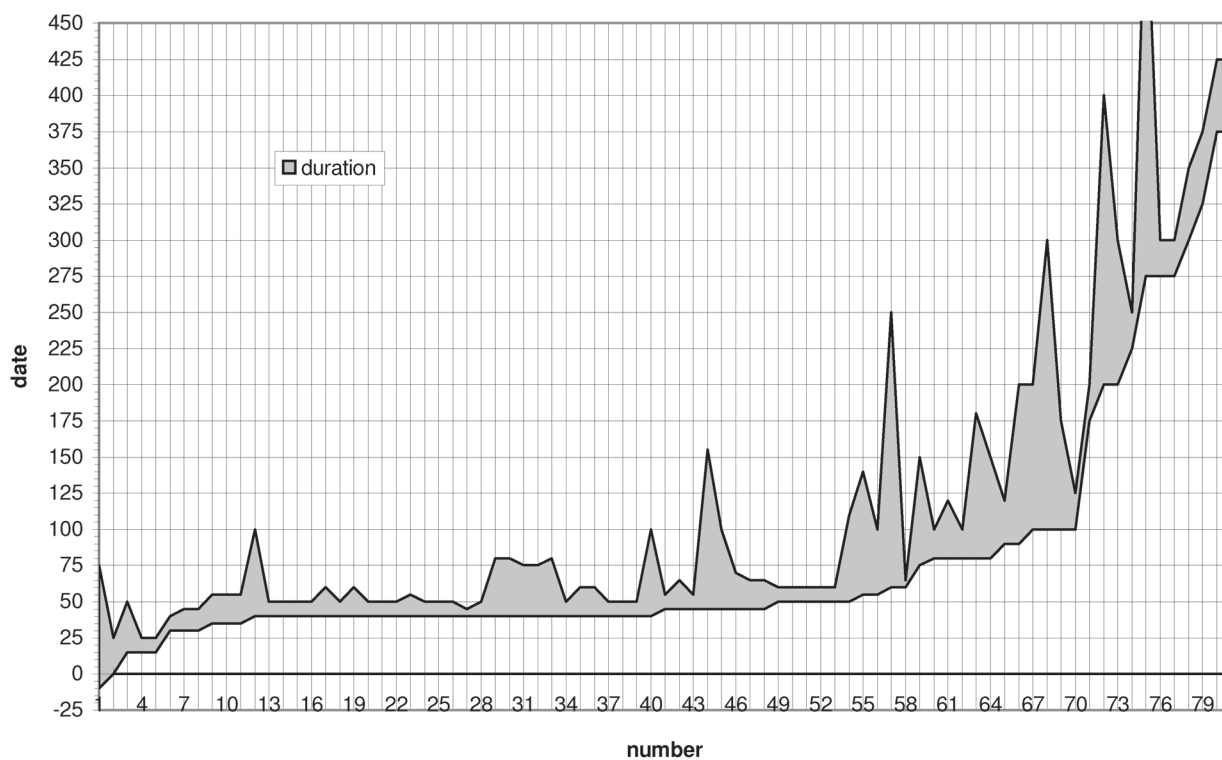


Chart 8. Nos 9, 10 and 11 are from King Harry Lane and are the adjusted dates.

Ordinary two-part Hod Hills

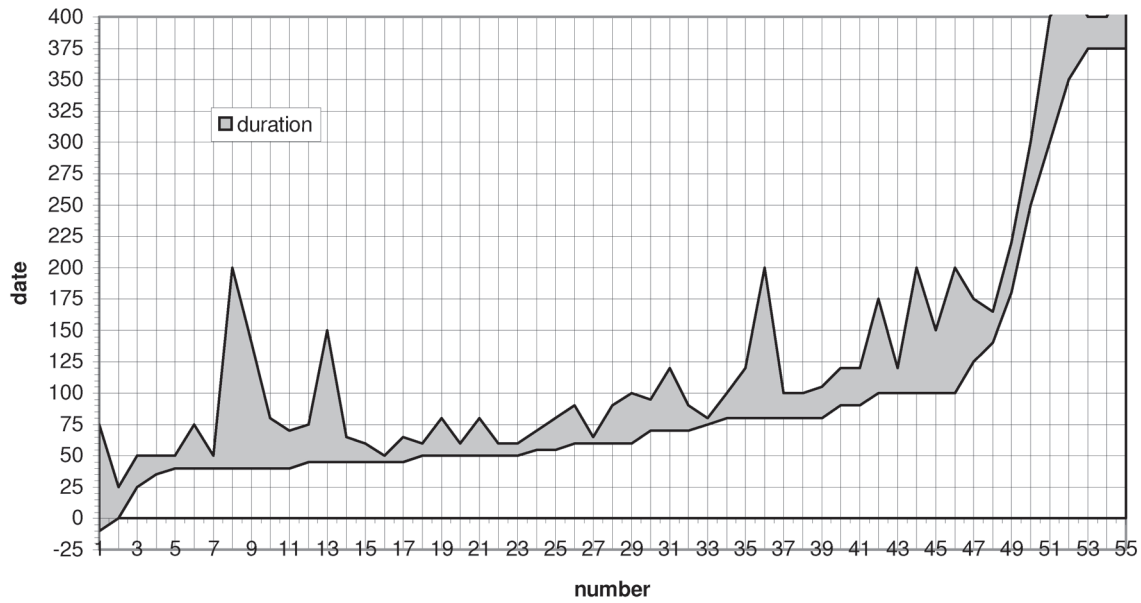


Chart 9.

Hod Hills more elaborate forms

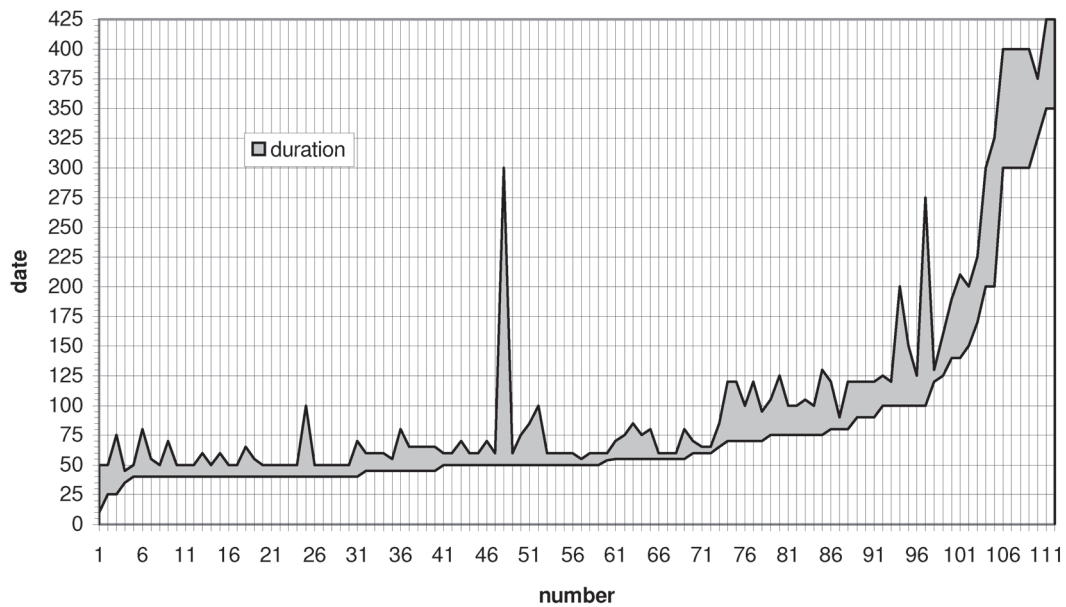


Chart 10.

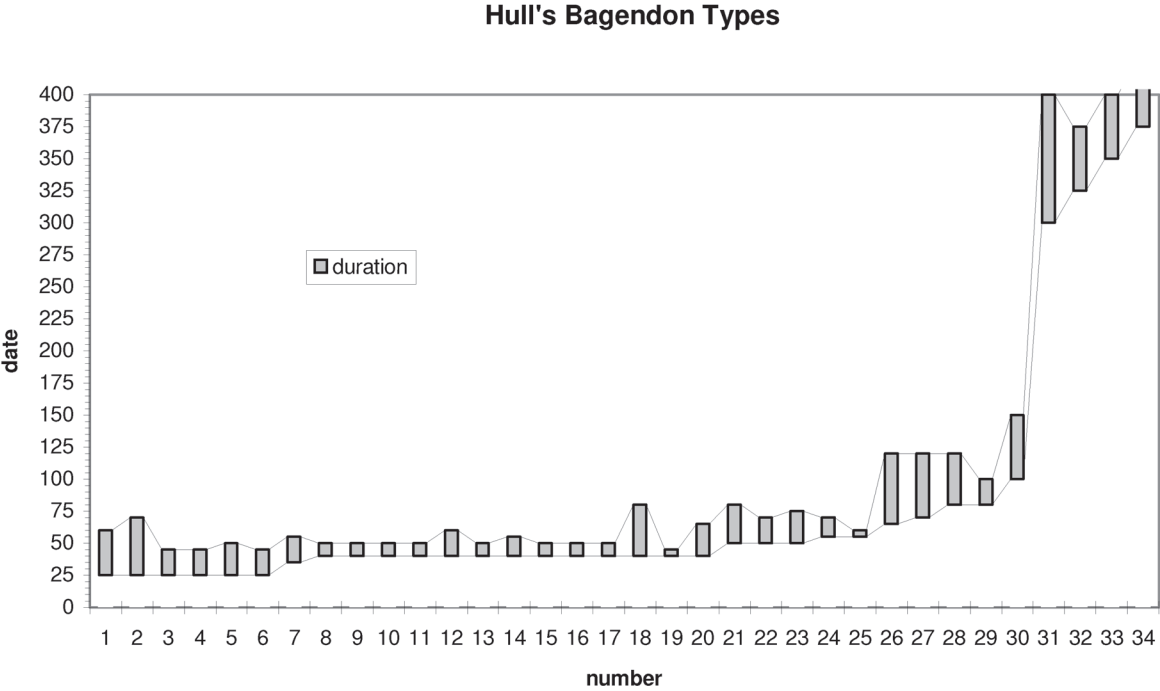


Chart 11. No 7 is from King Harry Lane shown with its adjusted date.

Appendix 2. The Dating of Applied White Metal Trim

The relevant sections dealing with this British technique are to be found in the following chapters:

Chapter 5. Trumpets

2.2c. The head is dominated by the head-plate with its cast-on loop. There is evidence that the head and the lower bow had applied repoussé white metal trim.

Dating: 5335* Canterbury, 175–300/320

3.1. An upright circular plate on which is mounted a raised area inset with enamel. All these brooches were once decorated with applied repoussé white metal trim, extensive traces of which are commonly seen, if only in the form of discoloured areas left by the base solder.

3.1a. Foot-knobs. Brooches in this group tend to be larger than those in 3.1b, and the foot tends to be wider in proportion to the overall size of the brooch.

Dating: 5430 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5390 Camerton, 90–100; 5387 Wroxeter, mid 2nd century; 5395 Camerton, 3rd century; 14169* Verulamium, mid-late 3rd century; 5392 Camerton, 250–280

The dating of the example from Camerton is suspect.

3.1b. Peltate foot.

Dating: 5409 London, early 2nd century; 5434 Verulamium, with 2nd and 3rd century pottery; 5433 South Shields, c.150; 5466 Strageath, before 158; 5422 Springhead, before c.175?; 5418 Scole, mid Antonine–early 3rd century; 5429 Verulamium, before late 3rd century; 5431 Barnsley Park, after 350.

3.2a. Proper foot-knobs.

Dating: 11847 London, early 2nd century; 5467 Worcester, Late Saxon +.

3.2b Peltate foot.

Dating: 5458 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5468 Canterbury, c.150–400.

3.3a. In the middle, a semicircular plate.

Dating: 5449 Newstead, 80–c.200; 5459 Camelon, 140–165

3.3b. A narrow trumpet, a rectangular spring-case with a cast-on loop.

Dating: 5448 Leicester before c.180.

Chapter 7. Plate

2.a1. Circle and dot.

Dating: 10604 Newstead, 80–c.200 (Hartley 1972, 54); 10611 Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?.

2.b. Small disc usually with a sprung pin either on a single lug or between a pair, but hinged pins are known. The disc has a central reserved spot surrounded by a concave-sided figure, usually a hexagon on whose cusps are small circles.

Dating: 10656 Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?; 10666 Ilchester, late 2nd century; 10657 Canterbury, 270–290; 10667 Gloucester, late 3rd century?; 10674 Lullingstone, latest 3rd century; 10673 Stonea, late 3rd–4th century; 10655 Canterbury, 350–375.

2.c. Central annulus with a chevron between that and the edge and a reserved dot in the base of each inner point.

Dating: 10638* Ewhurst, 120–200; 10639 Catterick, 170/80–200/20; 10647* Verulamium, with 3rd-century coins; 10644 Vindolanda, mid-3rd century.

2.e. The enamelled triskele and related.

Dating: 10683 Nettleton, early 2nd century; 10687* Colchester, before c.250

2.g1. One zone, usually with a reserved annulus in the middle.

Dating: 10716 Overstone, before mid 2nd century; 10719* Higham Ferrers, 2nd–3rd century; 9701 Catterick, before 200/20; 10715 Colchester, before 250; 10714 Chichester, 3rd century; 13227 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century; 10709 Verulamium, late 4th century plus.

2.g2. Two zones with the reserved dots in the inner one round the central reserved annulus.

Dating: 10733 Watercreek, 120–200.

2.g3. Basically as the last, but using scalloped edges to one or other of the enamelled annuli.

Dating: 10736–7 Newstead, 80–c.200; 10730* Colchester, c.250–300; 10728 Ravenglass, 350/370–400 plus; 12607 Ash, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

2.g4. Variant: the centre rises as a shallow concave cone from a single annular enamelled zone, with reserved dots, whose inner edge is dagged to form a spiral and the outer one is scalloped.

Dating: 10744 Nettleton, 69–117.

2.g5. The disc is small, has a ring of reserved dots set in a single zone round either an enamelled central cell or a hole which was intended to carry a separately made stud.

Dating: 11002 Boxmoor, before 160?; Biesmes, early 3rd century.

2.g6. A central reserved dot is surrounded by a ring of smaller ones. Around the edge of the brooch is a series of projections.

Dating: 10748 Hockwold cum Wilton, late 2nd century?

3a1. Oval, with one zone of enamel, usually in two colours.

Dating: 10798 Nettleton, mid 2nd century?; 10783 Kidlington, ?3rd century; 10800 Derby, before 300?; 10799 Canterbury, 350–375

3.a3. Round, two zones around the middle.

Dating: 10781* Dover, c.190–210; 12612 Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

3.a4. Mainly like the last, but with a set of projections around the edge.

Dating: 10750 Camerton, 300–380; 12645 Gilton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The type 3 is succeeded by the same designs only gilded and lacking enamel.

Part 2, 2.1 Horse and Rider

2.1a. The rider holds in a clearly differentiated right arm and hand a short staff or baton.

15440 7932* 7933* 7931 7934 7935* 7900 7936 7950 14424–5

Dating: 7900 Nettleton, later 3rd century; 7935* Bannaventa, late 3rd–4th century; 7931 Verulamium 375–400

2.1b. The rider's head is a profile, the mane and hair are cross-cut. Gone is any real trace of harness, the leg across the horse's body is reduced to a bar between two enamel cells, and made meaningless by being moved towards the front of the horse.

15436 7903 7905 7910–12 7914–5 7918–9 7921* 7924–7 7929 7937–8 7940 14428

Dating: 7918–9 Hockwold cum Wilton, temple late 2nd to late 4th century; 7911–2 7914–5 Lamyatt Beacon, temple, 290–425.

2.1c. The rider has a vestigial nose, the enamelling lies in cells adapted to the shape of the plate rather than representing any real detail.

7901 7904 7906* 7907–9 7913 7916–7 7920 7922–3 7928 11684 12684–5 14426–7

Dating: 7917 7920 Hockwold cum Wilton temple, late 2nd century and later; 7913 Lamyatt Beacon, temple 290–425.

Part 3, 3. Horses (*See also Atelier A*)

3.a1. 7944 and 7949 came from the same workshop which produced the horseman of 2.1a, the ears and mane give it away. The definition used here is that the enamelling on the body is of large cells.

7949* 7944 7948 12686

Dating: none

3.a2. Here, the defining feature is a band of small basically rectangular enamelled cells across the breast.

7943* 7945–7 11686 14439 14796

Dating: 7945 Durobrivae on the Nene with 3rd and 4th-century pottery.

Part 3, 6. Insects and creepy-crawlies

6.a. Most have trumpet heads leaving the insect part without a visible body.

8098–9 8100* 8101–8 8109* 8110* 8111–2 8117–9 11853–4 12698 14189–90 14696–7

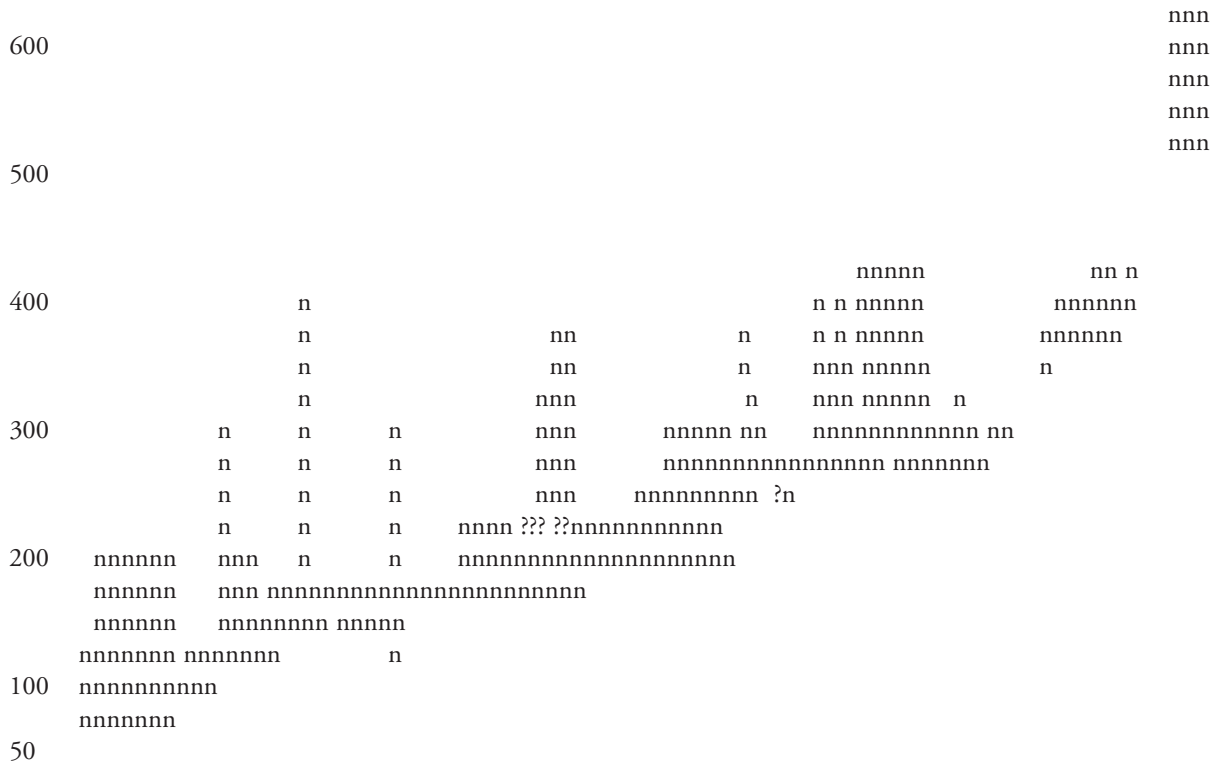
Dating: 8110* Caerleon, 160–230

The dating from all these sections is gathered here:

10744 * Nettleton, 69–117; 5430 5449 5458 10604 10736–7 Newstead, six examples, 80–c.200; 5390 * Camerton, 90–100; 5409 11847, London, two examples, early 2nd century; 10683 Nettleton, early 2nd century; 10638 Ewhurst, 120–200; 10733 Watercrock, 120–200; 10719 Higham Ferrers, 2nd–3rd century; 10716 Overstone, before mid 2nd century; 5387 Wroxeter, mid 2nd century; 5459 Camelton, 140–165; 5433 South Shields, c.150; 10798 Nettleton, mid 2nd century?; 5468 Canterbury, c.150–400; 5466 Strageath, before 158; 11002 Boxmoor, before 160?; 5434 Verulamium, with 2nd and 3rd century pottery; 5422 Springhead, before c.175?; 5448 Leicester before c.180; 5418 Scole, mid Antonine–early 3rd century; 8110* Caerleon, 160–230; 10666 Ilchester, late 2nd century; 10639 Catterick, 170/80–200/20 and 9701 before 200/20; 10611 10656 10748 Hockwold cum Wilton, three examples, late 2nd century?, 7917 7920, two examples, late 2nd century and later; 5335 Canterbury, 175–300/320; 7918–9 Hockwold cum Wilton, temple, two examples, late 2nd to late 4th century; 10781 Dover, c.190–210; 10687 10715 Colchester, two examples, before c.250; 5395 Camerton, 3rd century; 10714 Chichester, 3rd century; 10647 Verulamium, with 3rd-century coins; 10783 Kidlington, ?3rd century; 7945 Durobrivae (Chesterton) with 3rd and 4th-century pottery; 10644 Vindolanda, mid-3rd century; 14169 Verulamium, mid-late 3rd century; 10730 Colchester, c.250–300; 5429 Verulamium, before late 3rd century; 5392 Camerton, 250–280; 7900 Nettleton, later 3rd century; 10657 Canterbury, 270–290; 7935 Bannaventa, late 3rd–4th century; 13227 Kingscote, late 3rd–mid 4th century; 10673 Stonea, late 3rd–4th century; 10674 Lullingstone, latest 3rd century; 7911–5 Lamyatt Beacon, temple, five examples, 290–425; 10667 Gloucester, late 3rd century?; 10800 Derby, before 300?; 10750 Camerton, 300–380; 10655 10799 Canterbury, two examples, 350–375; 5431 Barnsley Park, after 350; 10728 Ravenglass, 350/370–400 plus; 7931 Verulamium 375–400; 10709 Verulamium, late 4th century plus; 12607 Ash, Anglo-Saxon cemetery; 12645 Gilton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery; 12612 Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery; 5467 Worcester, Late Saxon +.

The dating of the examples marked *, from Camerton and Nettleton, is suspect.

This clutch of dating has been used to construct the following graph in which the date range given is arranged in ascending order of start dates. The length of the column above indicates the given range. It is the nature of archaeological dating that there are few tight limits and by arranging the information in this way the best sense is made.



What is revealed is that there is a steady rise in the base line from the latter part of the 1st century to about 300, and then a more precipitous one to those in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

In terms of the discussion of the dating of brooches from archaeological contexts, at the beginning of the section on Dating in Chapter 1 [p. 2], the start and finish of manufacturing of any type is masked. Very few brooches will be recovered from the beginning and the end is hidden by the great number which will remain in use after that. In terms of the graph, the very beginning *may* be indicated by those given to the end of the 1st century. The earliest relies on coin dating alone, and that is not wise. The next comes from Camerton excavated by the same man and is not to be trusted. What then of the six from Newstead which ostensibly have a start date of 80? There, the range runs to *c.*200 and this means that the *floruit* suggested by other contexts can be used to refine the earlier end as far as the use of white metal trim is concerned.

Starting at about 100, the decoration was to be seen throughout the 2nd century and into the 3rd. How one determines when survivors-in-use were no longer being worn is more difficult to determine. If one looks at the peaks and troughs of the upper end of the various date-ranges, one can see that few indeed can be given entirely to the earlier 3rd century. And with the general problem of dating in the 3rd century, one can imagine that most should have passed out of use by the middle, if not before. In this, the sequence would follow the end of manufacture of British Brooches. See the arguments in Chapter 11 for examples which may have been part of ritual gear in a temple.

In other words, the actual *floruit* of the technique, irrespective of the type of brooches on which it was used, was mainly from *c.*100, or shortly after, to a date at, or shortly before, 200. But it was to be seen for one or perhaps two generations more as a survival in use.

Appendix 3. South Cadbury South-West Gate

The report [811], and one aspect of it, was eagerly awaited by at least one reader: the dating of the brooches found in the massacre deposits. The expectation was that it would probably match the taking of Hod Hill and Maiden Castle by the Roman army. All the more so since Hod Hill had had a fort constructed on its site and the presence in the Maiden Castle war cemetery of Roman arrows. These events were placed in the very first years of the conquest.

Therefore, one looks to a site like South Cadbury to provide confirmation. All the relevant brooches come from Site K and all were assigned to Context Groups. Not all of the brooches are illustrated, but enough information is given for it to be reasonably certain which of the copies of drawings given to me by the late Dr. Grace Simpson was meant. Here are the context groups:

- I Outside threshold. 3570, not illustrated, Penannular, described as a Fowler D3 [282], the drawing does not convince and the brooch was consigned by me to Chapter 10, Part 4 Type 6. 6709, a Durotrigan brooch of Type 1.c ([811], 136, fig. 66,16). Two or three bolt heads and a piece of *lorica segmentata*.
- II Middle passageway. Four Colchester brooches: 45 ([811] fig. 64,6); 119 ([811] fig. 64,7); 120 ([811] fig. 64,4); 122 ([811] fig. 65,8). Five Colchester Derivatives: 945 ([811] fig. 68,40); 1479 ([811] fig. 68,39); 2290 ([811] fig. 69,42); 2516 ([811] 140, not illustrated); 7004 ([811] fig. 68,35). Two Nauheim Derivatives: 4226 ([811] fig. 64,2); 4460 ([811] 132, not illustrated). One Penannular described as Fowler Type D4 ([811] 143, not illustrated), in fact a member of Fowler's D7, if the drawing can be relied on. One Aucissa: ([811] 134, fig. 65,9). Nine Durotrigan Types: 6638 ([811] 138, not illustrated); 6643 ([811], not identified); 6644 ([811] 136 or 138, not illustrated); 6646 ([811] 138, not illustrated); 6681 not identified in the report); 6699 ([811] 136, ?fig. 66,17); 6701 ([811] 134, not illustrated); 6704 ([811] 134, fig. 65,14); 6706 ([811] 136, fig. 66,18). Eight iron bolt heads, real or probable, one shield boss and a piece of *lorica segmentata*. One U-shaped scabbard chape and one knife scabbard assigned to native types.
- III Upper passageway. One or two Colchester Derivatives: 6995 ([811] 140, fig. 68,37); 6993 ([811] NOT fig. 64,2: SC/K 612 sf.178). One Hod Hill: 9299 ([811] 136, fig. 66,19). Two Nauheim Derivatives: 4106 ([811] 132, fig. 64,1); 4342 ([811] 132, fig. 64,3). Eight Durotrigan types: 6700 ([811] 134, fig. 65,10); 6702 (not identified in [811]); 6703 ([811] 134, fig. 65,12); 6705 ([811], 136, not illustrated); 6707 (not identified in [811]); 6712 ([811] 134, fig. 65,13); 6716 (not identified in [811]); 6850 ([811] 138, fig. 67,34).

One Late Rosette: 6009 ([811] 136, fig. 66,23). Four or six Bolt heads.

- IV West guard chamber. One penannular: 3585 ([811] 143, not illustrated, said to be a Fowler D5. One Durotrigan brooch: 6641 ([811] 138, fig. 67,31). Three bolt heads; two shield bosses; one ?shield hand grip.
- V Sealing rubble. One Colchester Derivative said to be a Polden Hill: 2545 ([811] 140, fig. 69,44). One bolt head.

The only real reference to the possible date for the massacre is in the opening paragraph to the section called Context, chronology and history ([811], 115) in which the actual conquest, the suppression of the Boudiccan revolt, and a possible event in A.D. 47 are mentioned. It is taken that external dating of the brooches, which themselves were not securely linked to the human remains, is not precise enough for certainty to reign, and the same rule was applied to the Roman military equipment. The radio carbon dates are dismissed as being too diverse to point one way or the other. The fact of the matter is that they would never have been precise enough to distinguish between 44 and 61 A.D.

The mention of Roman pottery, Savernake ware and other initial Roman types, occurring in the silt and among the human remains, assumes that precision is impossible ([811] 148). Examination of the report fails to reveal where these sherds were found.

The report ([811], 116) dismisses the excavations at Hod Hill and Maiden Castle for, apparently, neither site could be relied on because of other possible interpretations suggesting that both needed re-evaluation. With reference to the barrack blocks located in the middle of South Cadbury ([811] 176), the military equipment is given the date bracket of 43–138 (derived from the report by M. C. Bishop [811] 242–7), while greater precision was given to an oven which was allowed to be later than the barracks and “apparently attests to continuing military activity on the hill through the middle decades of the first century..”([811] 175).

P. J. Casey, in discussing the Roman coins ([811] 252), indicates a strong Claudian presence emphasised by the absence of Claudian copies. Now, looking at figure 3, we can see that Maiden Castle, Hod Hill and Ham Hill are within 40km of South Cadbury, the last being only 17km away. All these sites have yielded Roman military metalwork, three of them with direct evidence for fighting.

All are in the lands of the Durotriges and to argue, as is speciously implied in the South Cadbury report, that there is no connection between these sites, almost beggars belief. The matter is compounded by the statement on the back cover “Some time late in the first century AD, Roman military action took place in the hillfort of South Cadbury”. The writers of the report live in an ideal prehistoric archaeological vacuum. No class of information is allowed to influence any of the others: witness the blanket date given to Roman military equipment. Of the

three dates offered ([81] 115), the conquest, a date *c.*47 for unspecified events, and the suppression of the Boudiccan rebellion, the only one which could unite these sites in a convincing scenario is the first. Nothing can be based on the second and the third took place mainly in the east where the Icenian homelands lay. Therefore I would prefer to date the brooches from the south-west gate to the narrow range of *c.*45 -1/+2. Nothing in the report contradicts this.

The Great Harvard Brooch Bibliography

* indicates a brooch report by DFM

This bibliography was closed in June 2000 so that the entries could be numbered for ease of reference in the body of the book. There are two reasons why numbering has been introduced. Firstly, to provide a primitive framework for the bar charts as set out in Chapter 1 (p. 2). Secondly, to reduce visual interruption in the text by removing

Harvard references like “Hawkes and Hull 1947, 313, pl.XCII,48” becomes ([385], 311, pl. 92,48). The square brackets are to set the number apart from any other. This particular reference also shows that Roman numerals have been replaced by arabic ones. All the entries marked by an * have reports written by the author.

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D. F. Mackreth

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Legend

When the card index was started all the traditional counties remained unaltered. Since then, central government has seemed unable to leave local government alone and so the counties shown on the map do not necessarily show all the correct divisions, but seek to compromise at what may be described as “best fit”. The abbreviations proved necessary in compiling the database so that the table could be seen at one glance. Only Devon, Kent and Essex needed no shortening. Some are ancient abbreviations such as Oxon and Salop.

The major changes are in Cambridgeshire which amalgamated the Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire with the old Cambridgeshire, and took the Soke of Peterborough from Northamptonshire. Apart from that, Westmorland was lumped in with Cumberland and called Cumbria. There are also a host of fiddling alterations. I have been saved a lot of bother by reducing Wales and Scotland to blanket areas as there was in reality very little from either when compared with England.

Any reader not of the British Isles should find the list very helpful.



Figure 1. A Map of England showing the abbreviations used for counties in the database

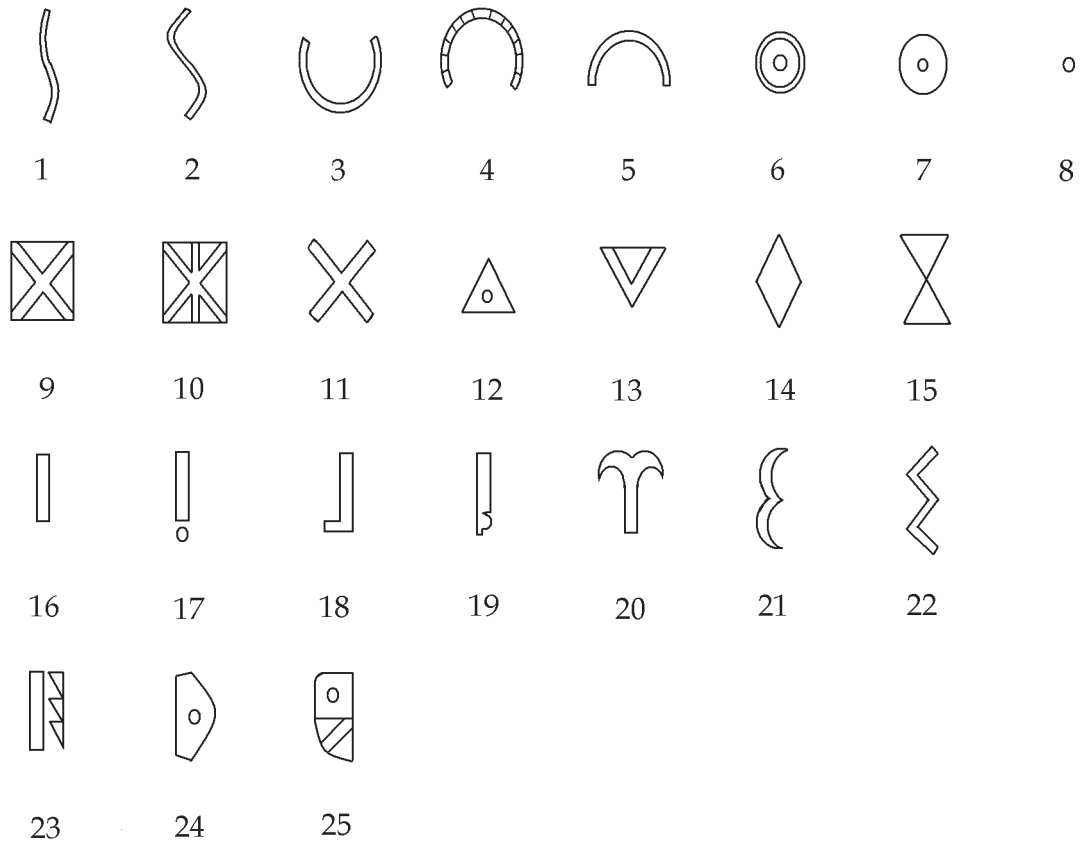
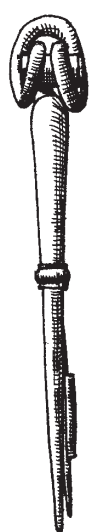
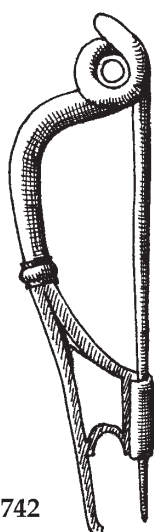


Figure 2. The stamps used on the Type 3 gilded oval/round brooches

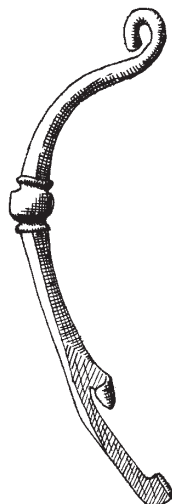
The Plates



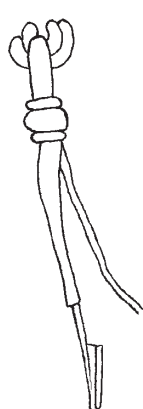
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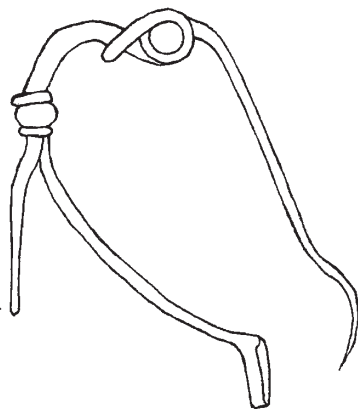
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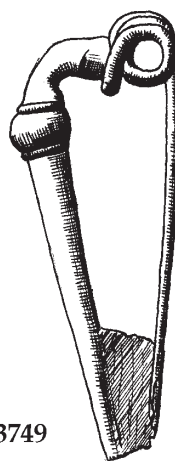
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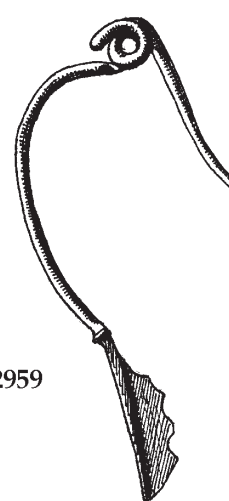
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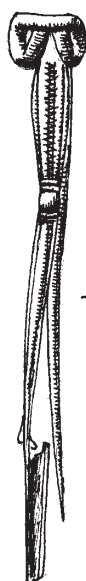
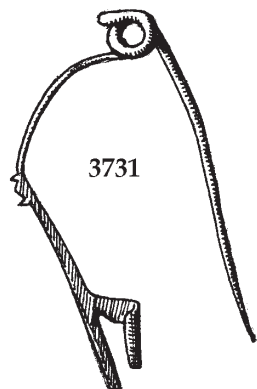
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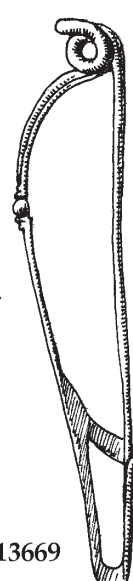
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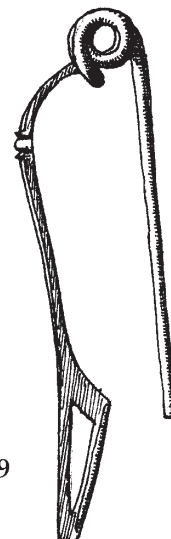
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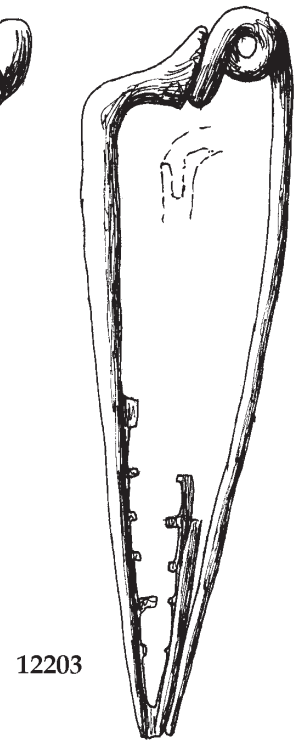
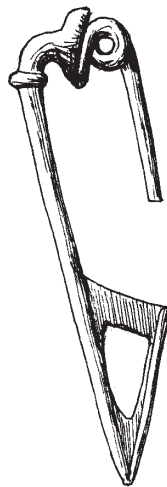
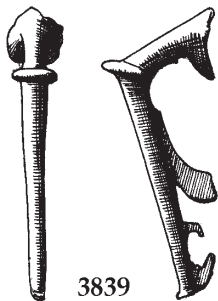
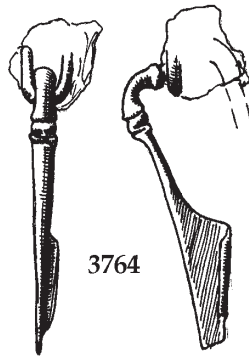
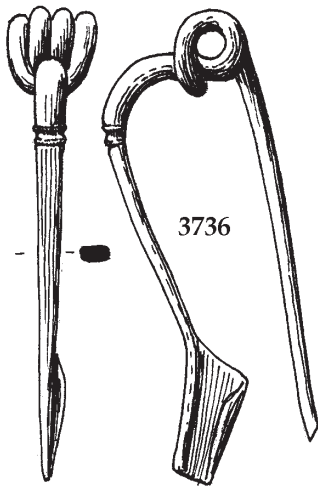
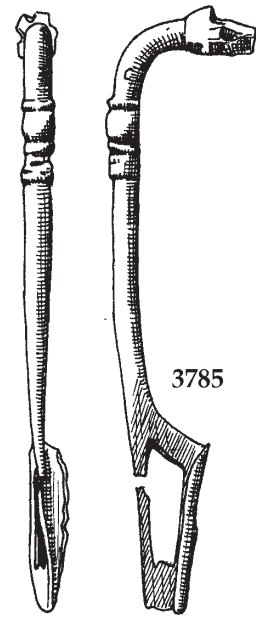
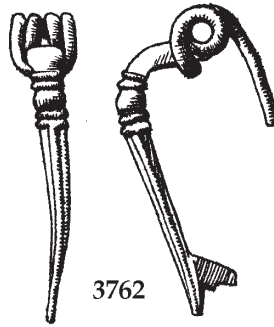
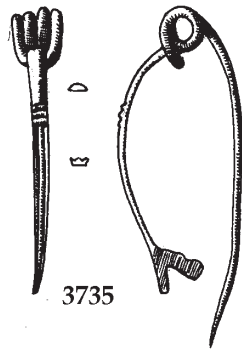
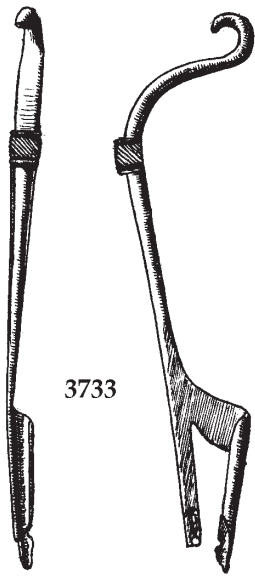


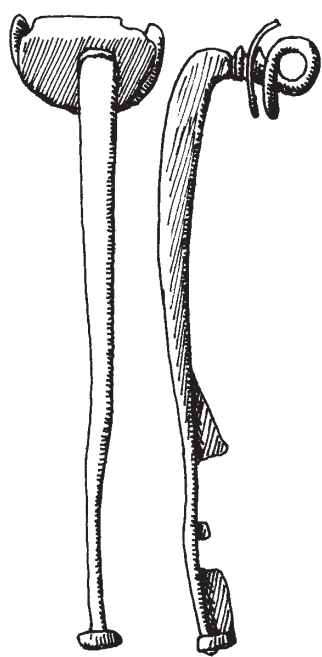
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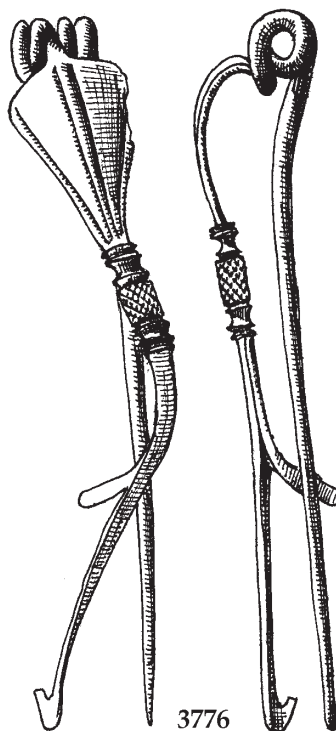
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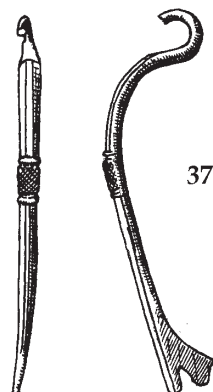




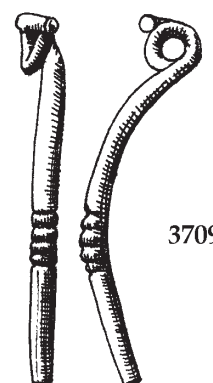
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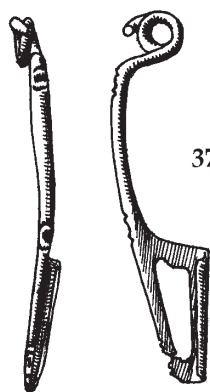
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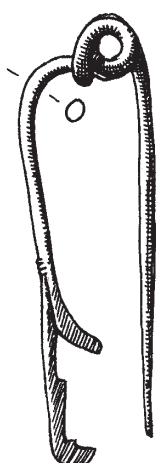
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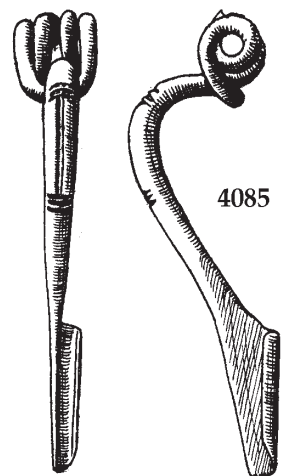
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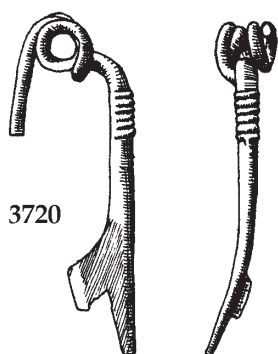
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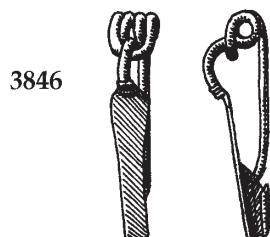
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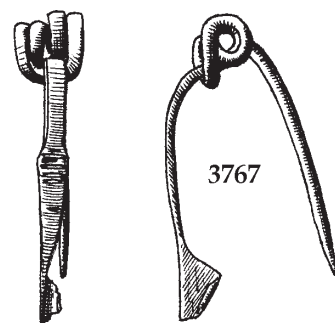
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3720



3846



3767

PLATE 3



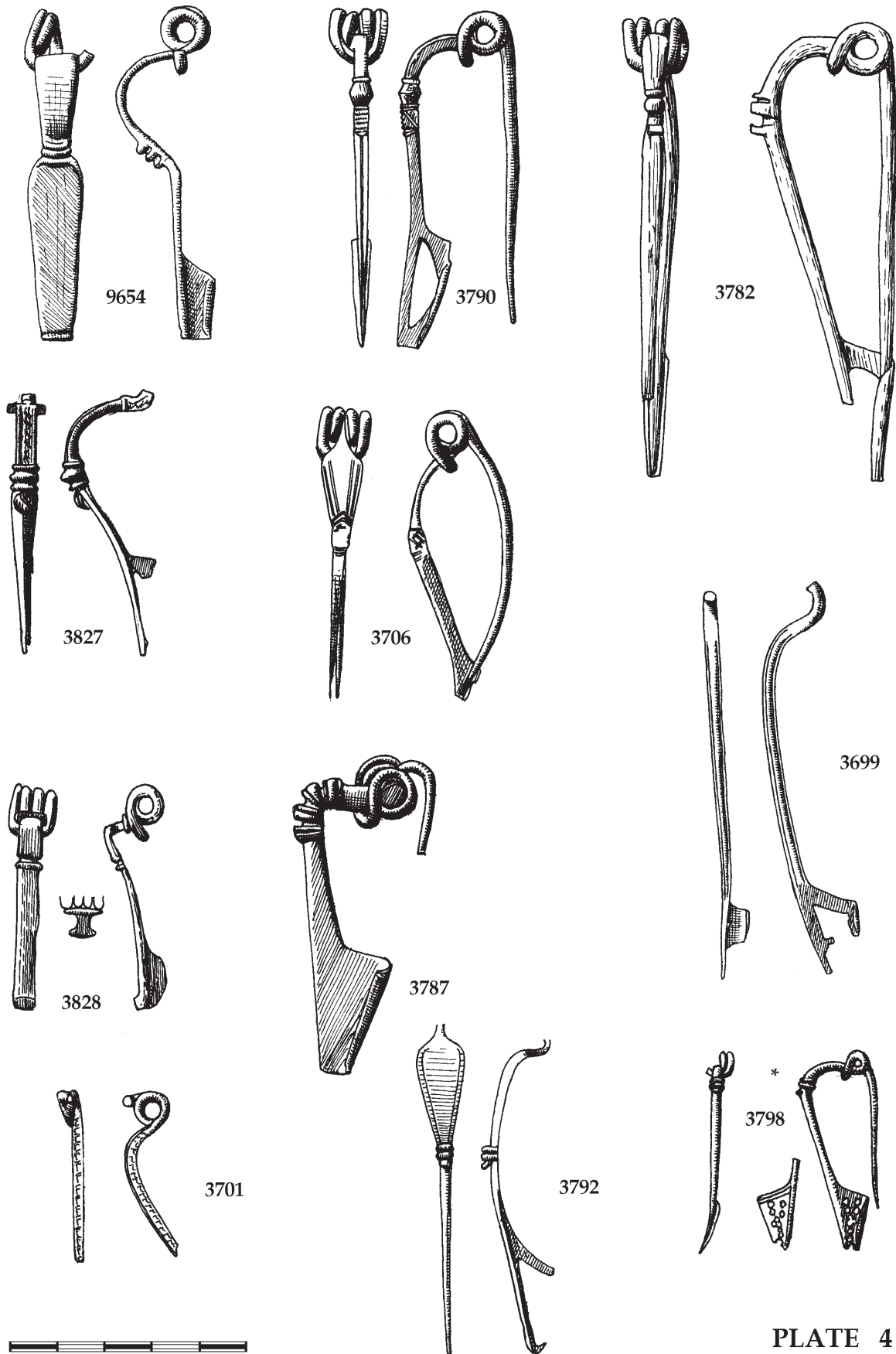
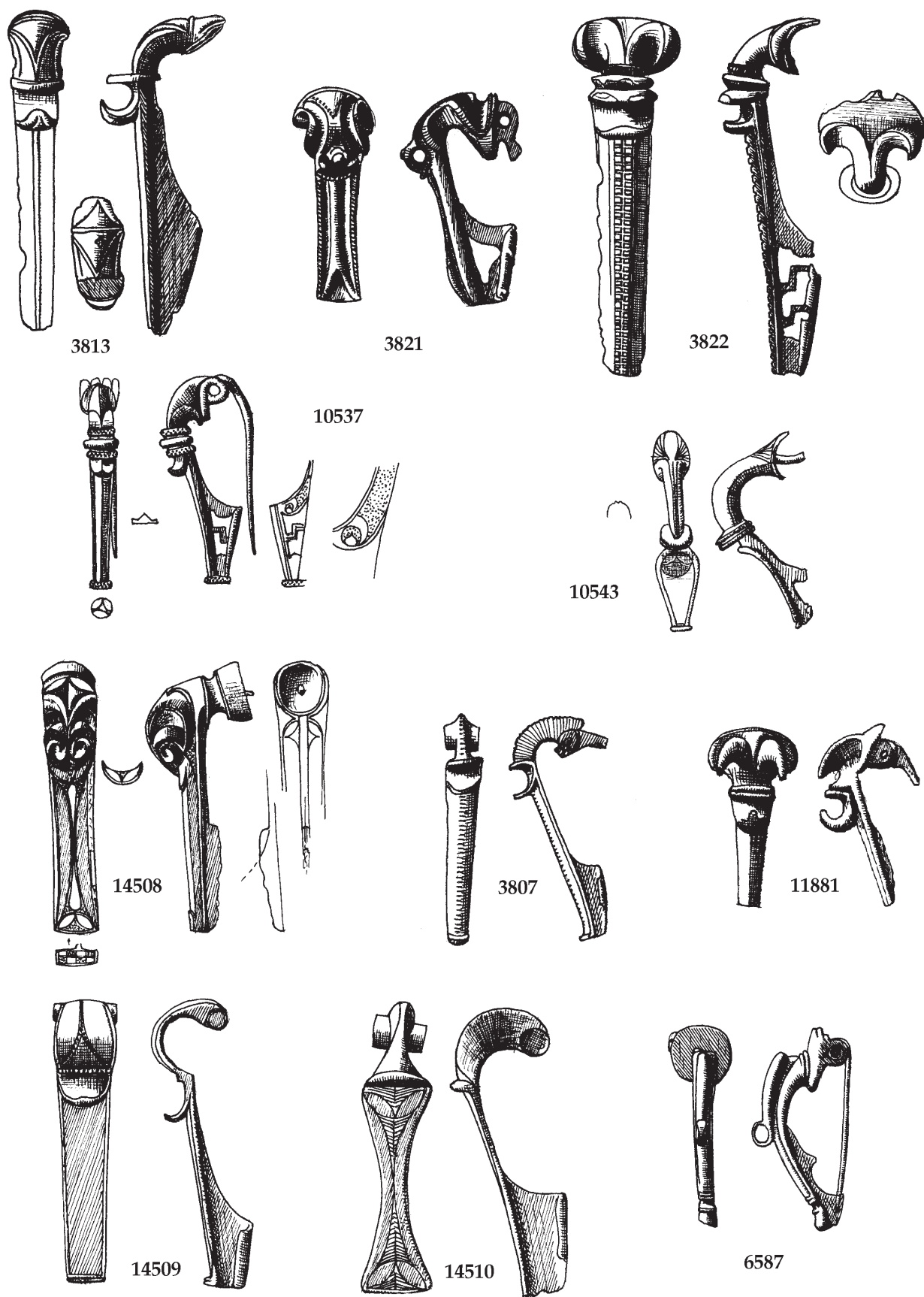


PLATE 4



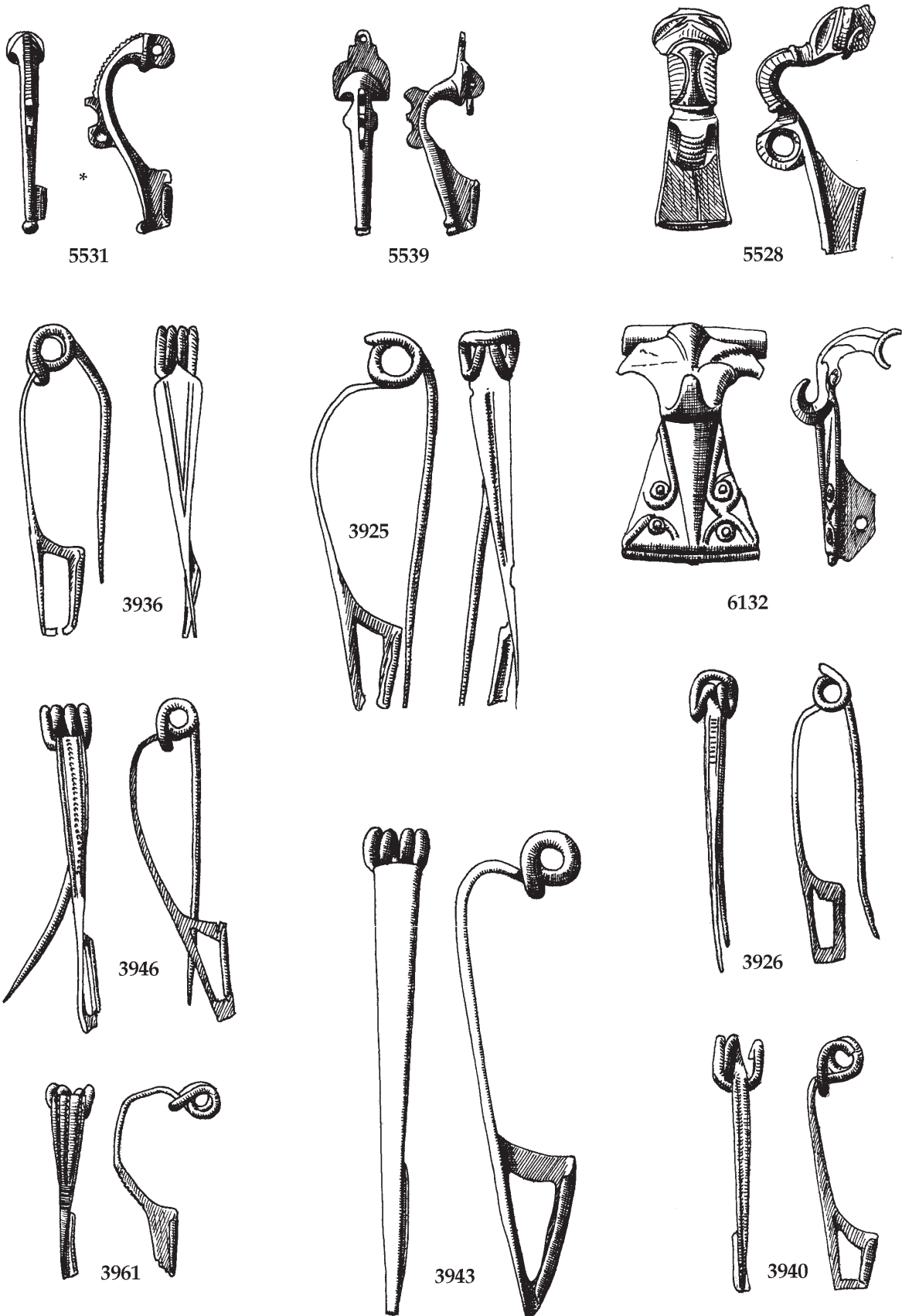
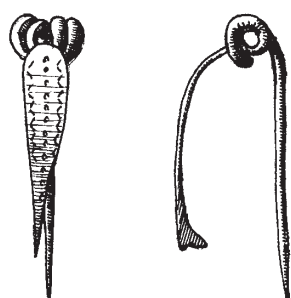
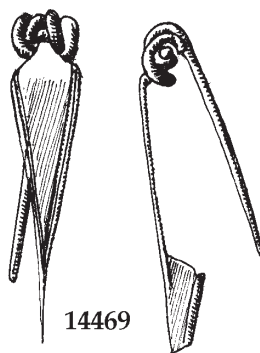


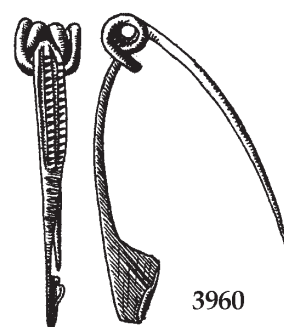
PLATE 6



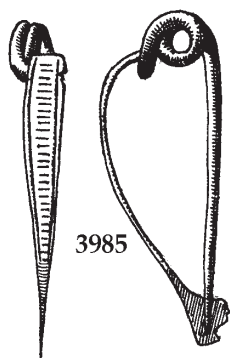
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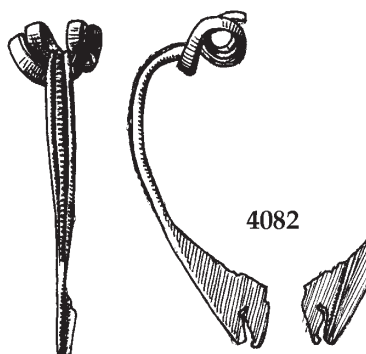
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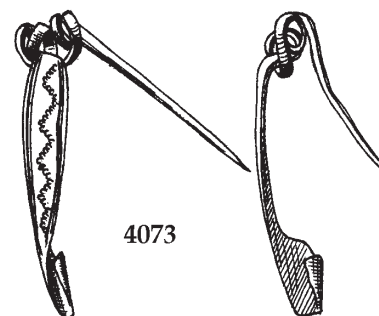
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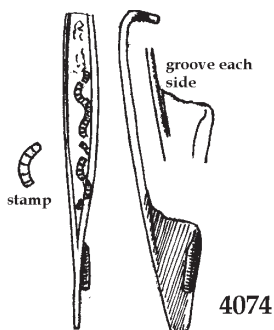
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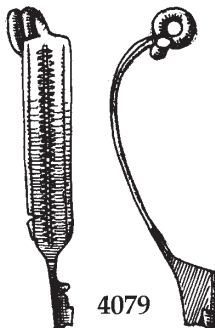
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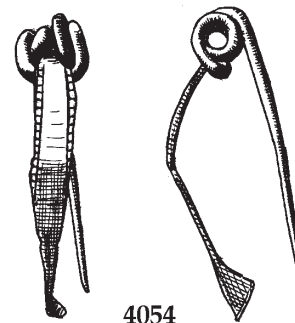
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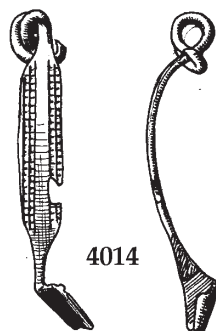
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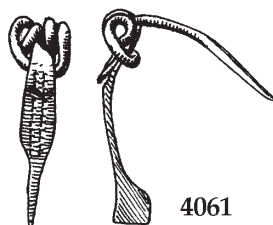
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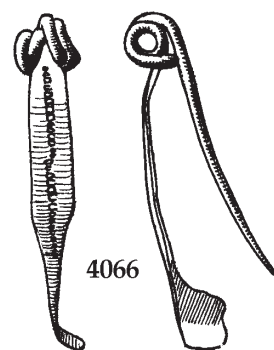
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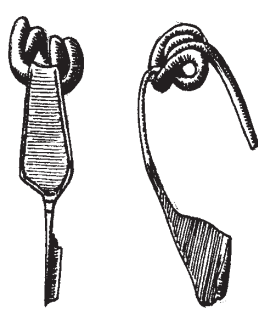


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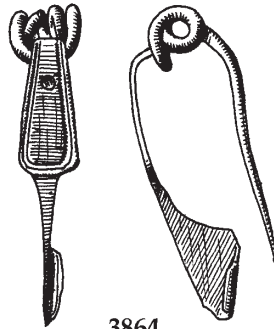


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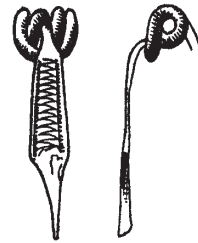




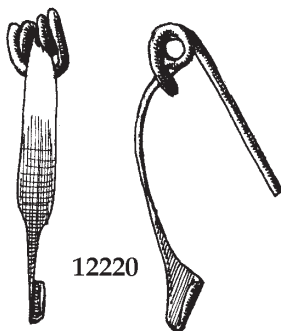
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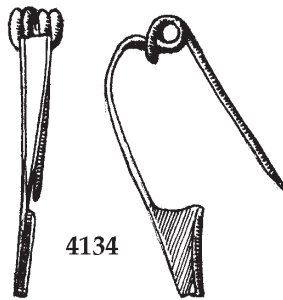
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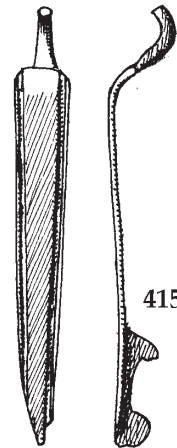
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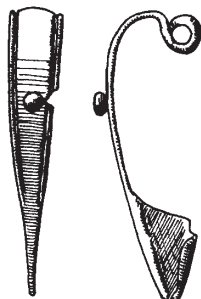
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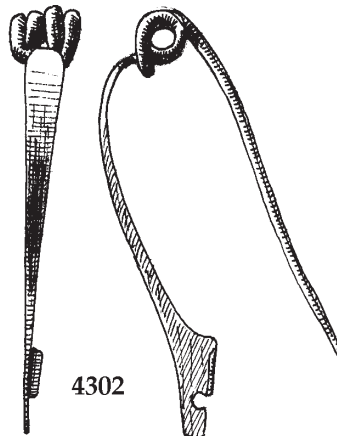
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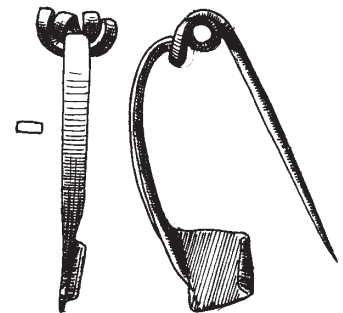
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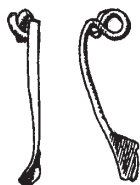
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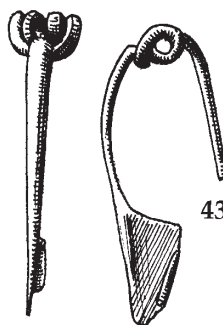
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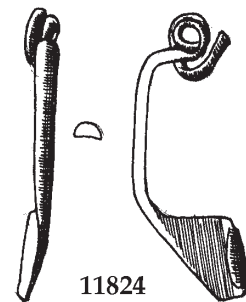
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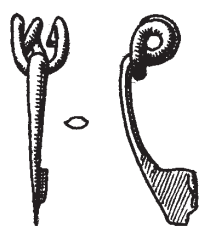


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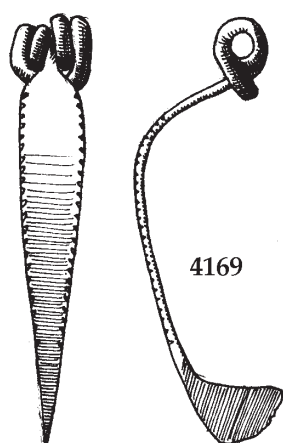


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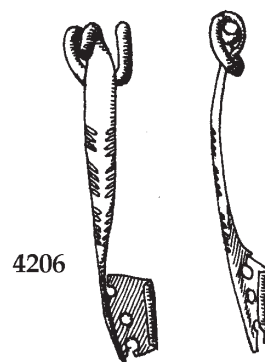




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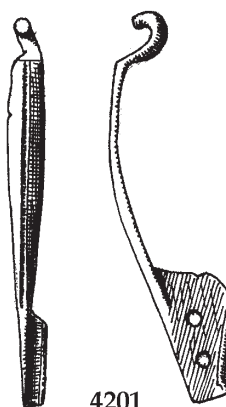
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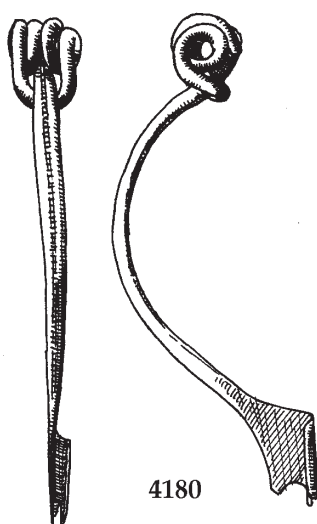
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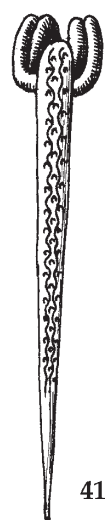
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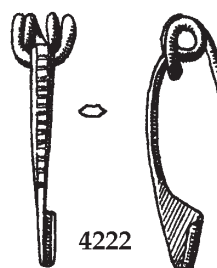
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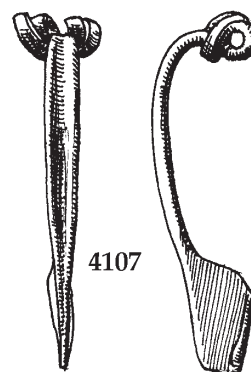
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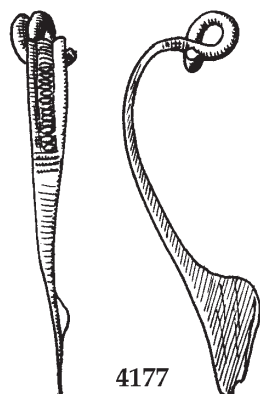
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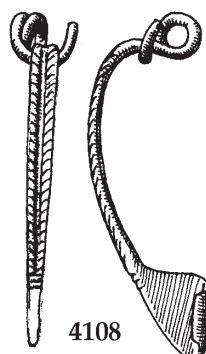
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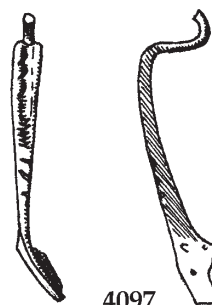
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4177



4108



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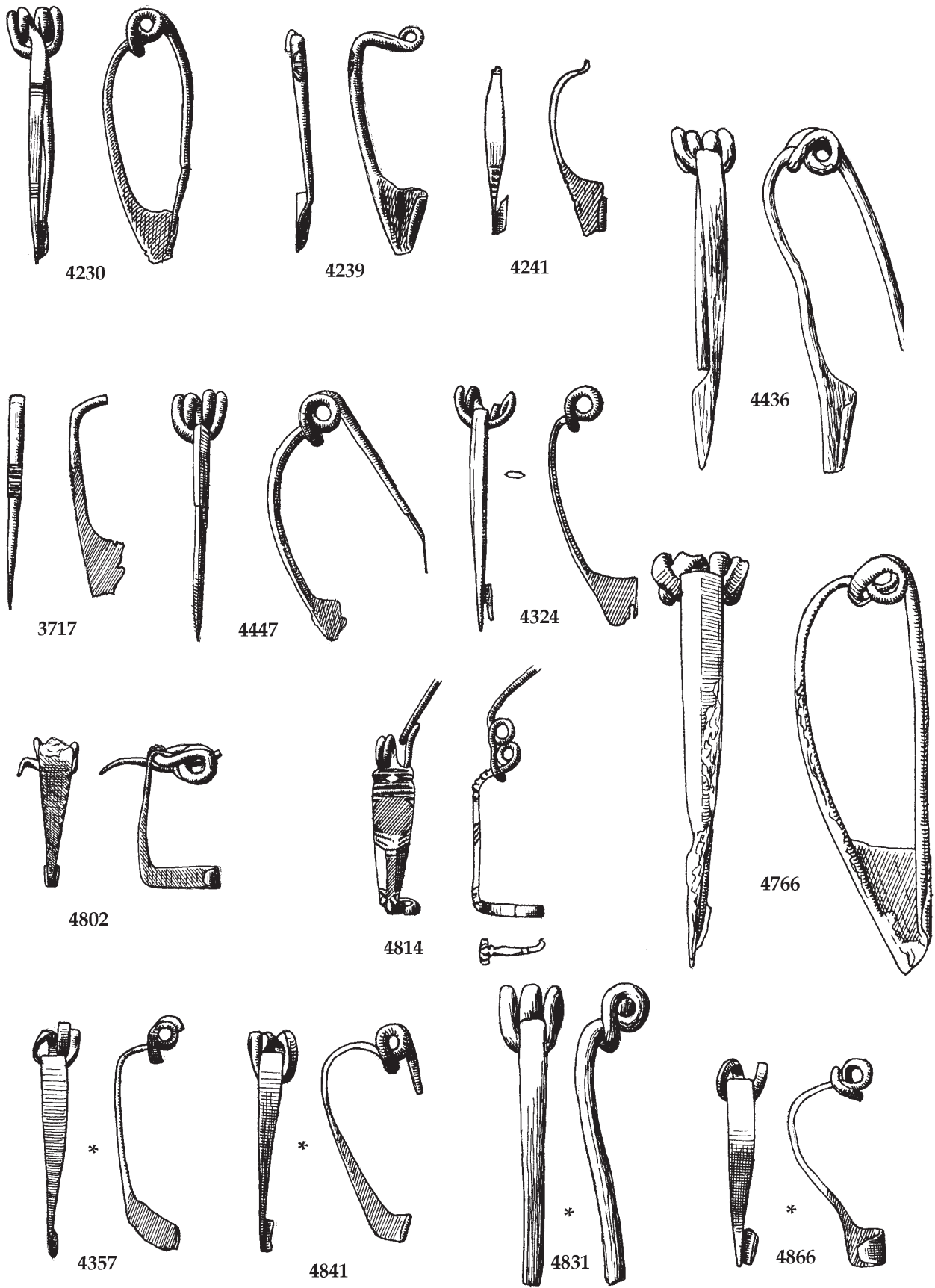
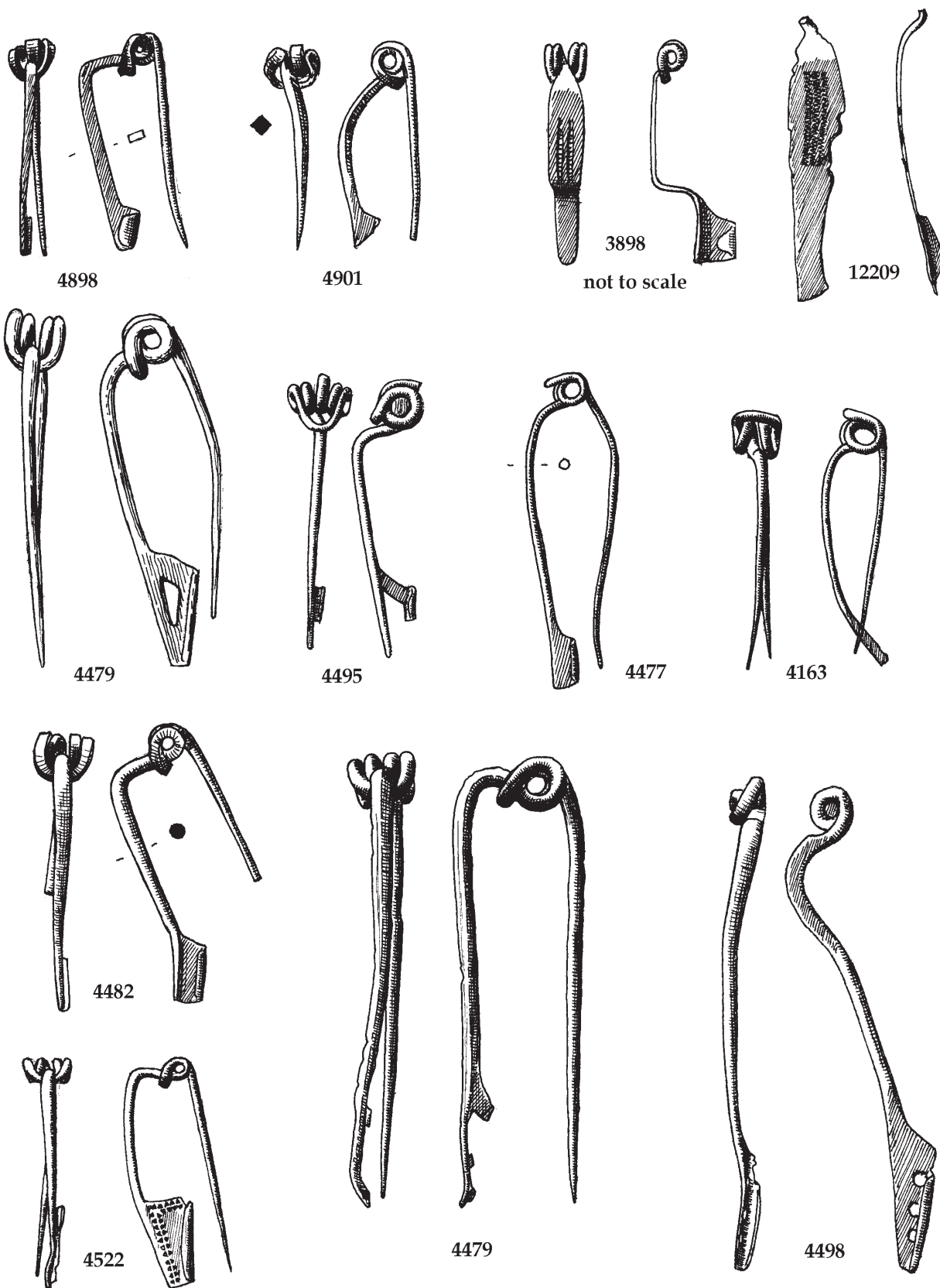
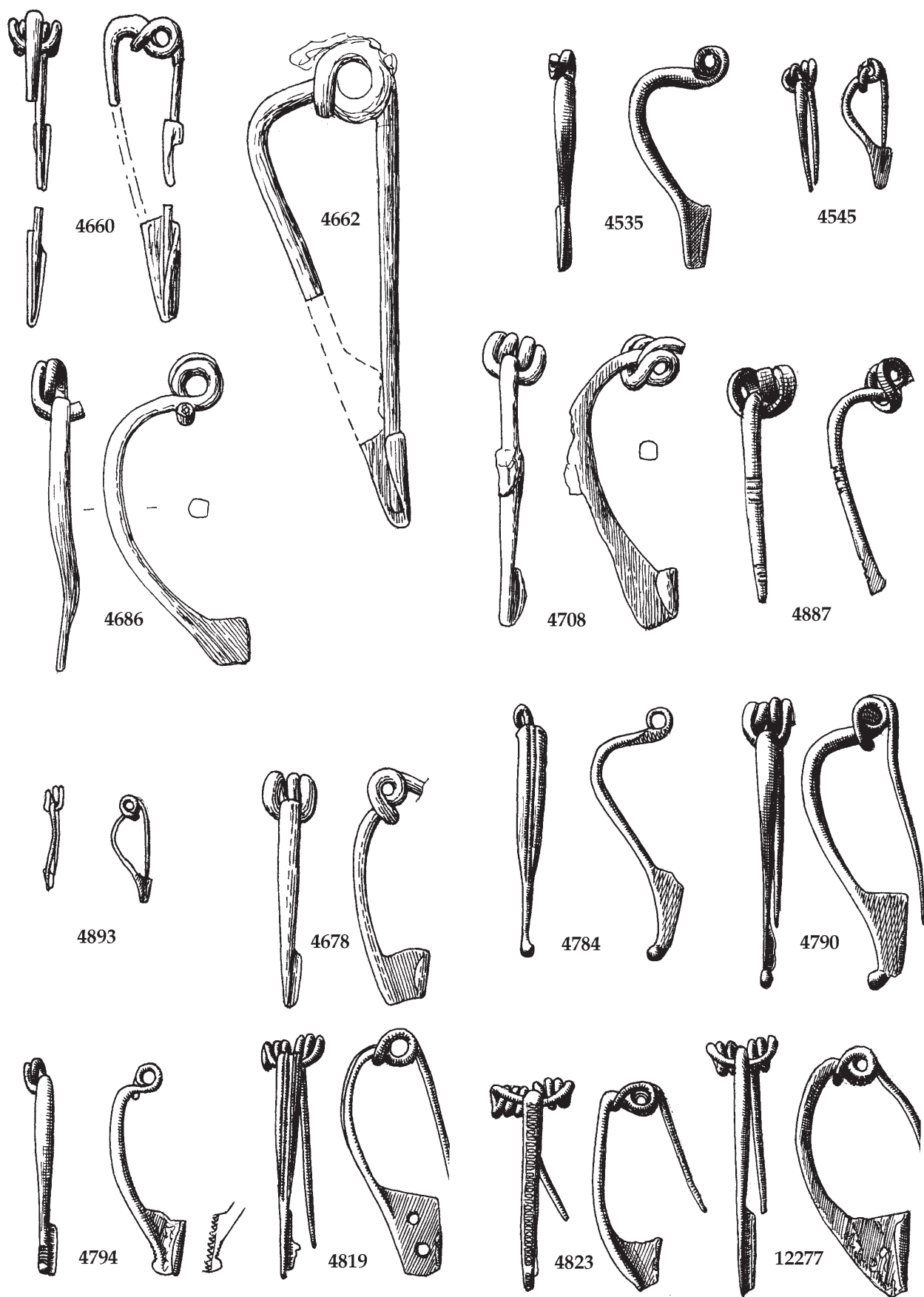


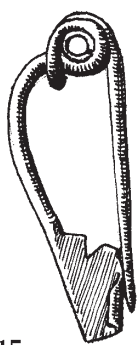
PLATE 10



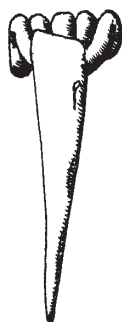




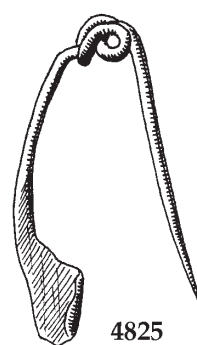
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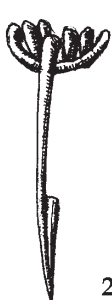
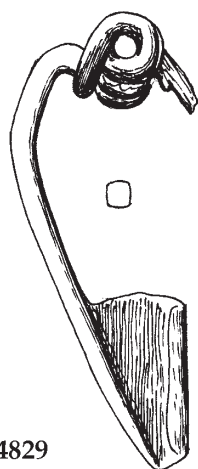
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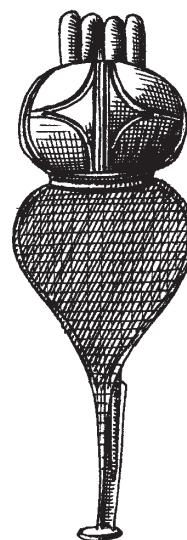
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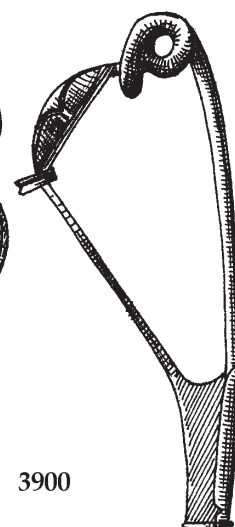
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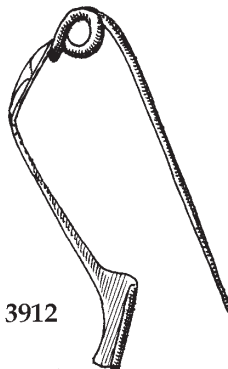
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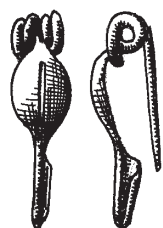
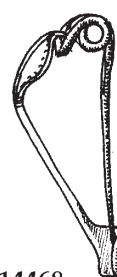
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not to scale



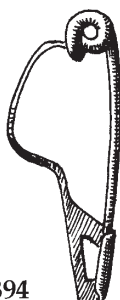
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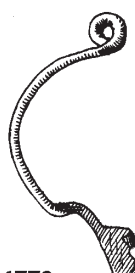
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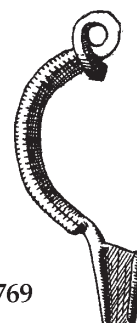
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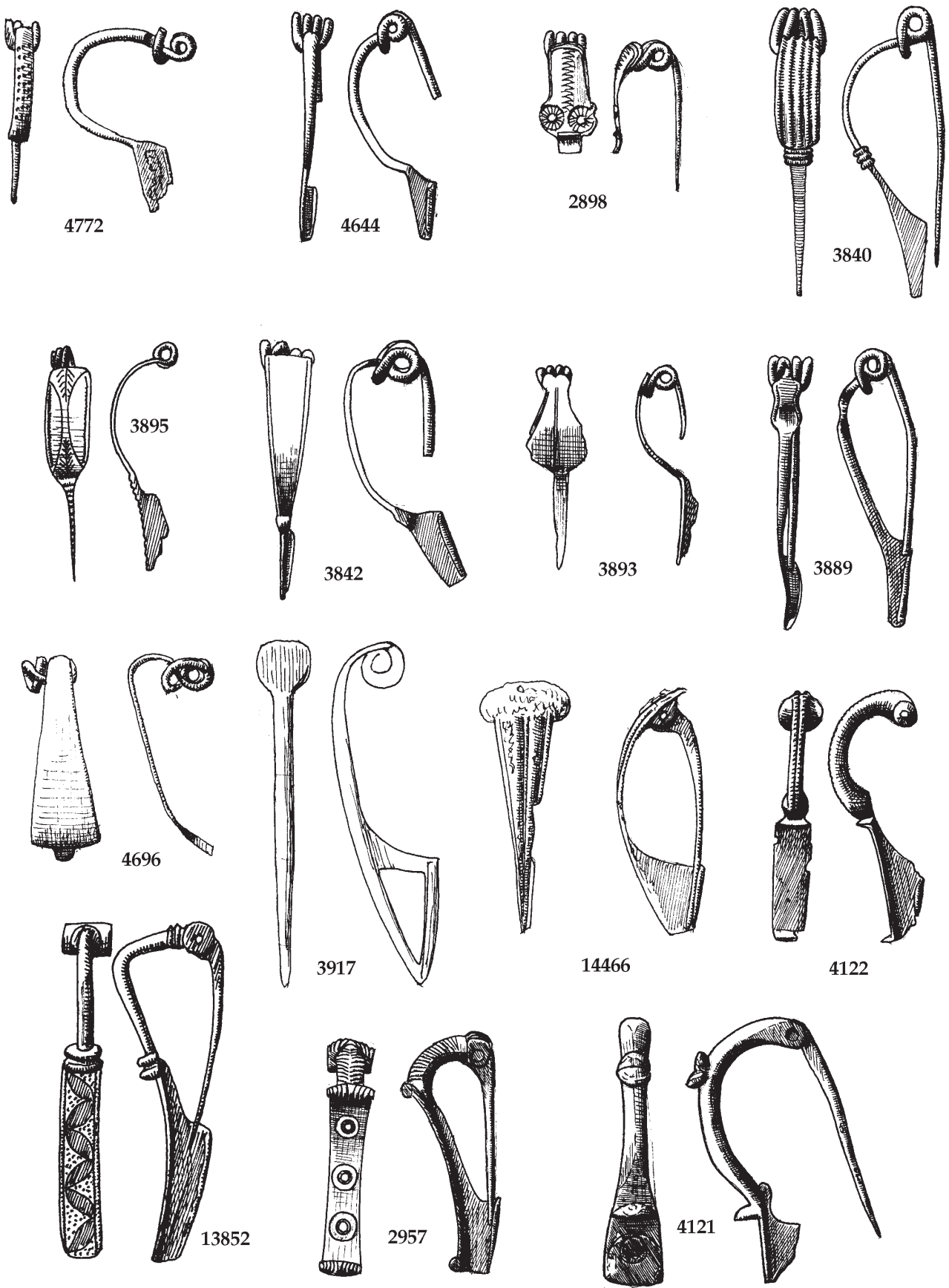


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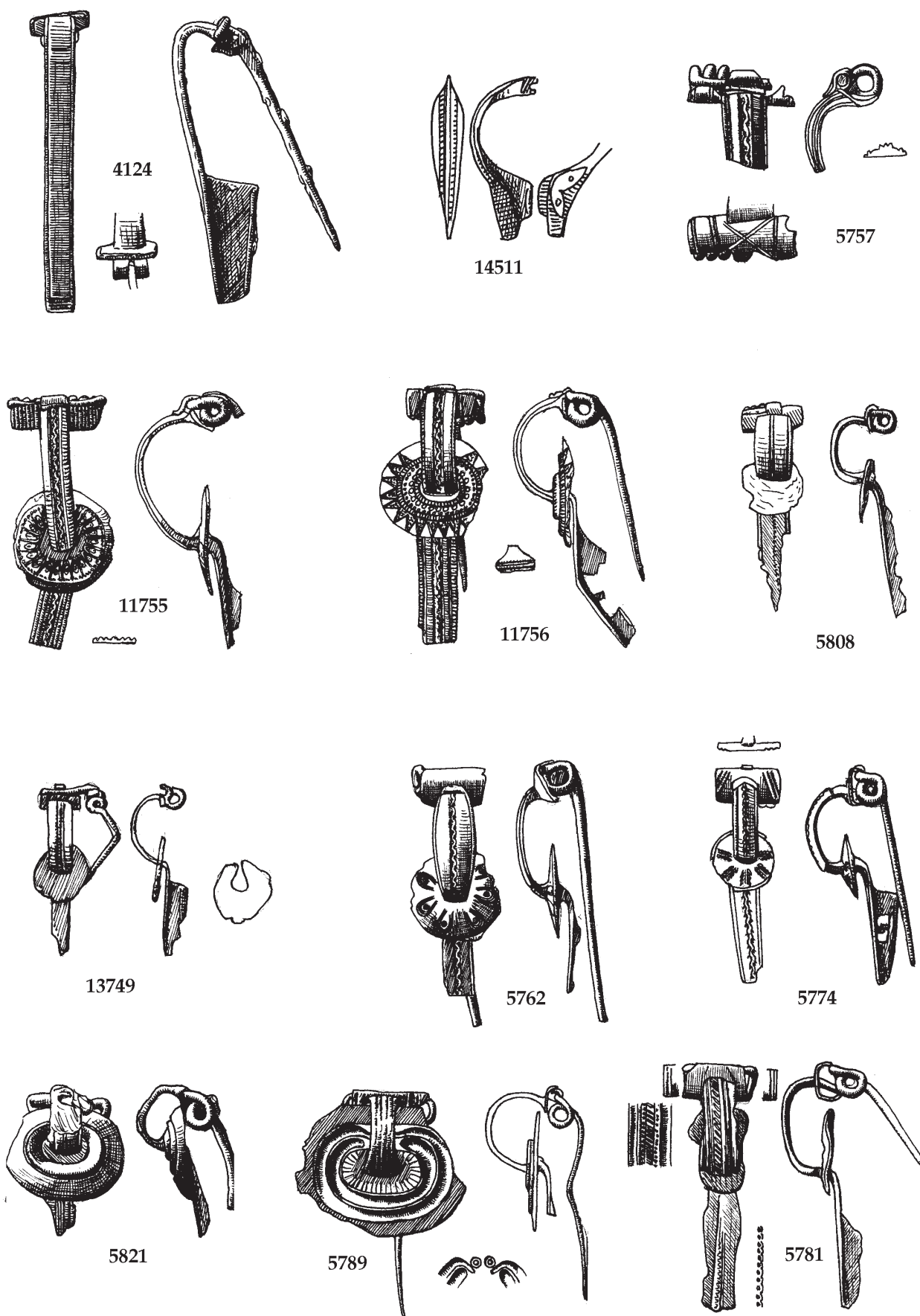
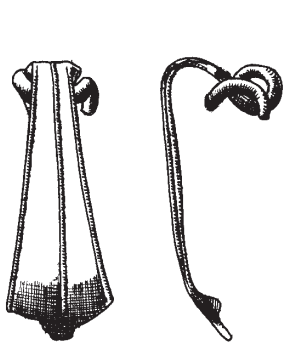
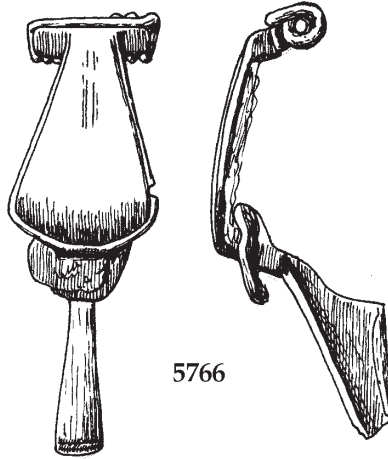


PLATE 15

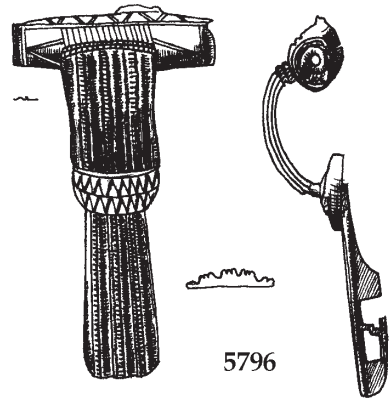




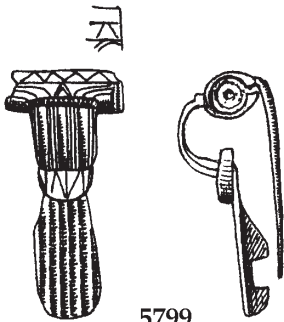
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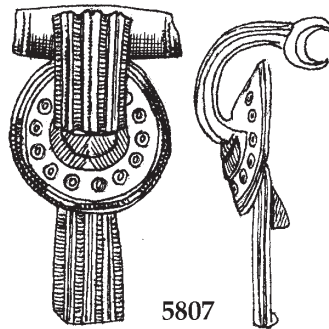
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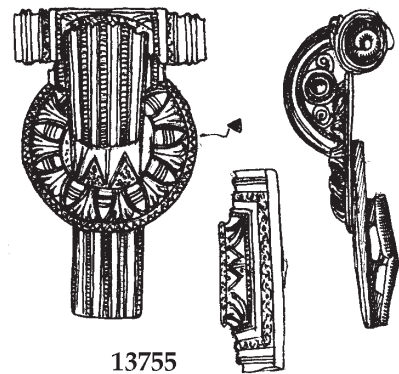
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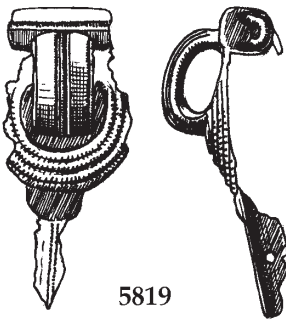
5799



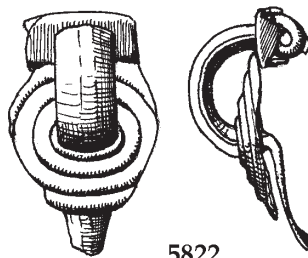
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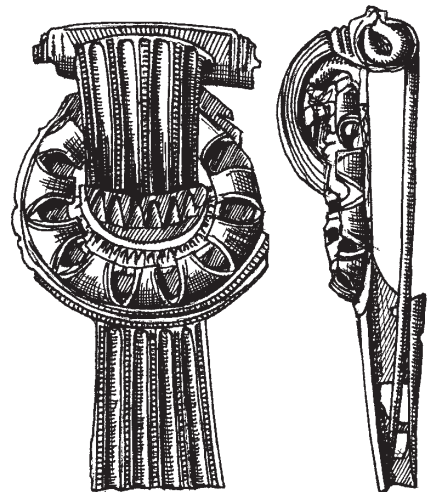
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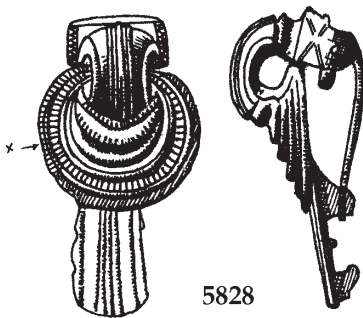
5819



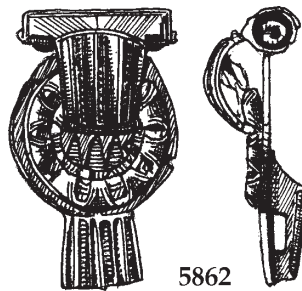
5822



5855



5828



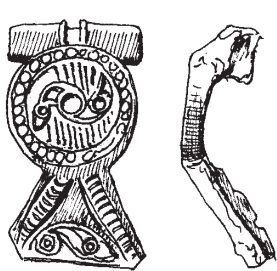
5862



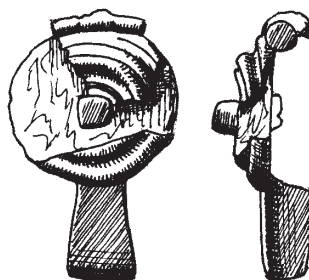




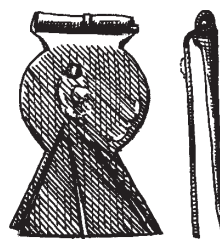
PLATE 18



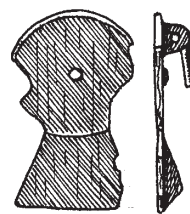
14896



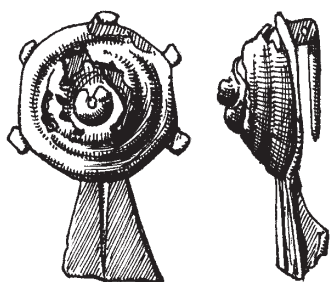
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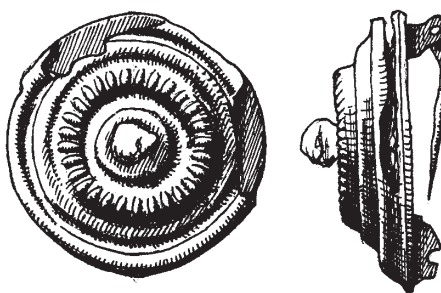
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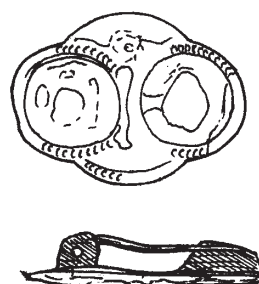
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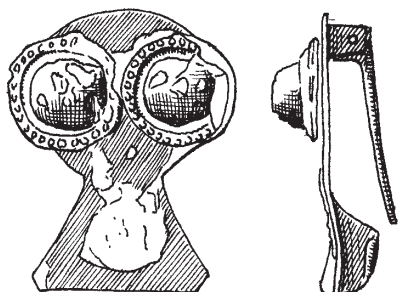
2308



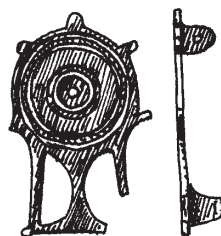
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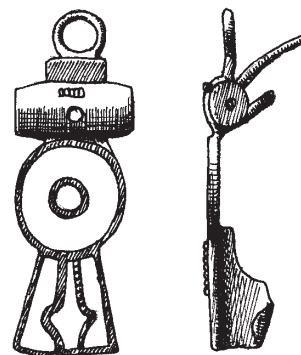
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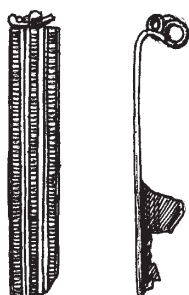
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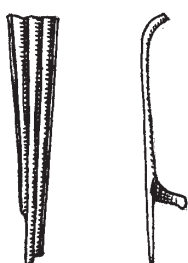
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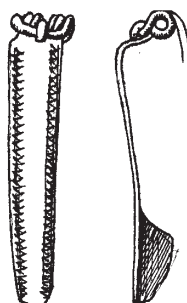
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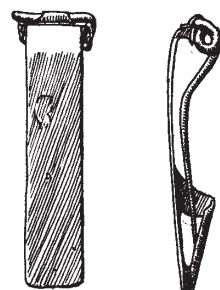
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4172



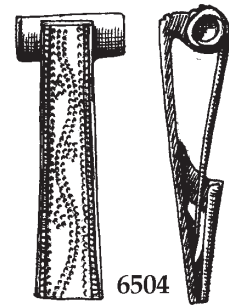
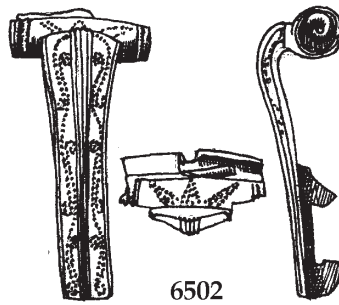
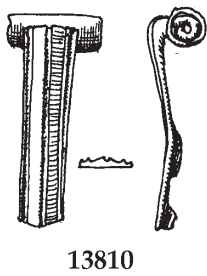
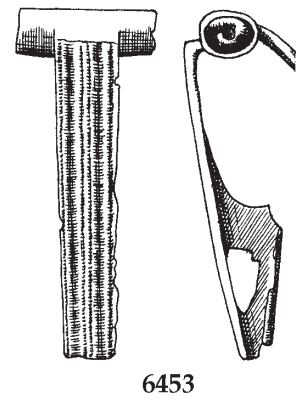
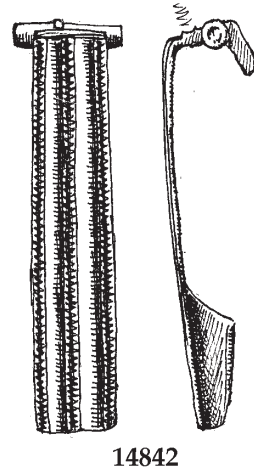
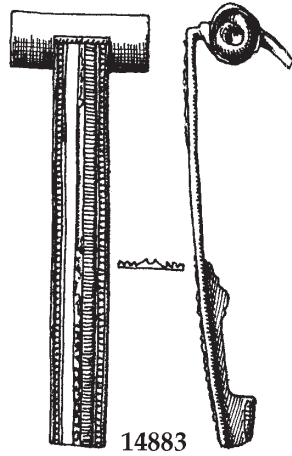
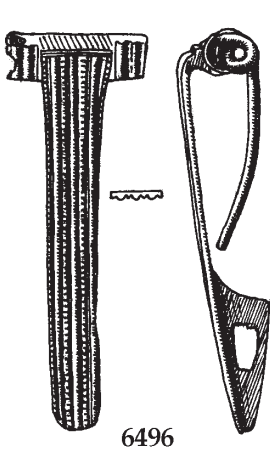
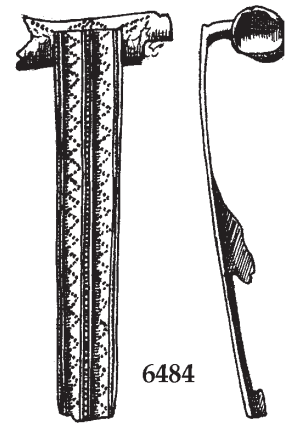
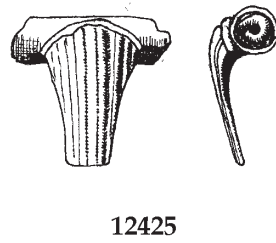
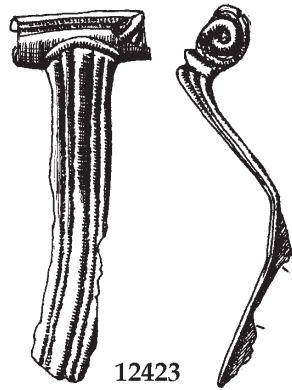
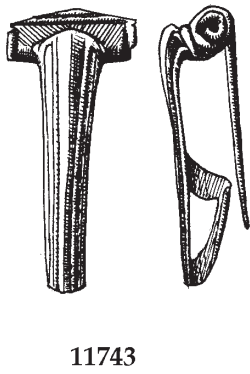
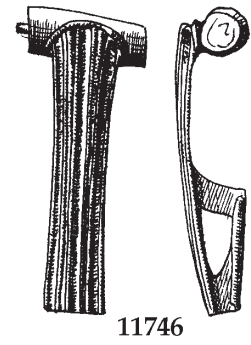
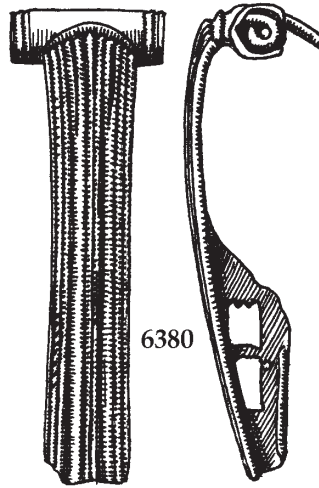
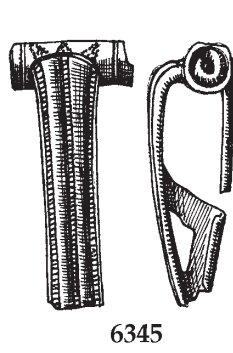
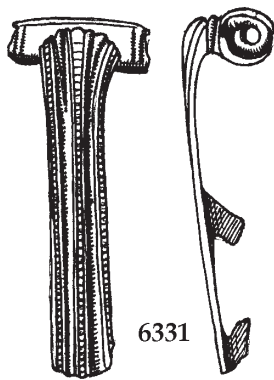
6311



6320

PLATE 19







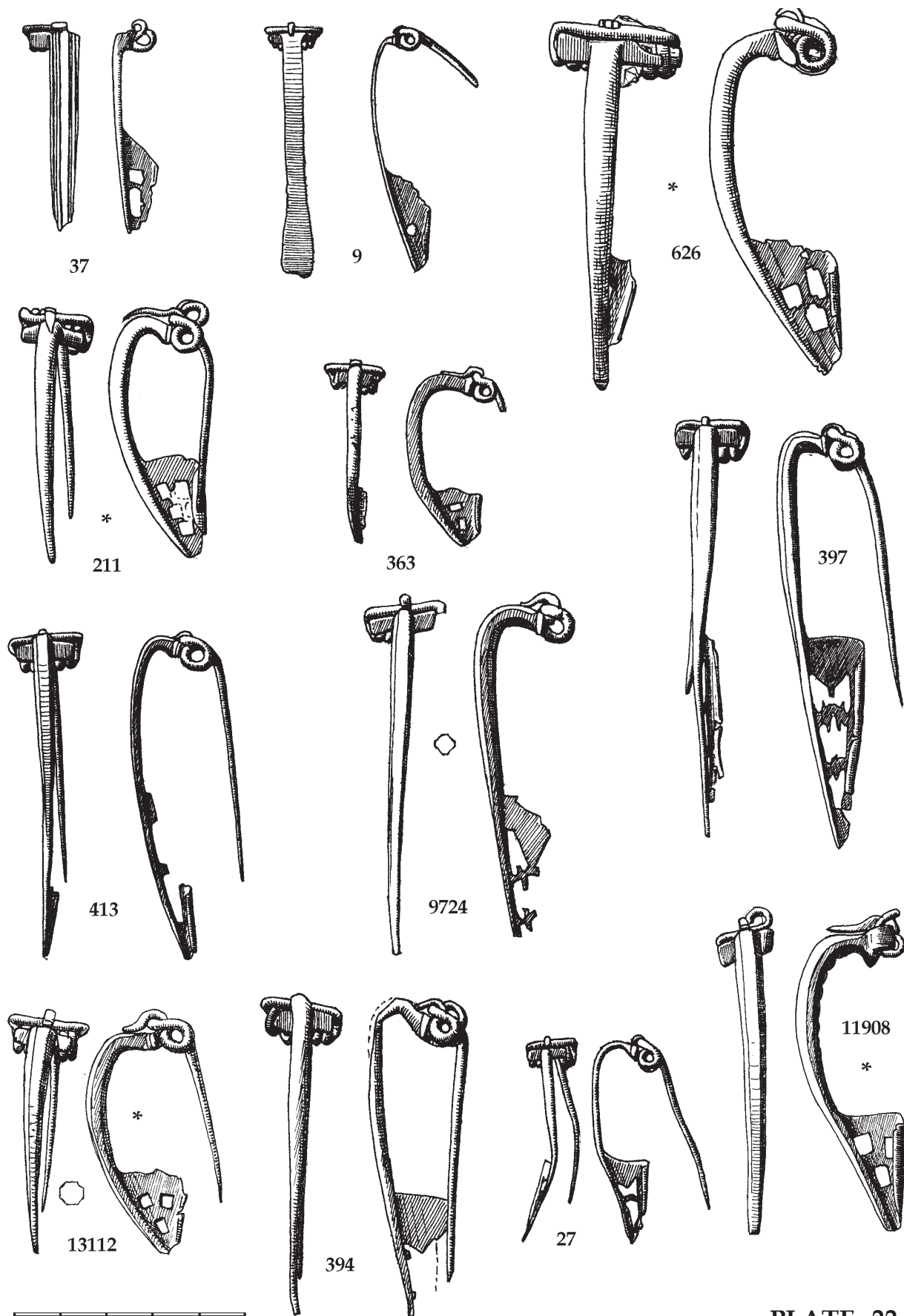
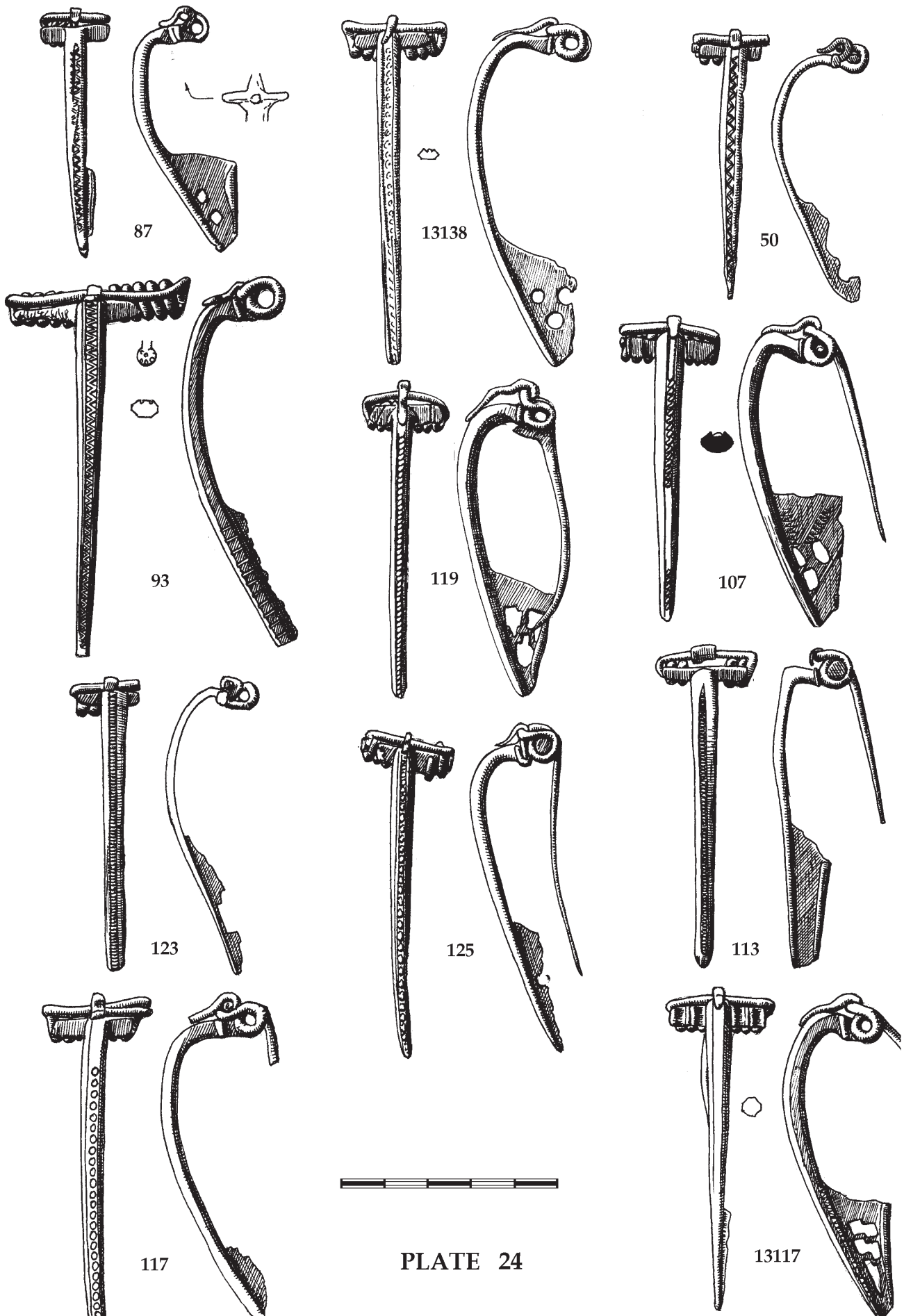


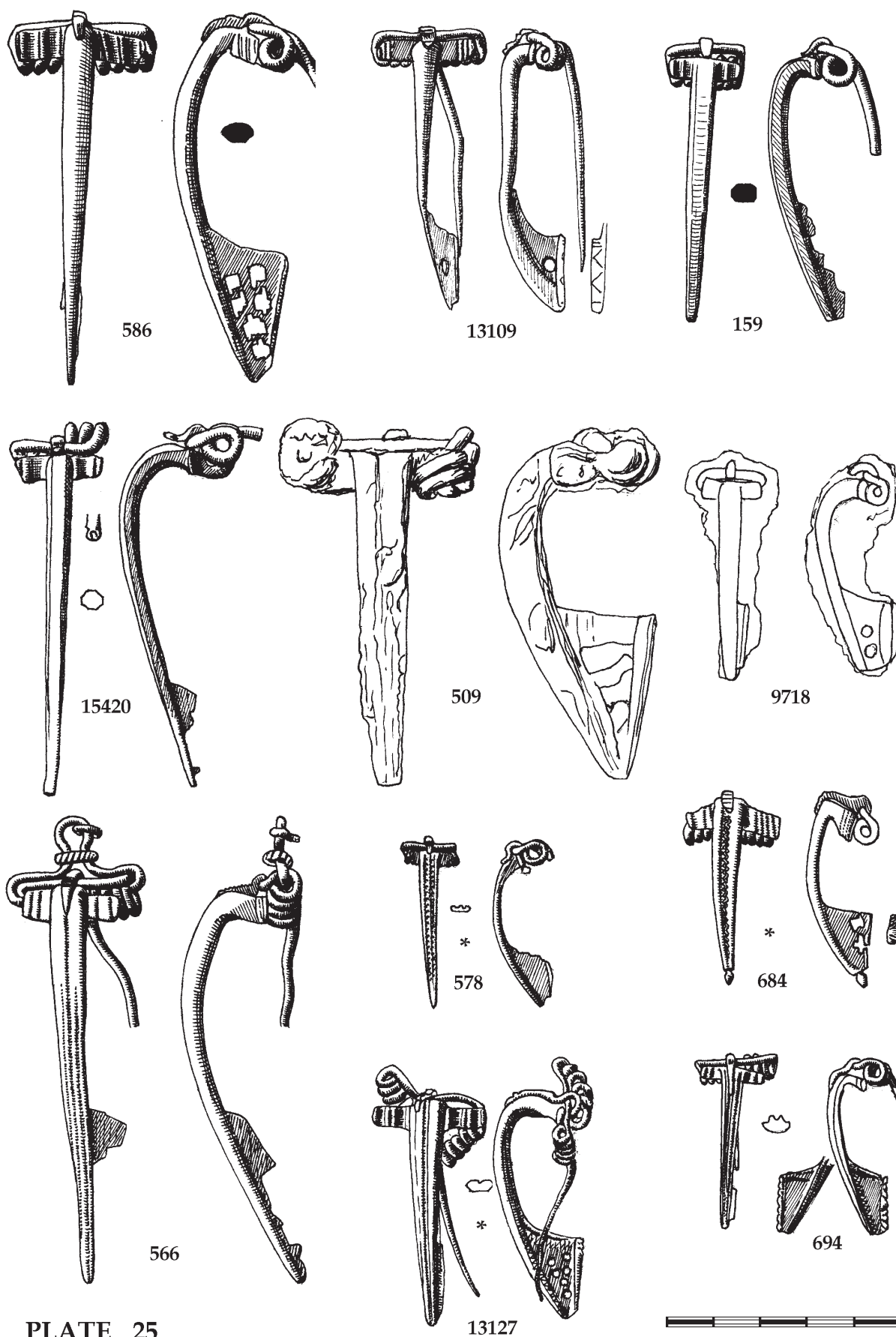
PLATE 22

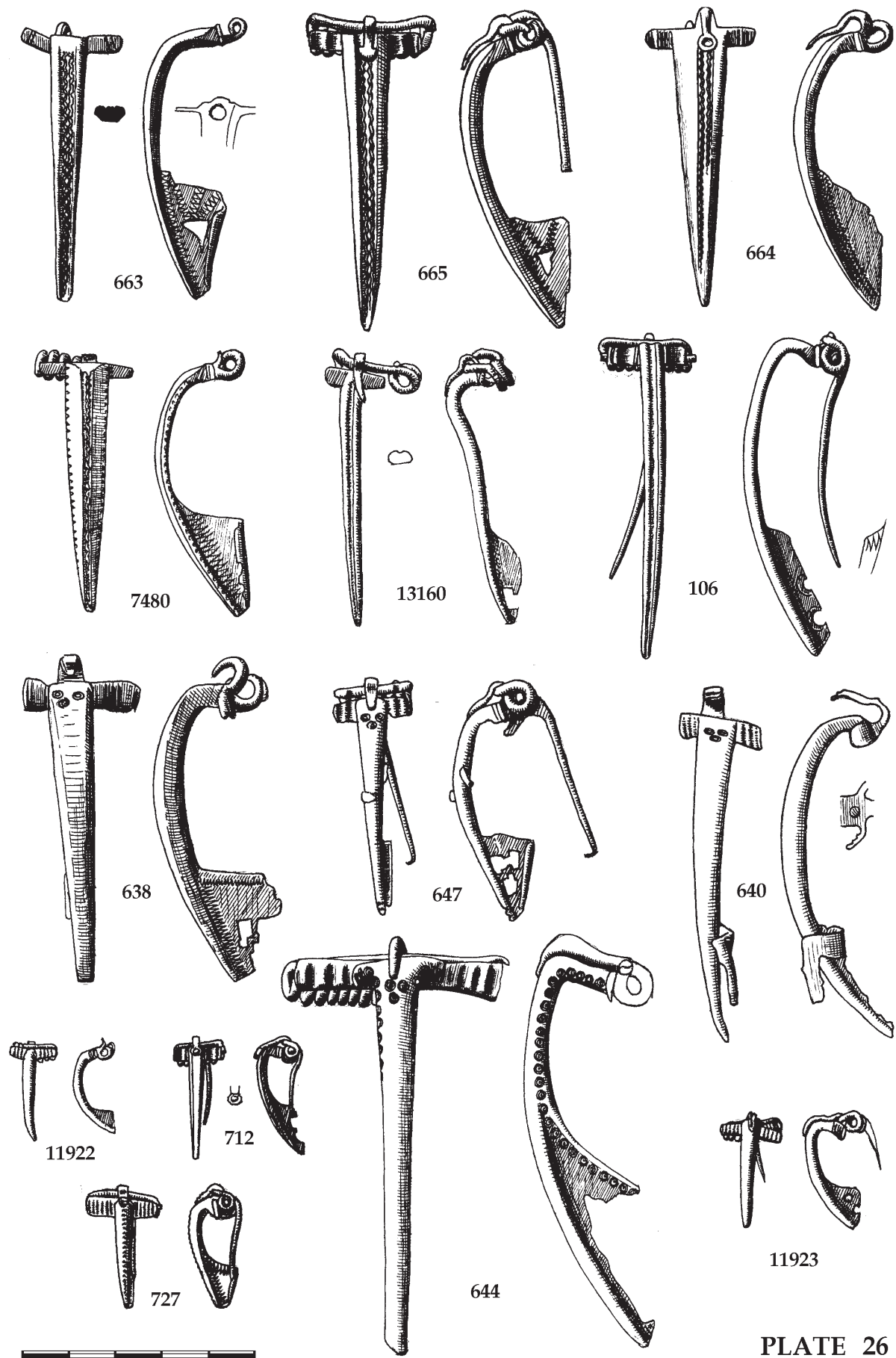


PLATE 23









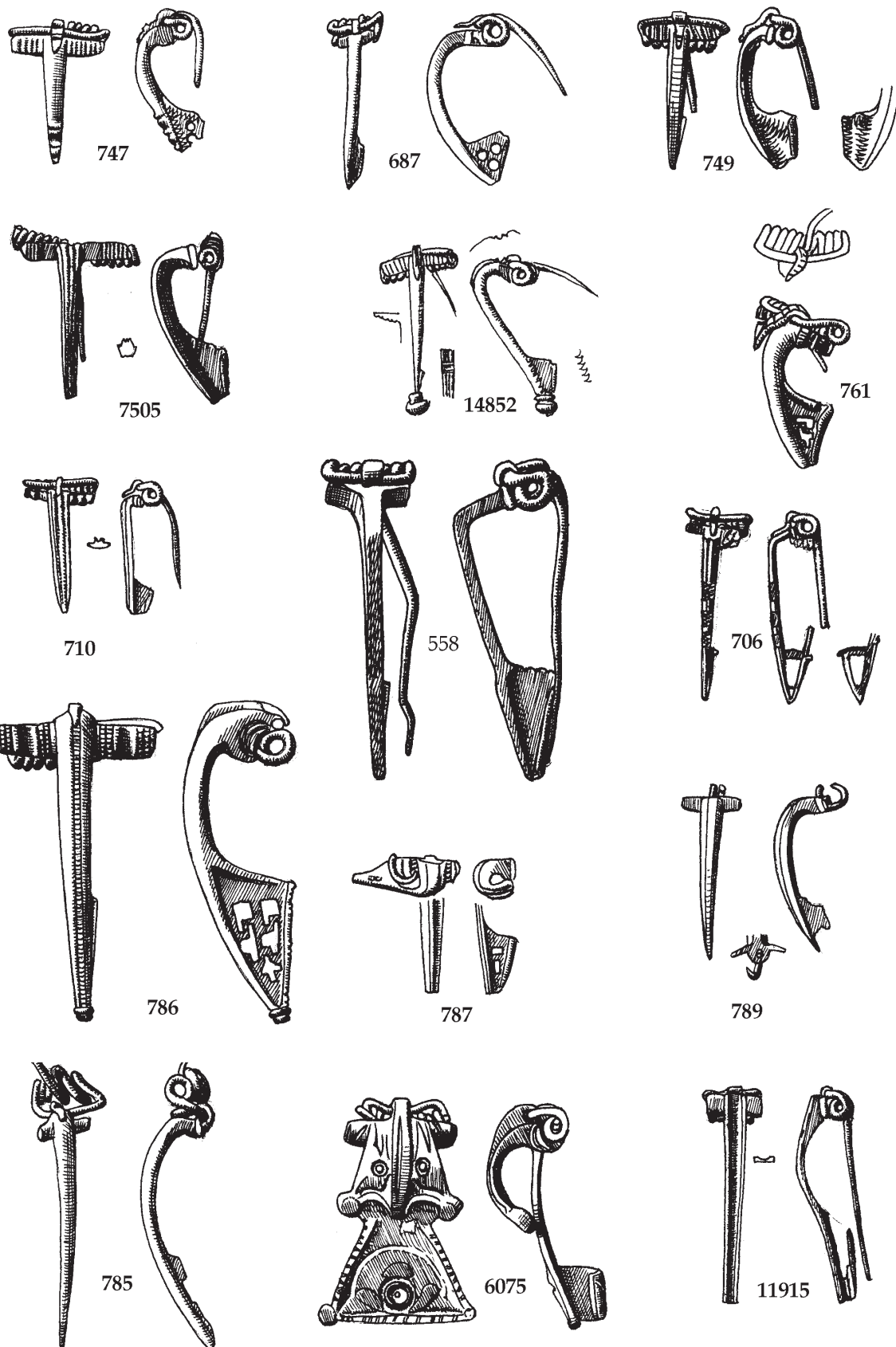
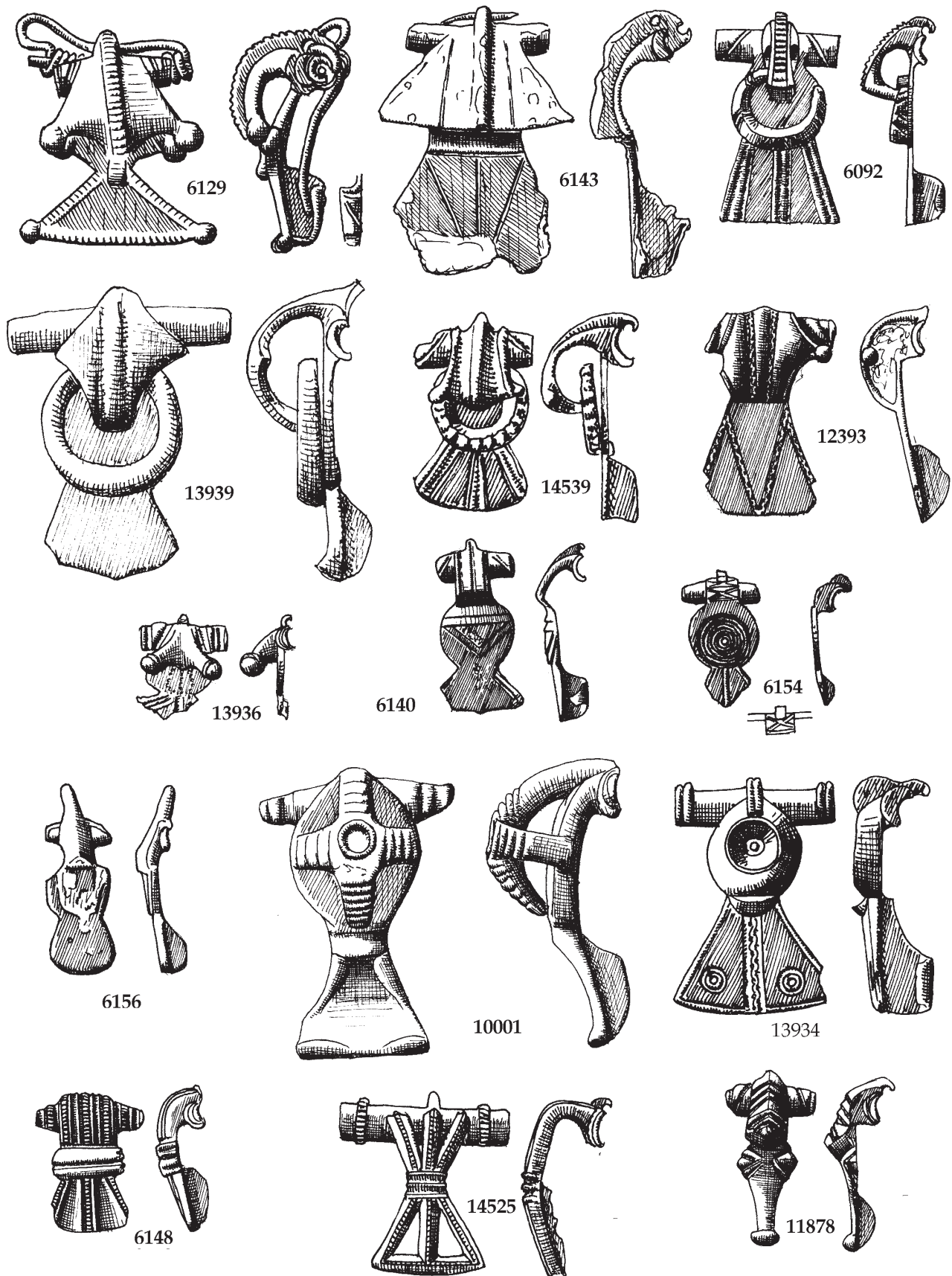
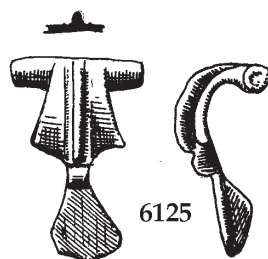
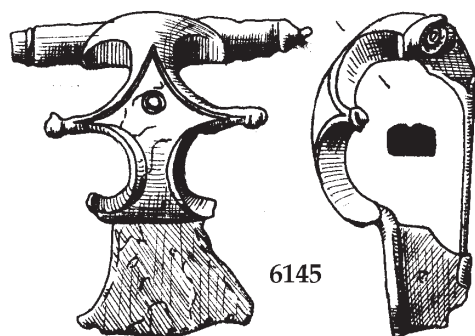
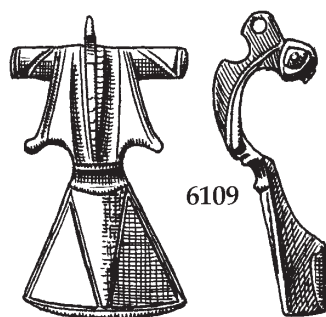
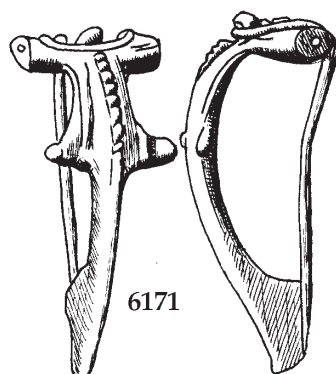
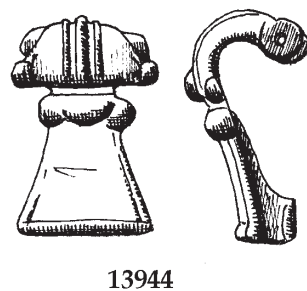
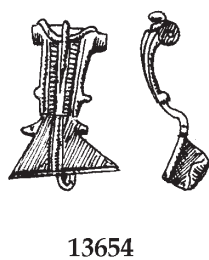
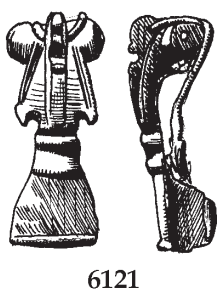
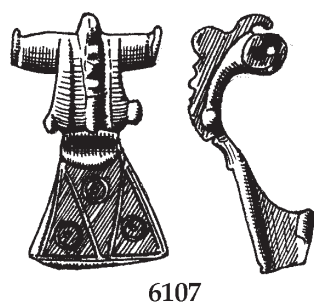
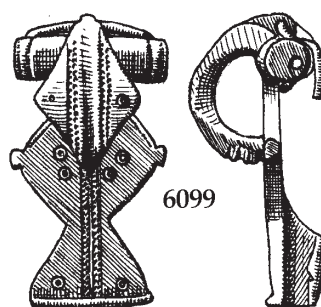
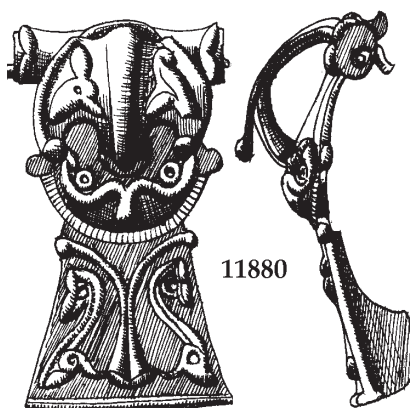
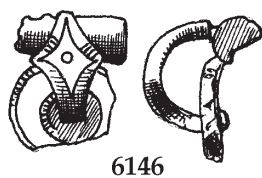
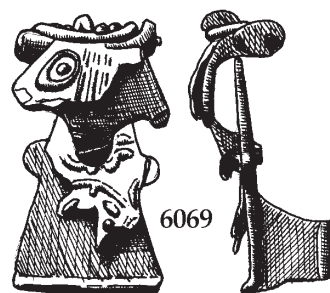
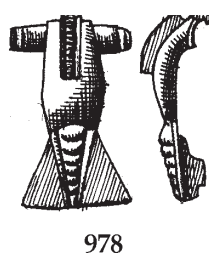
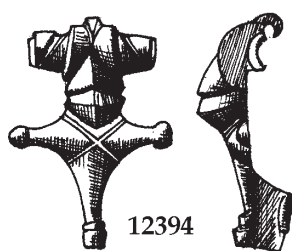
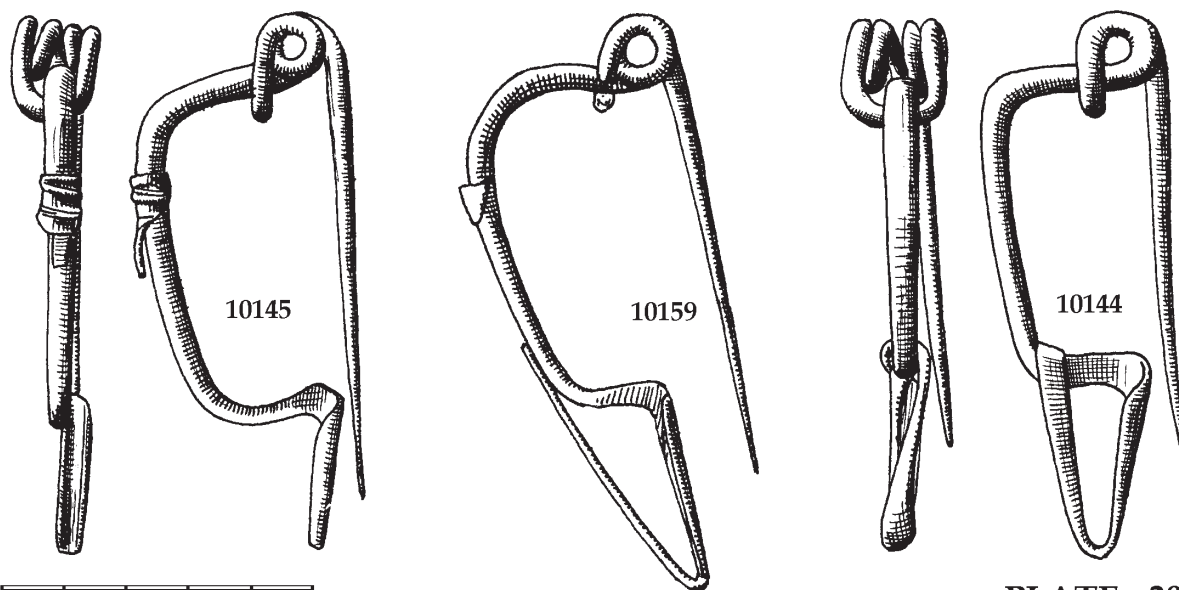
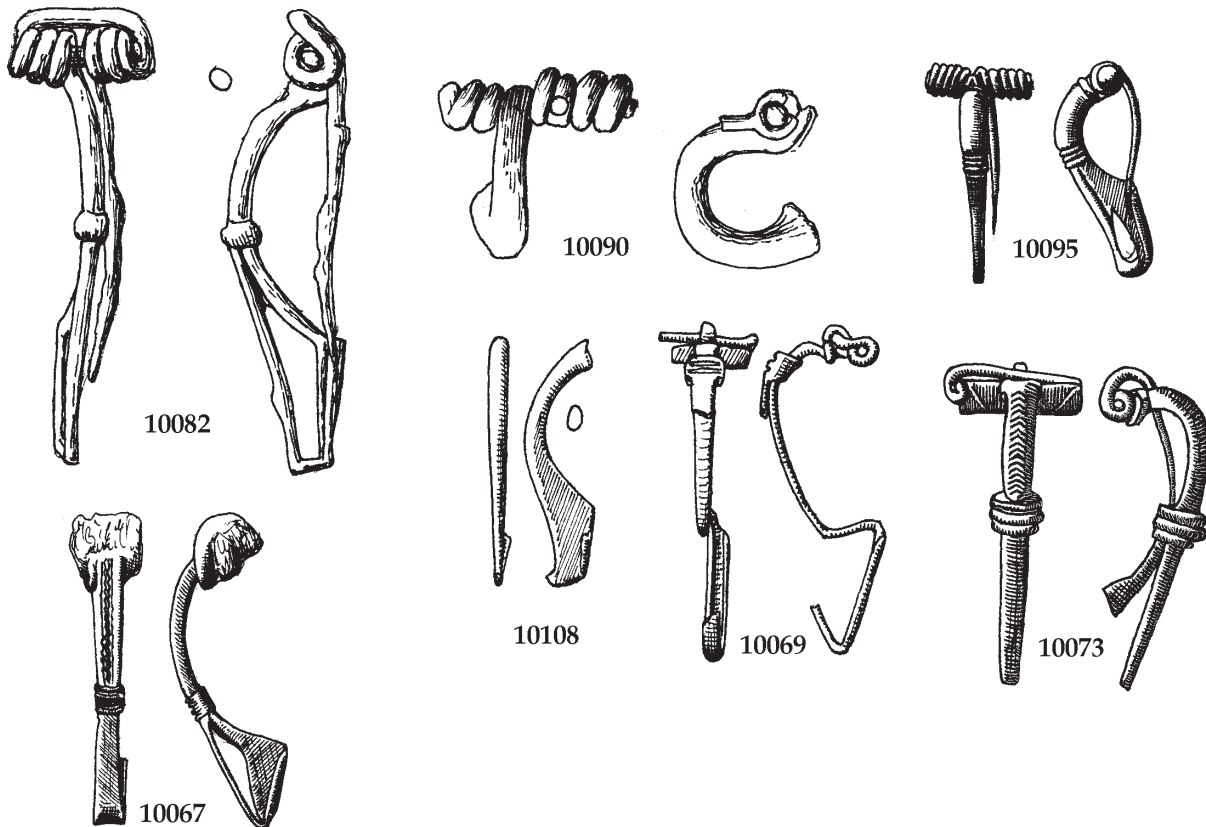
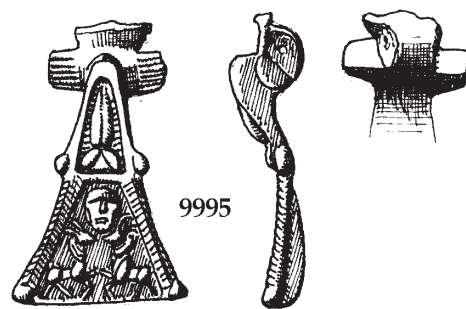


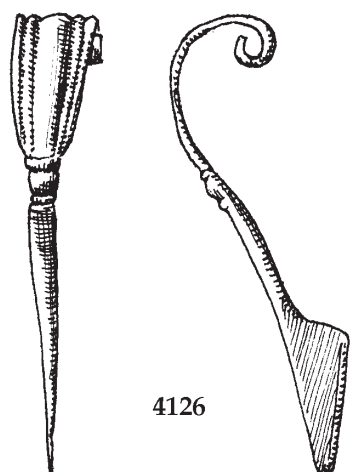
PLATE 27



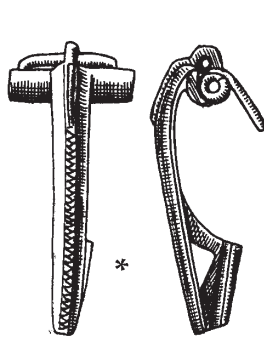




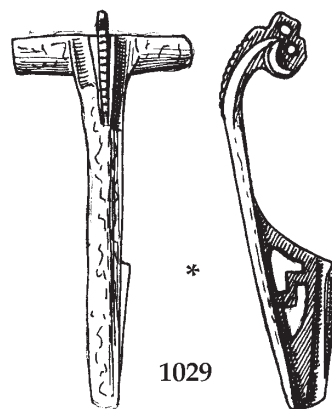




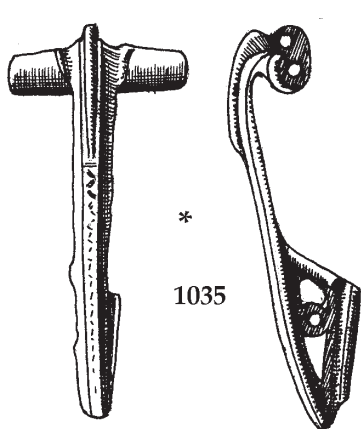
4126



1016

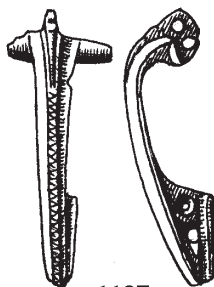


1029

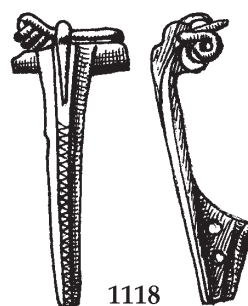


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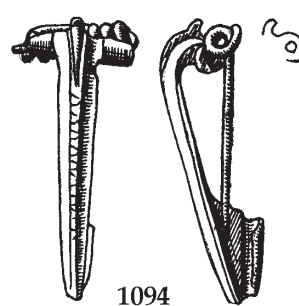
1035



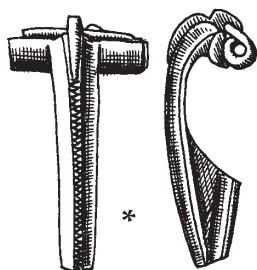
1127



1118

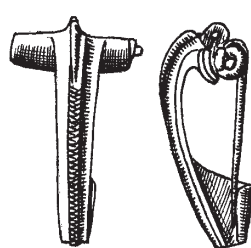


1094

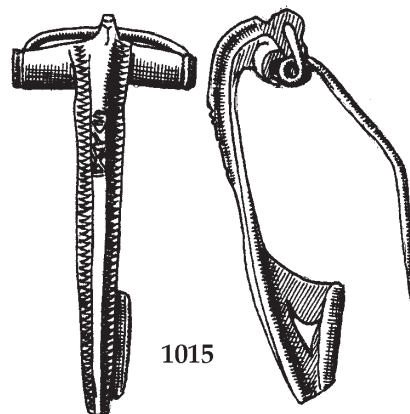


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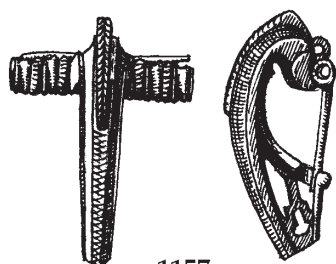
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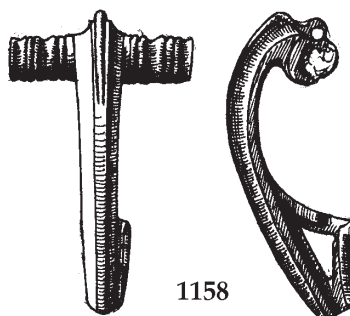
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1015



1157



1158



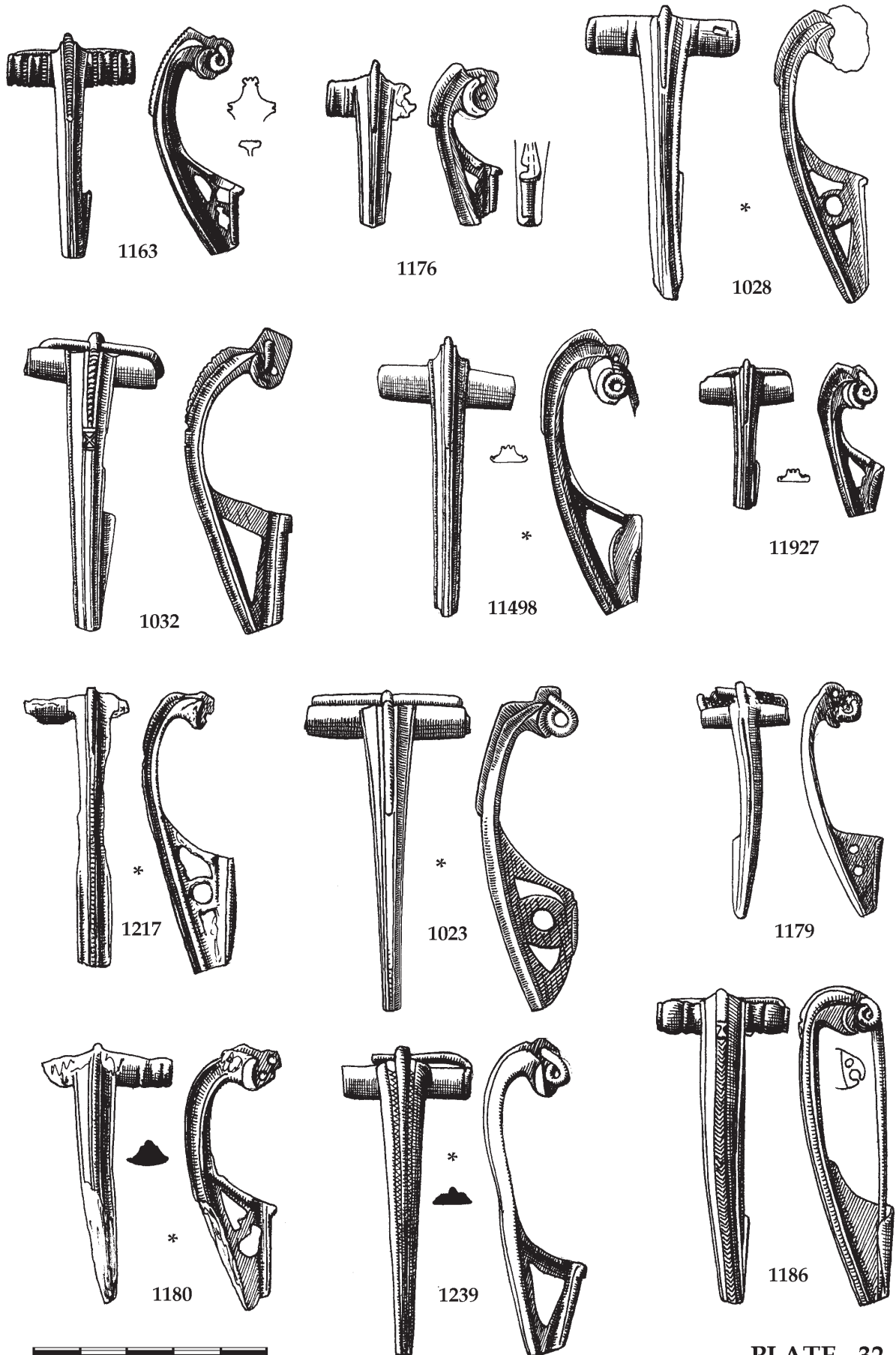
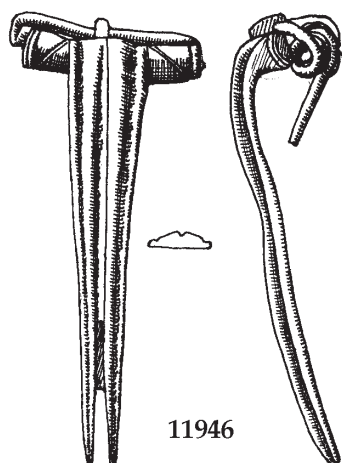
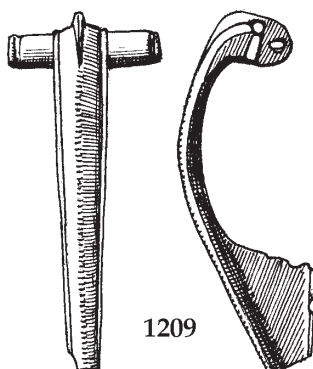


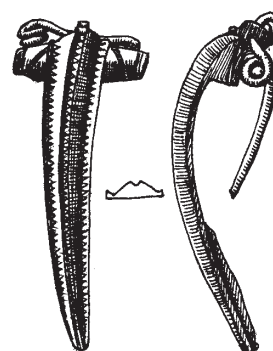
PLATE 32



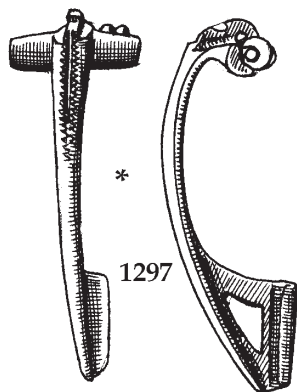
11946



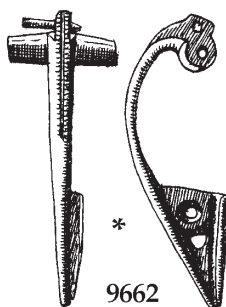
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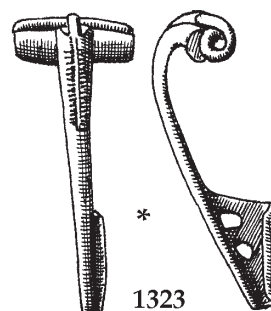
11493



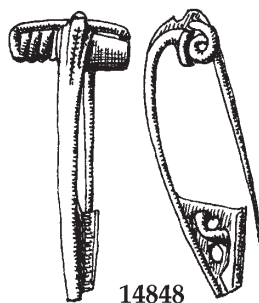
1297



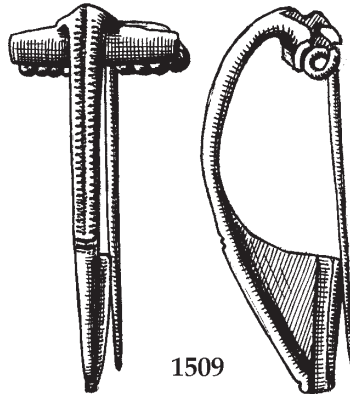
9662



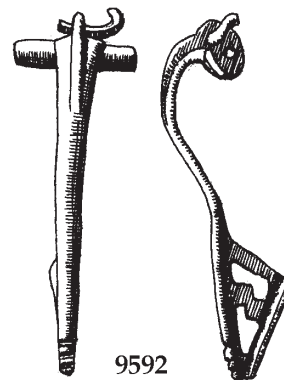
1323



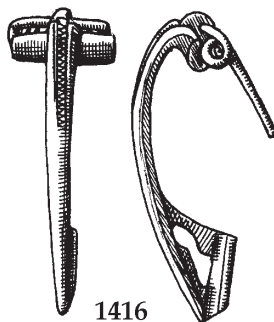
14848



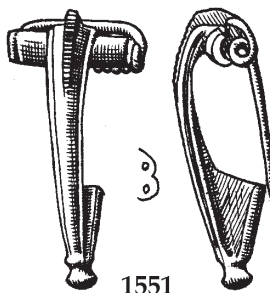
1509



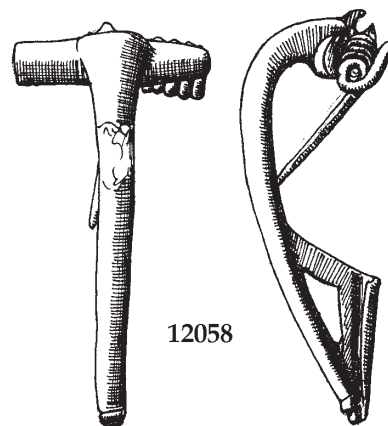
9592



1416



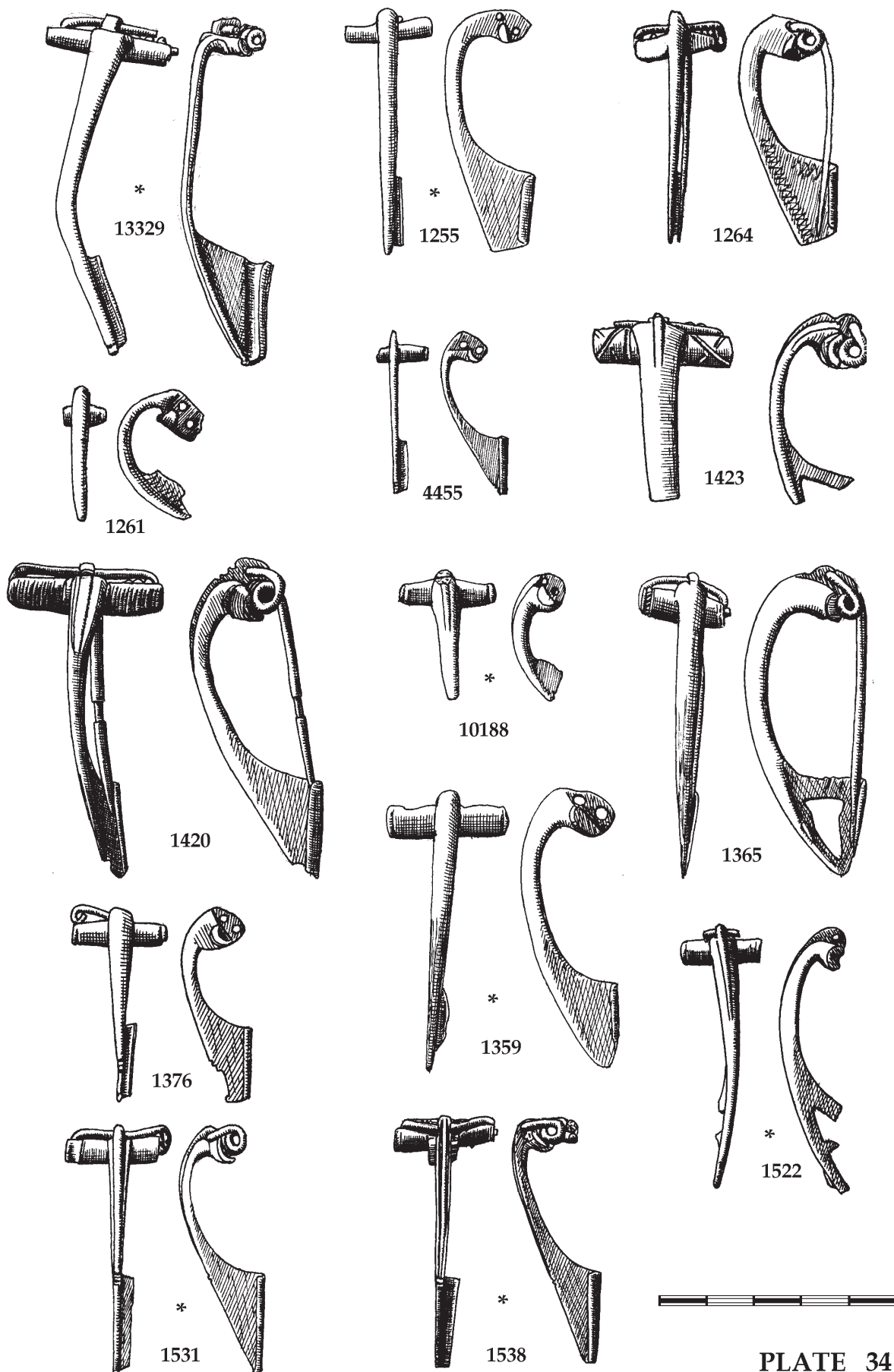
1551



12058

PLATE 33





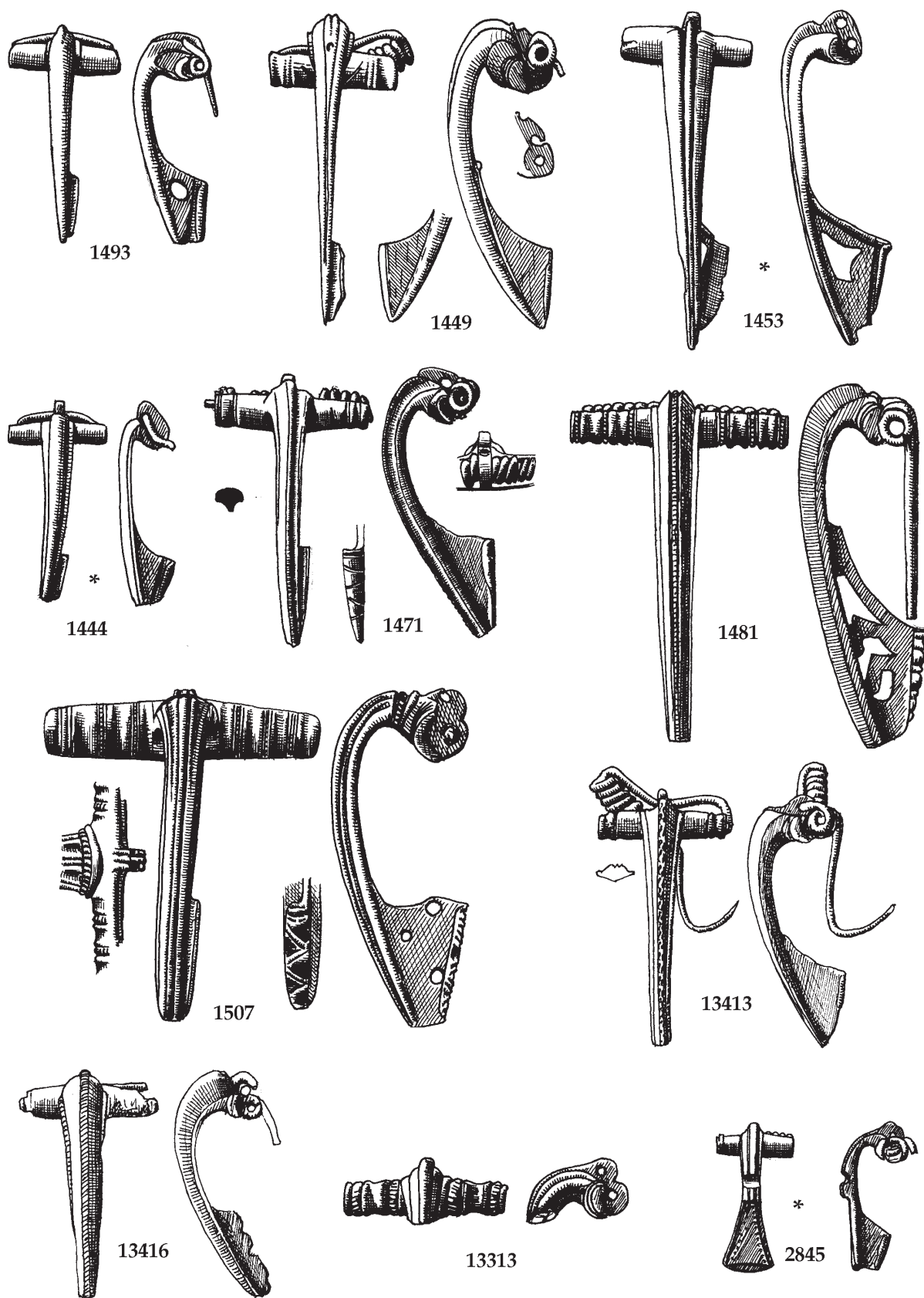
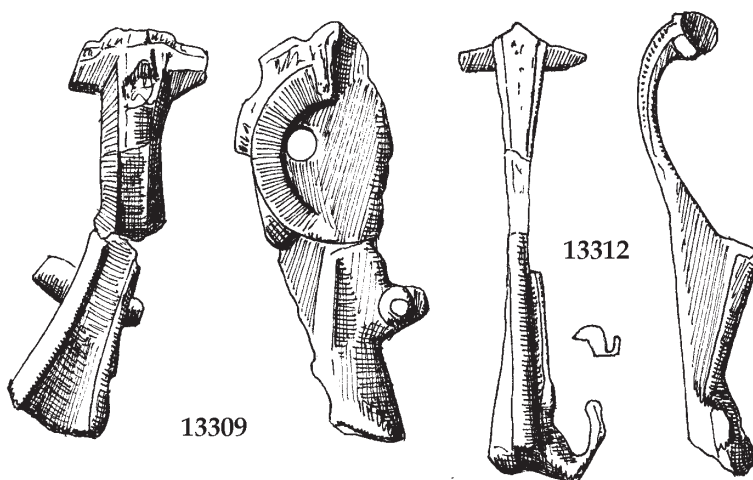
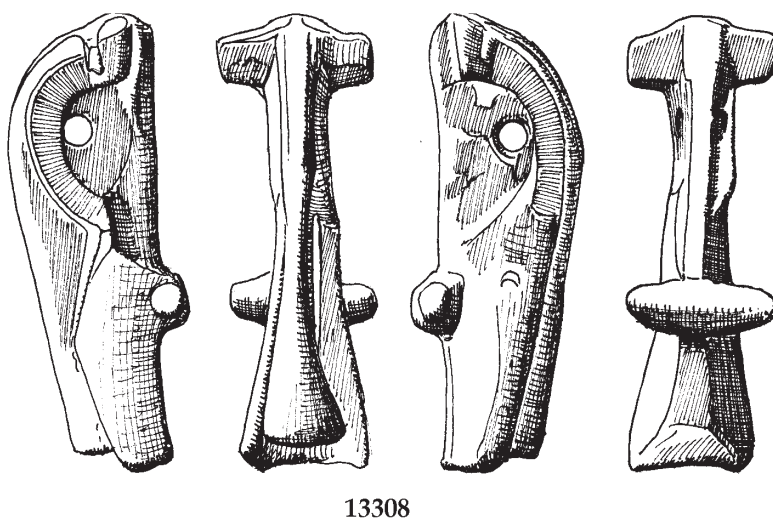
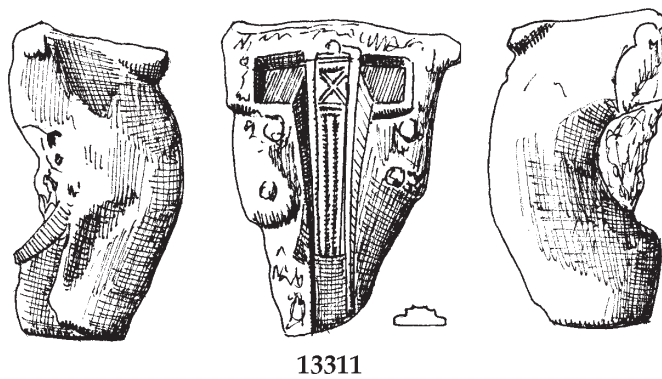
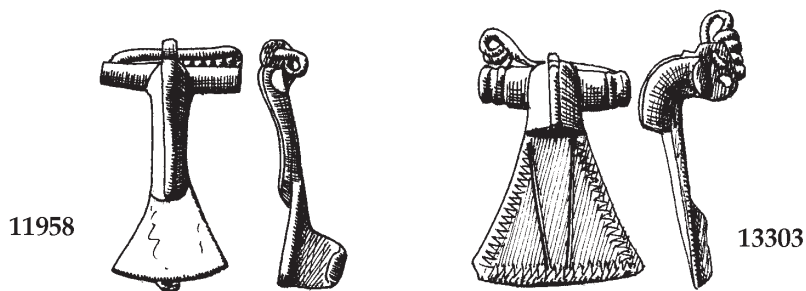
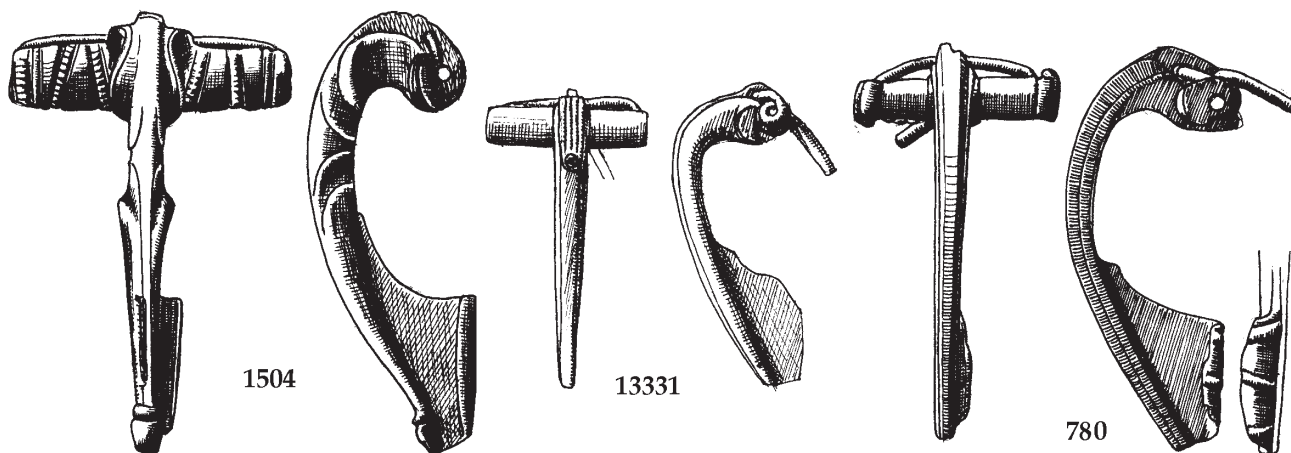
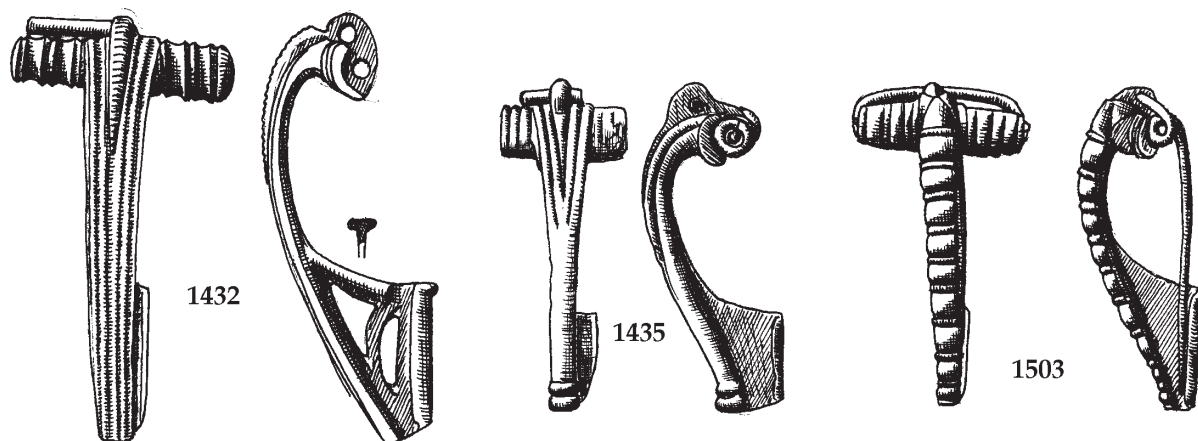
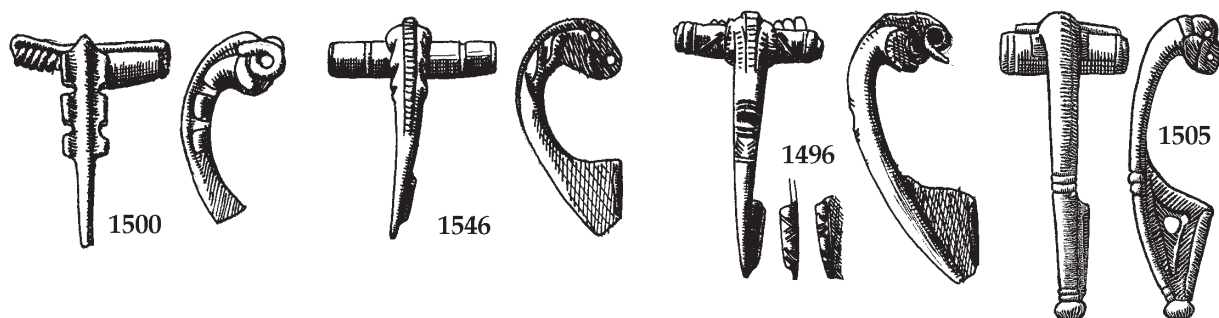
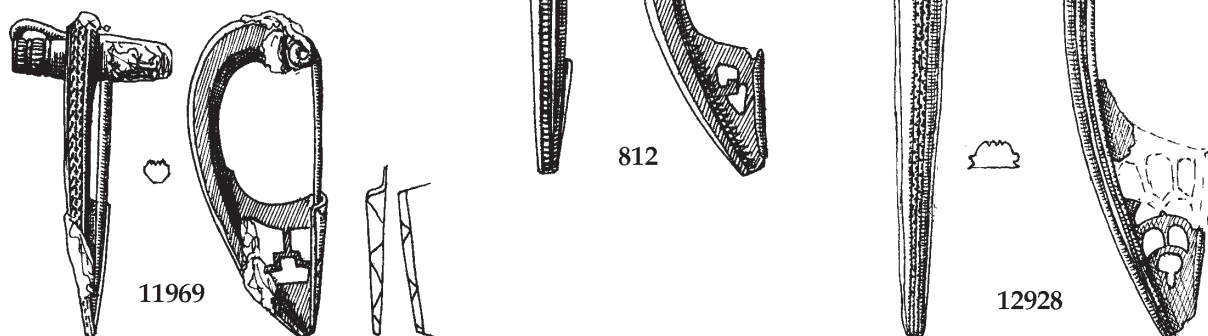
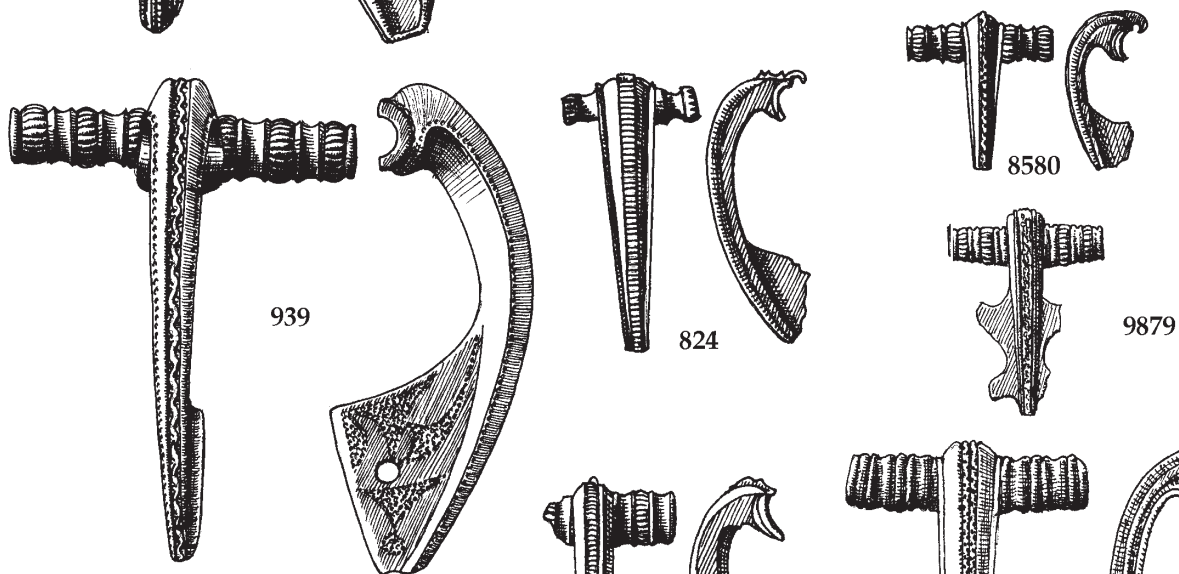
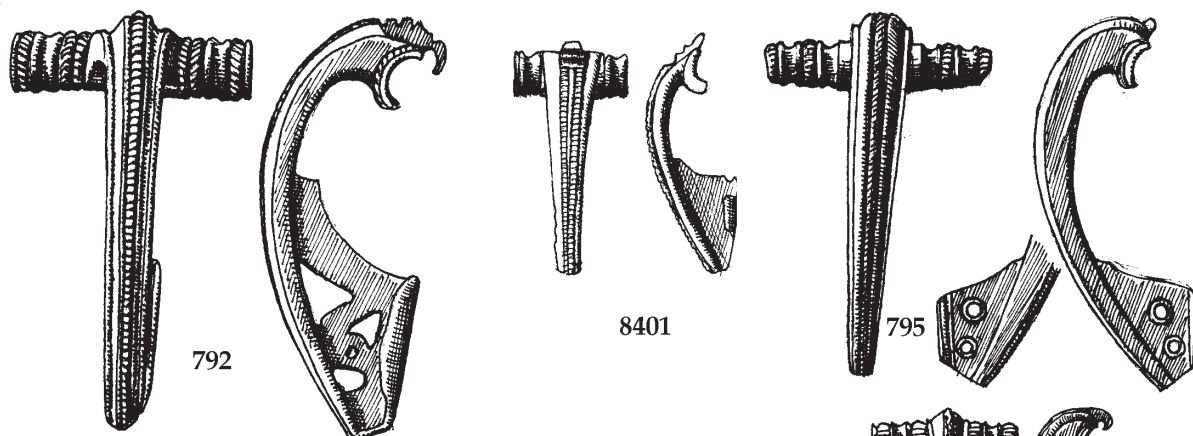
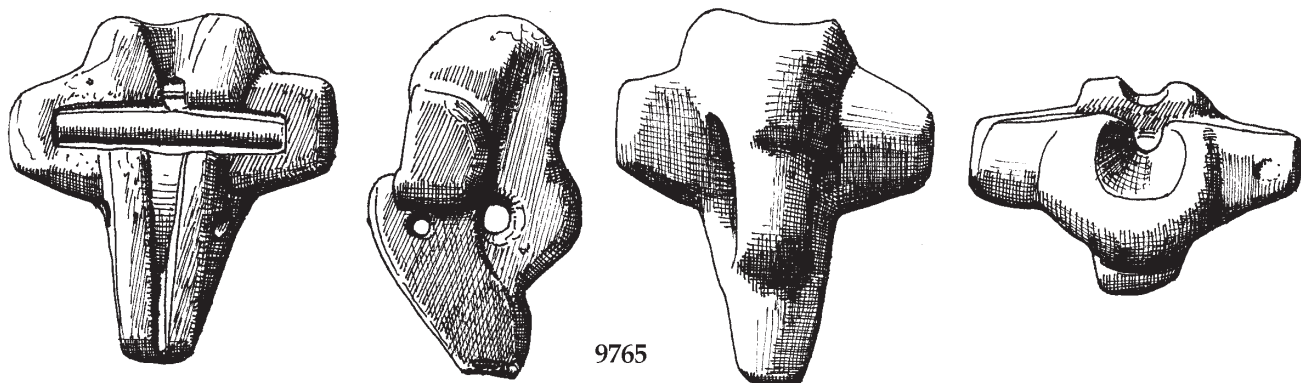


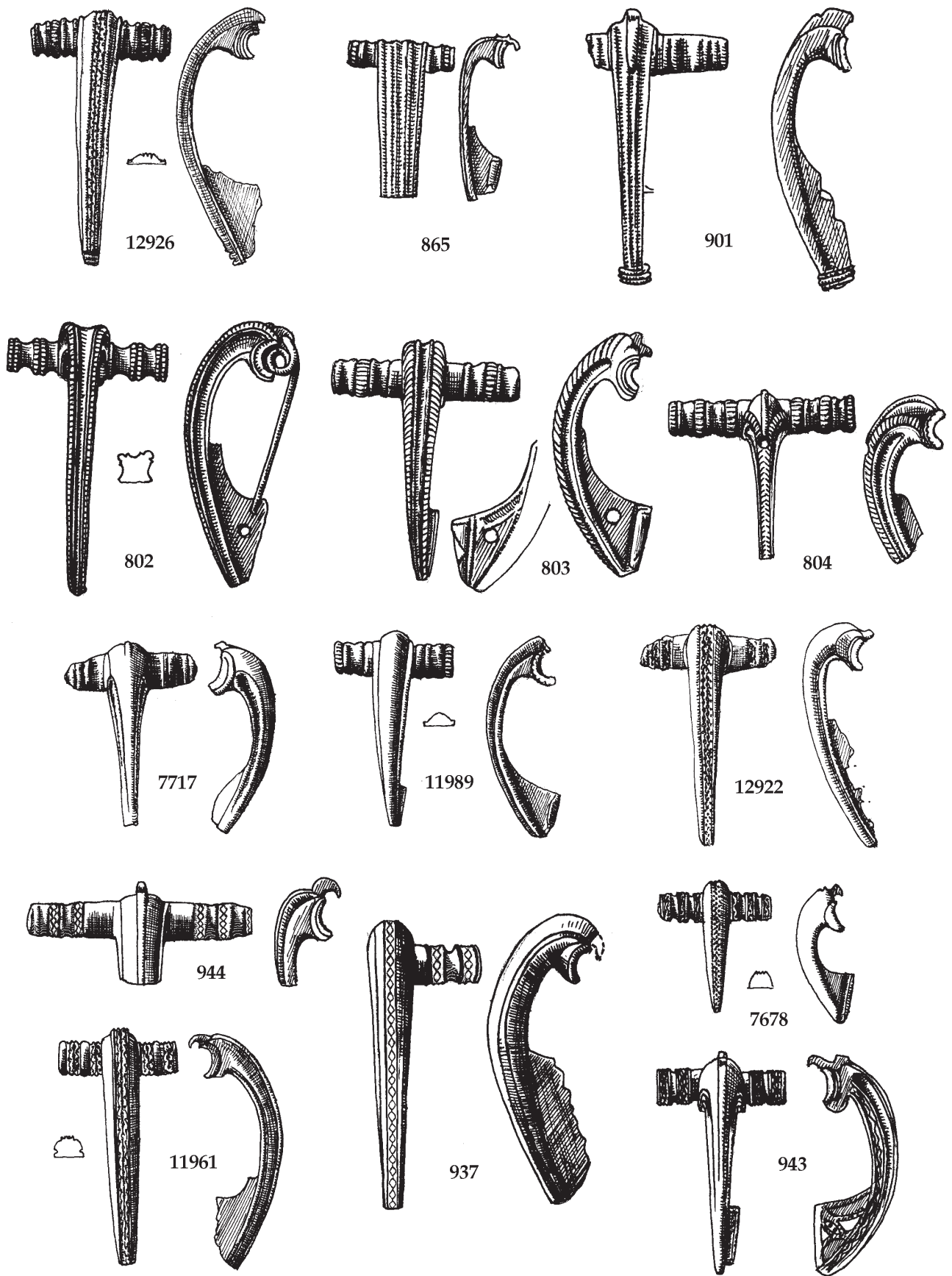
PLATE 35











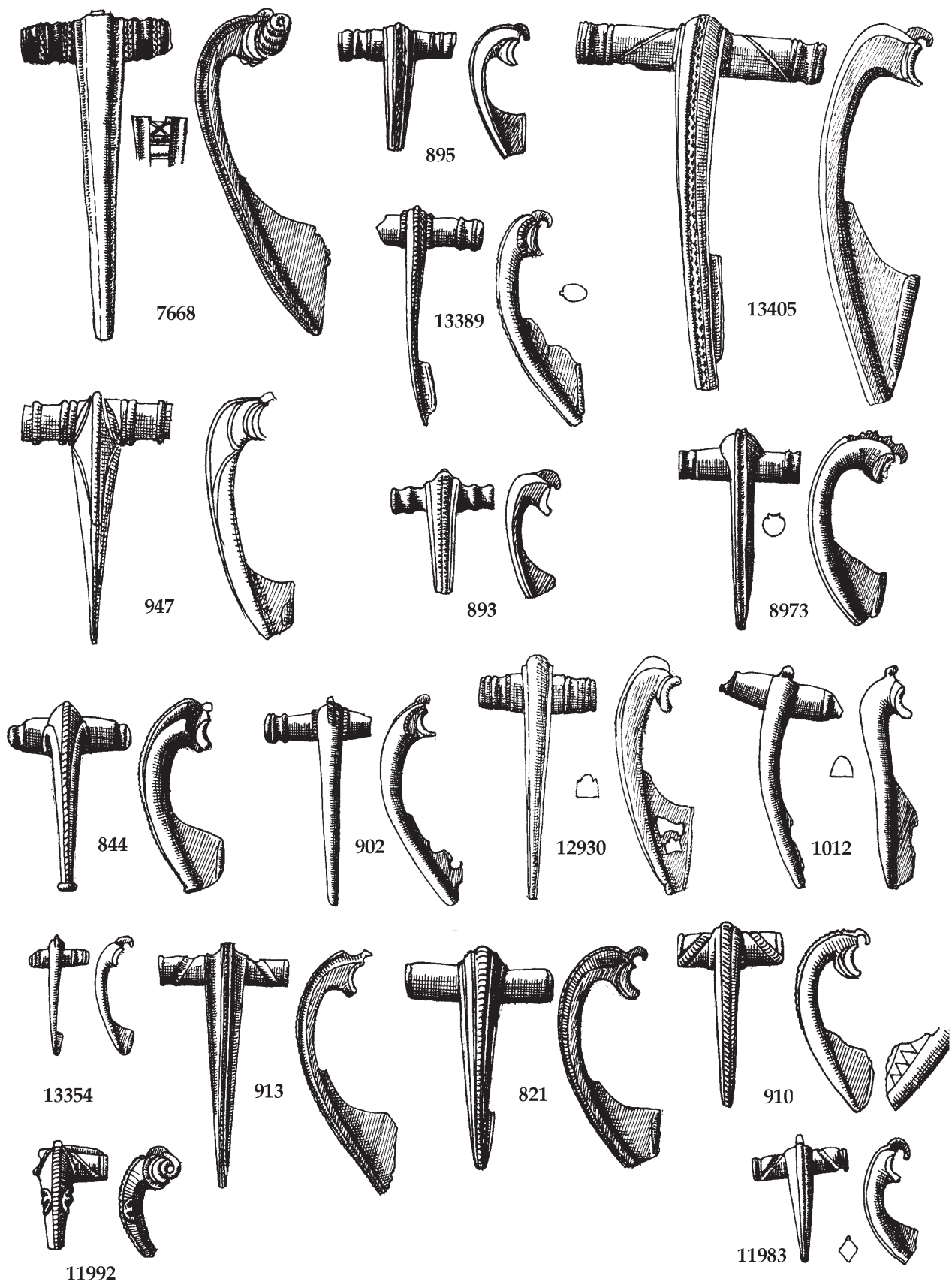
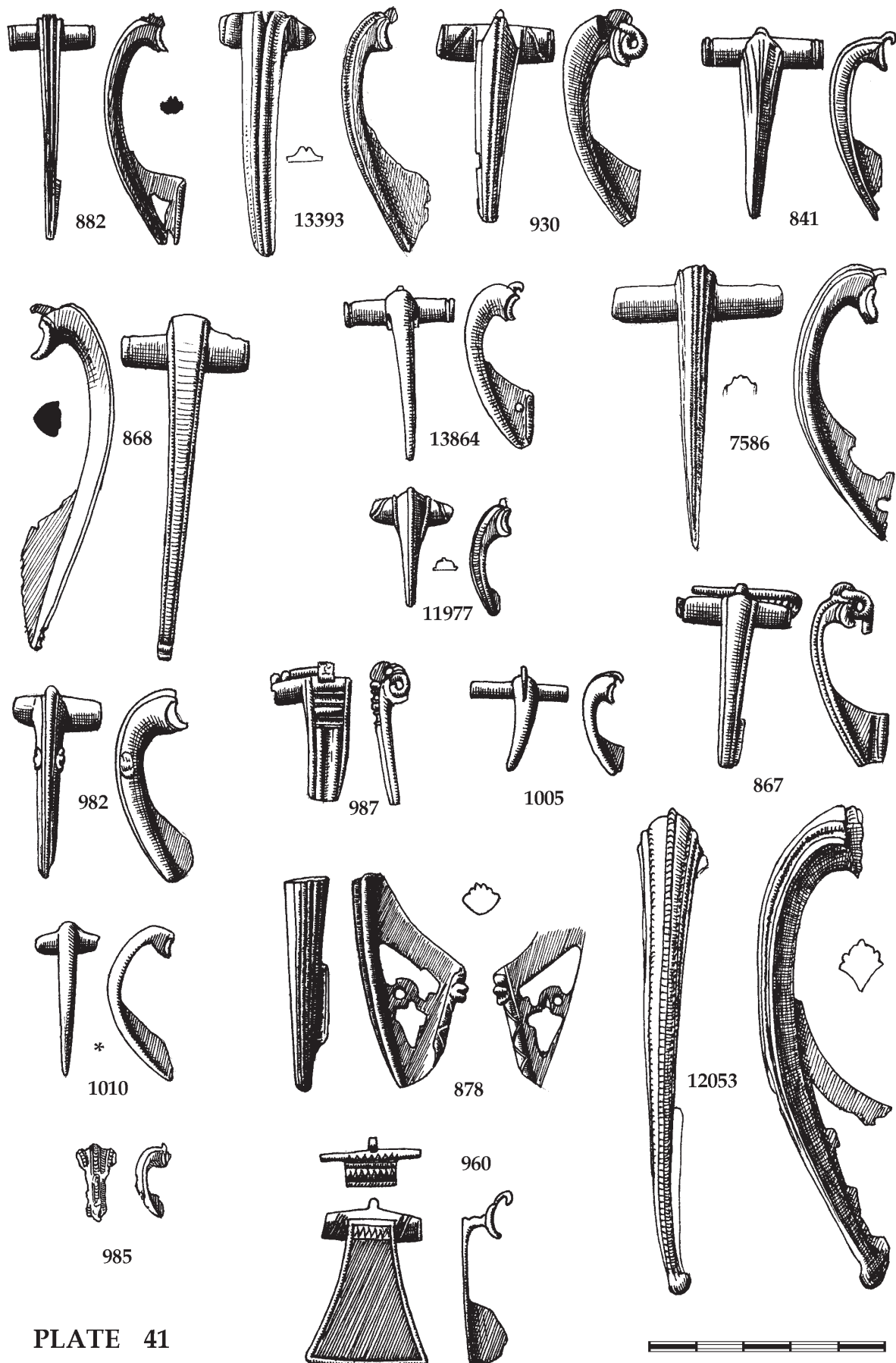
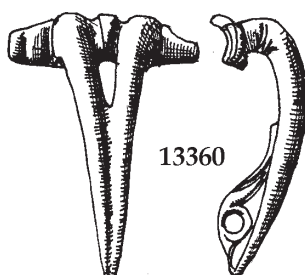
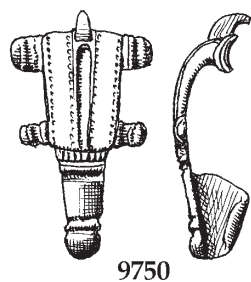
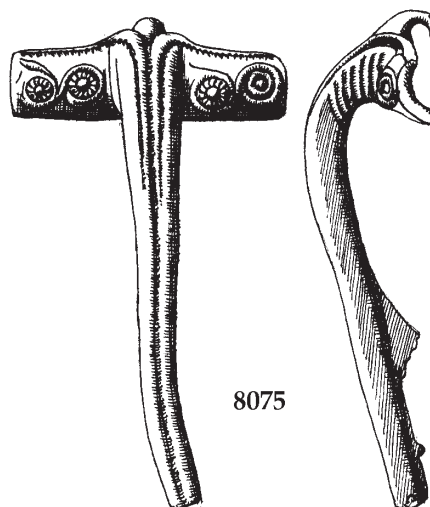
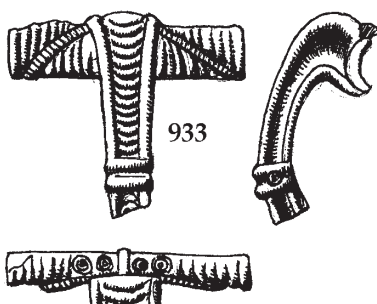
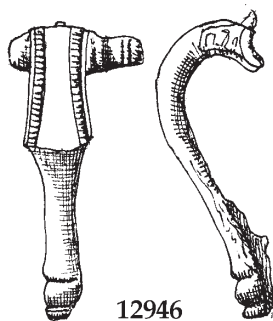
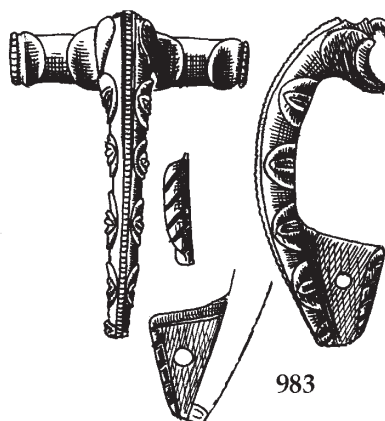
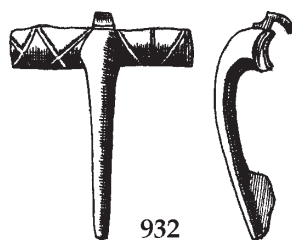
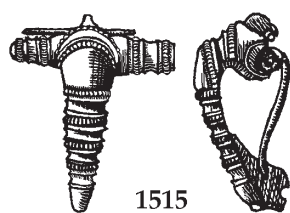
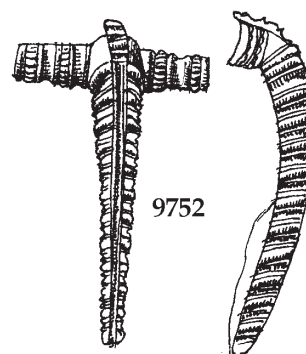
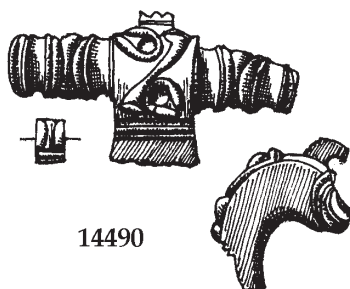
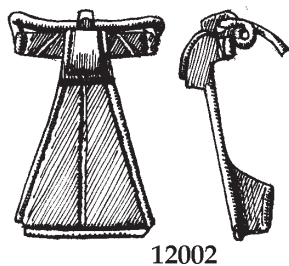
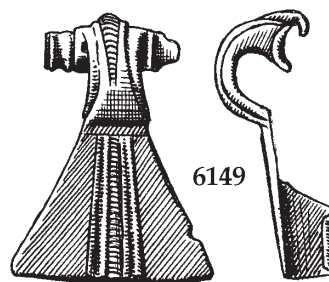
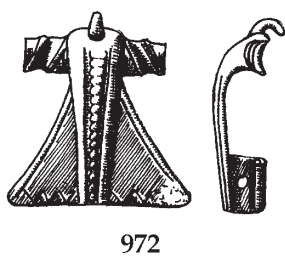
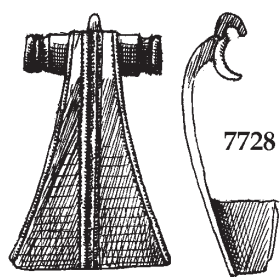


PLATE 40





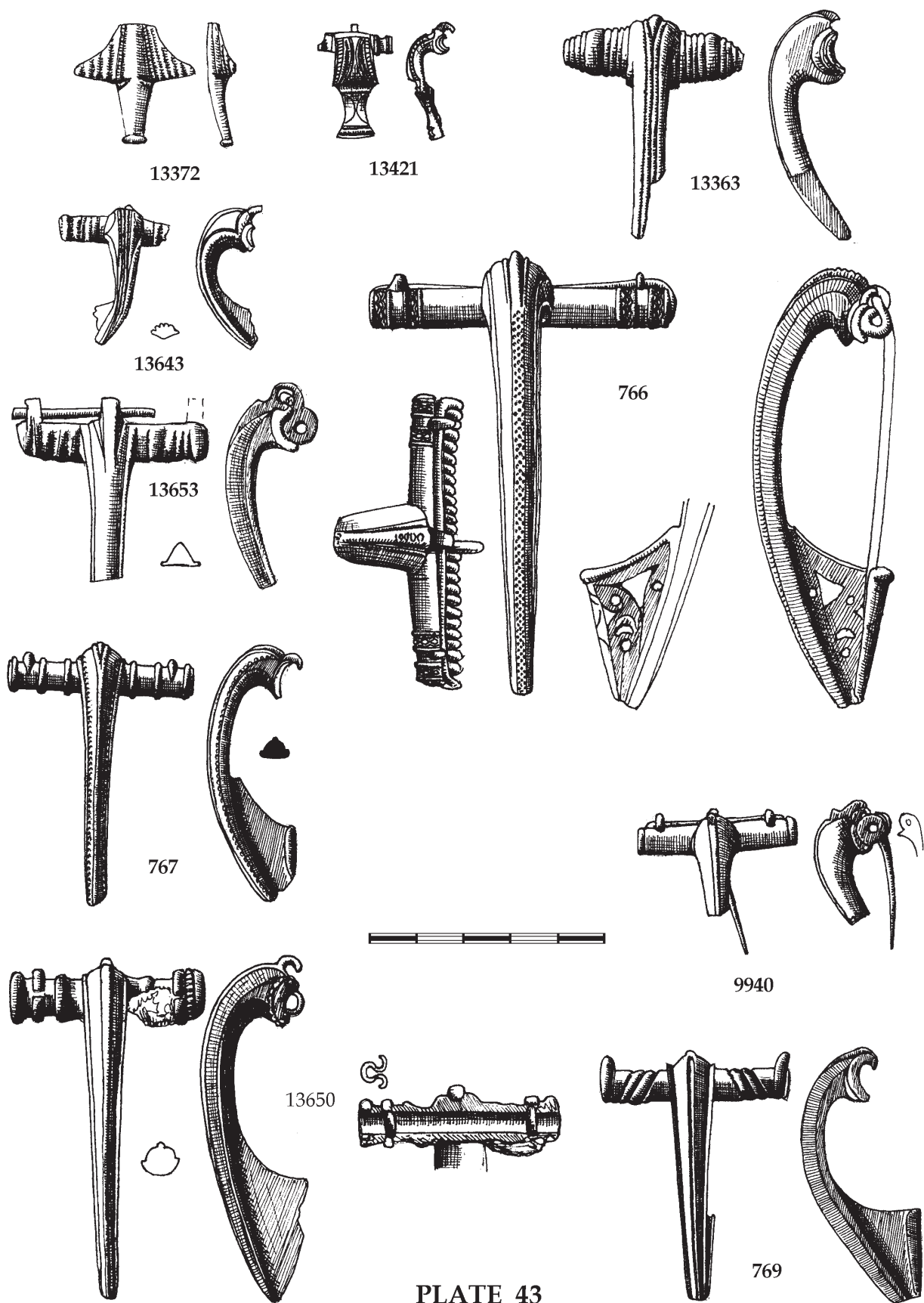
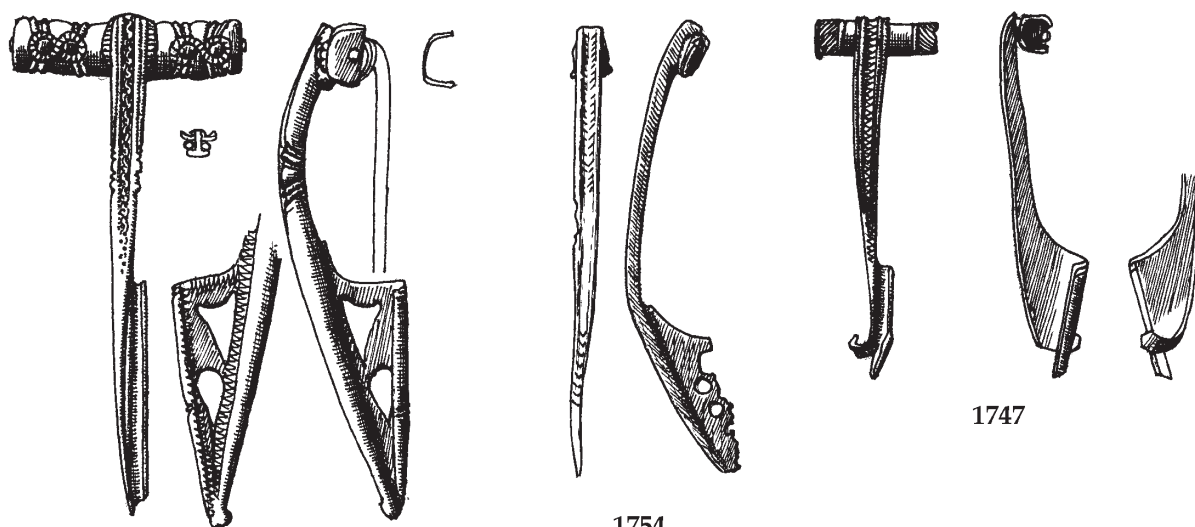


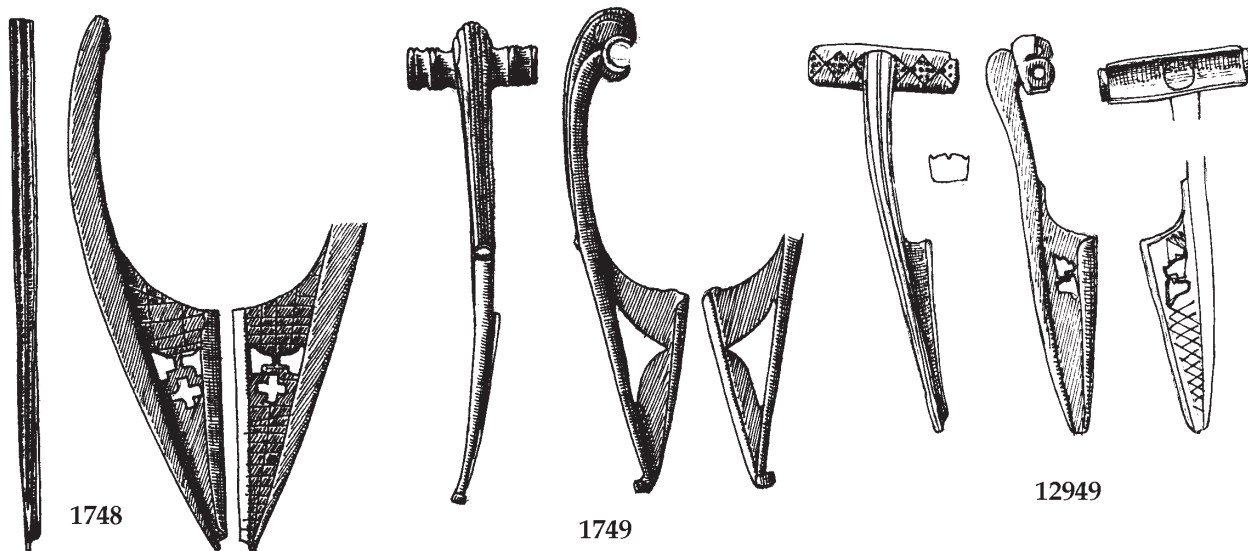
PLATE 43



9861

1754

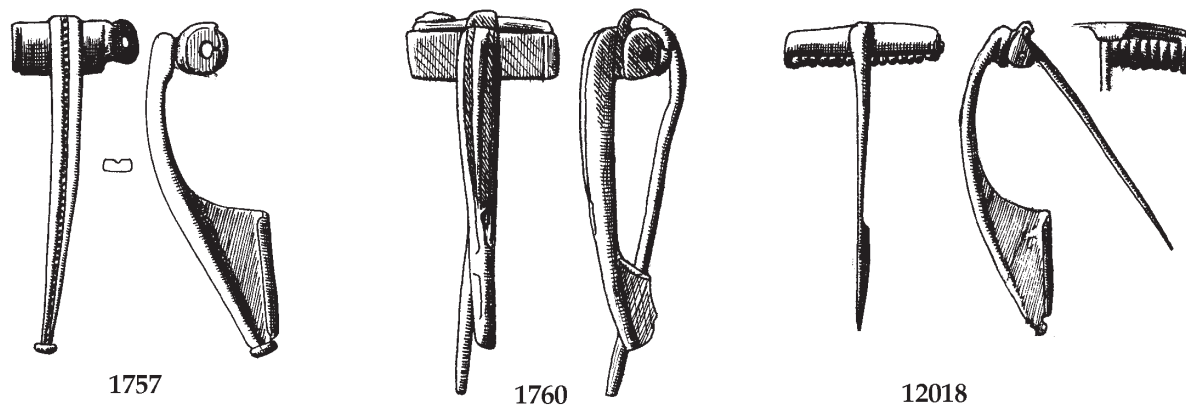
1747



1748

1749

12949



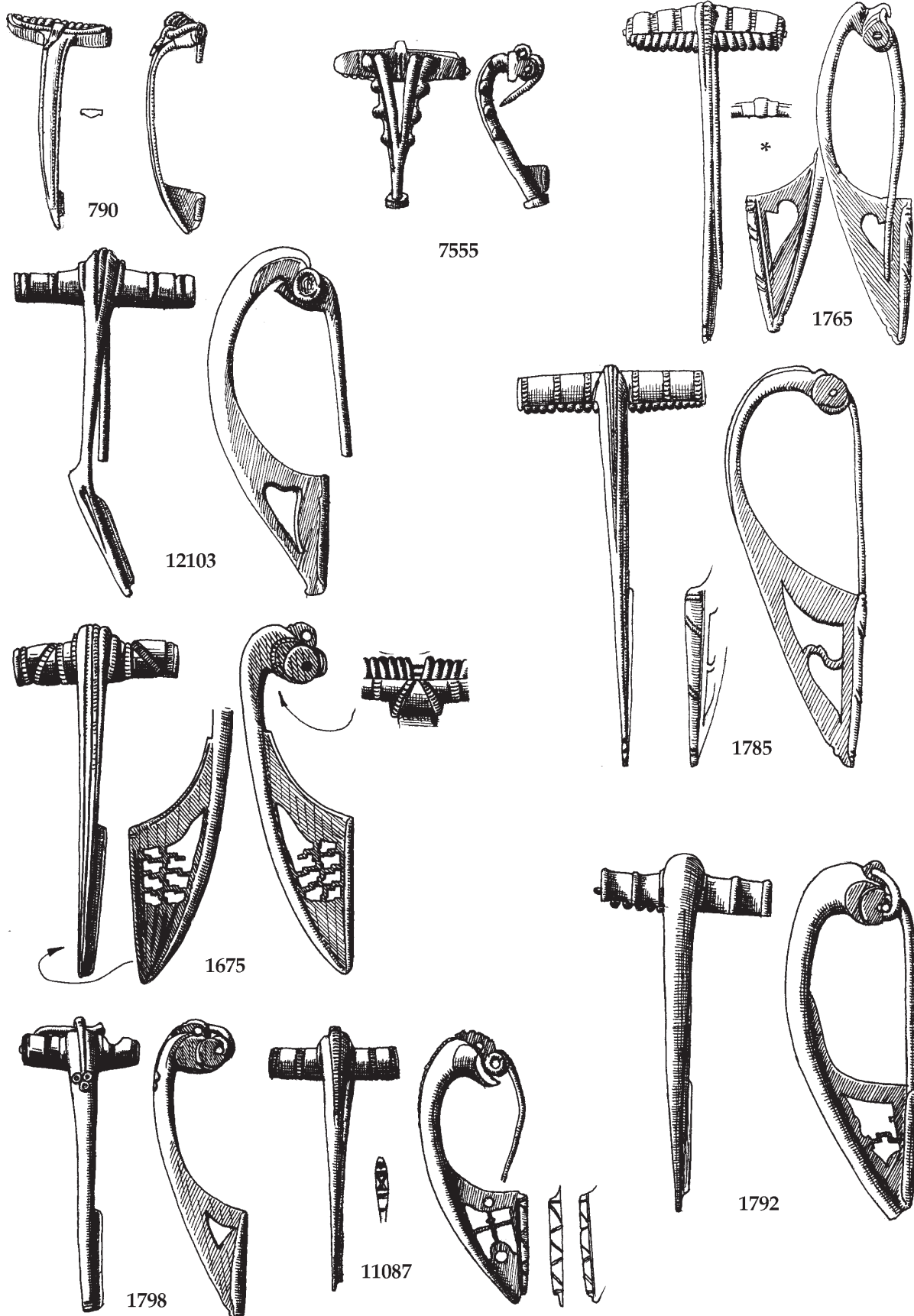
1757

1760

12018



PLATE 44



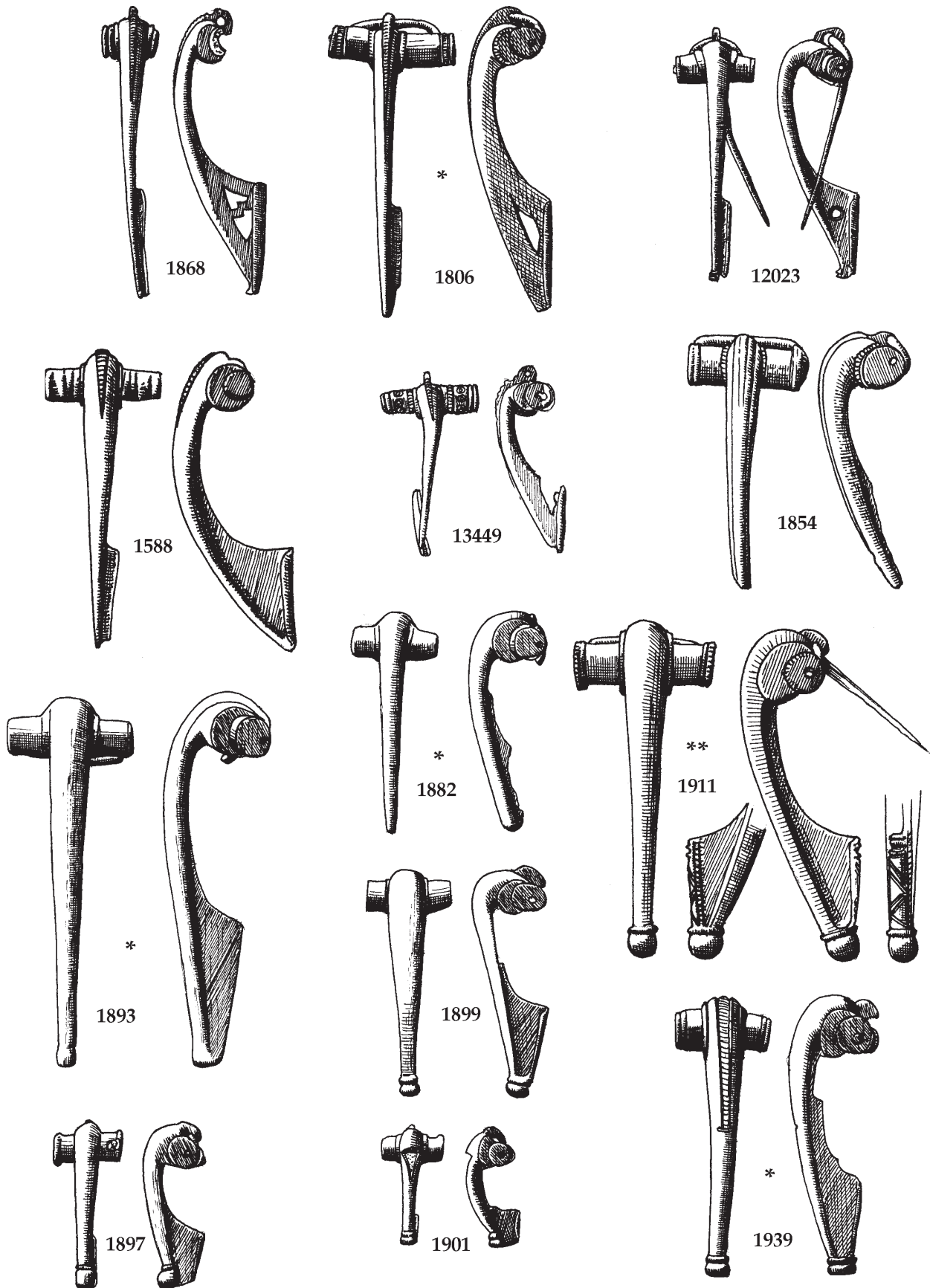
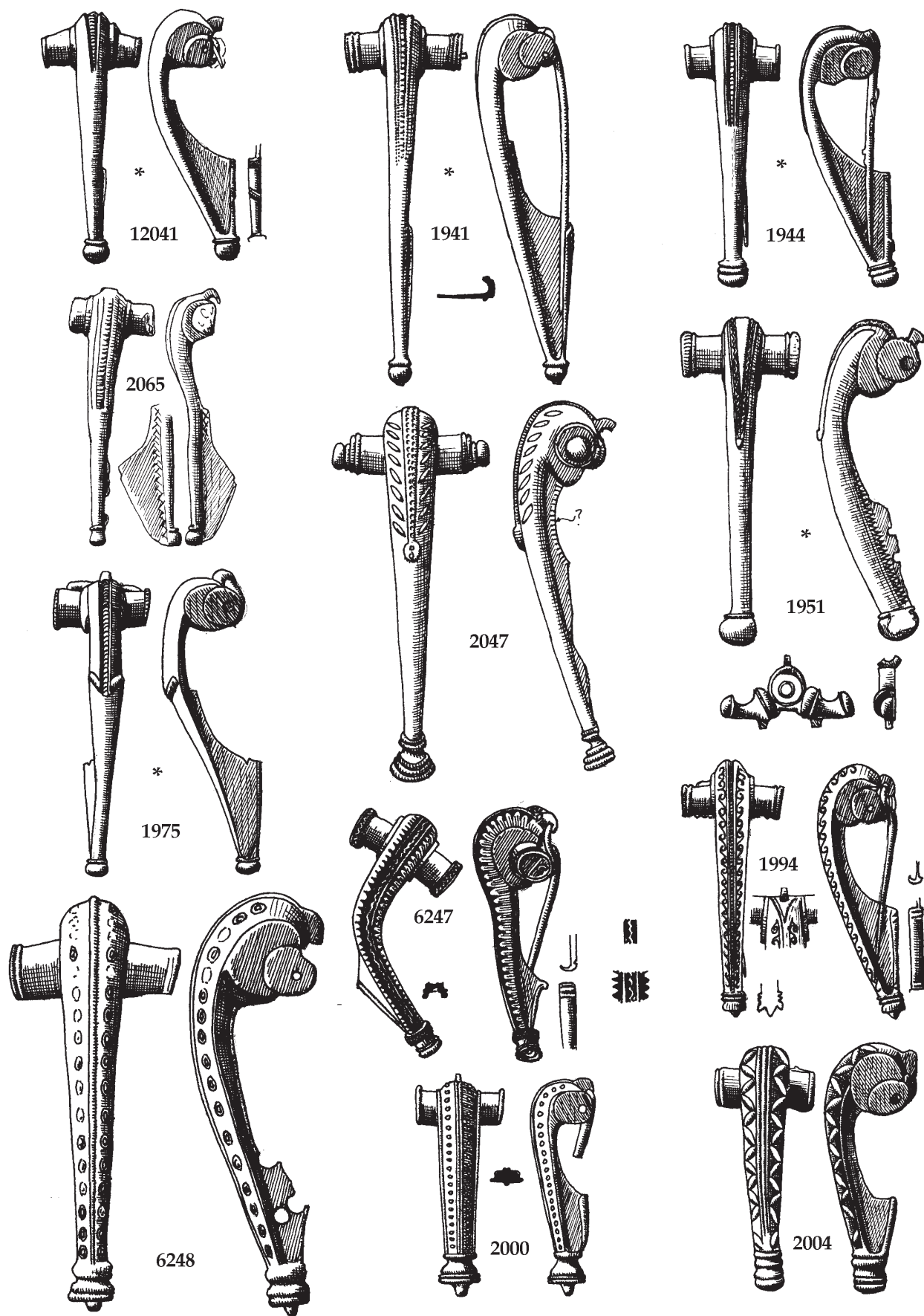


PLATE 46



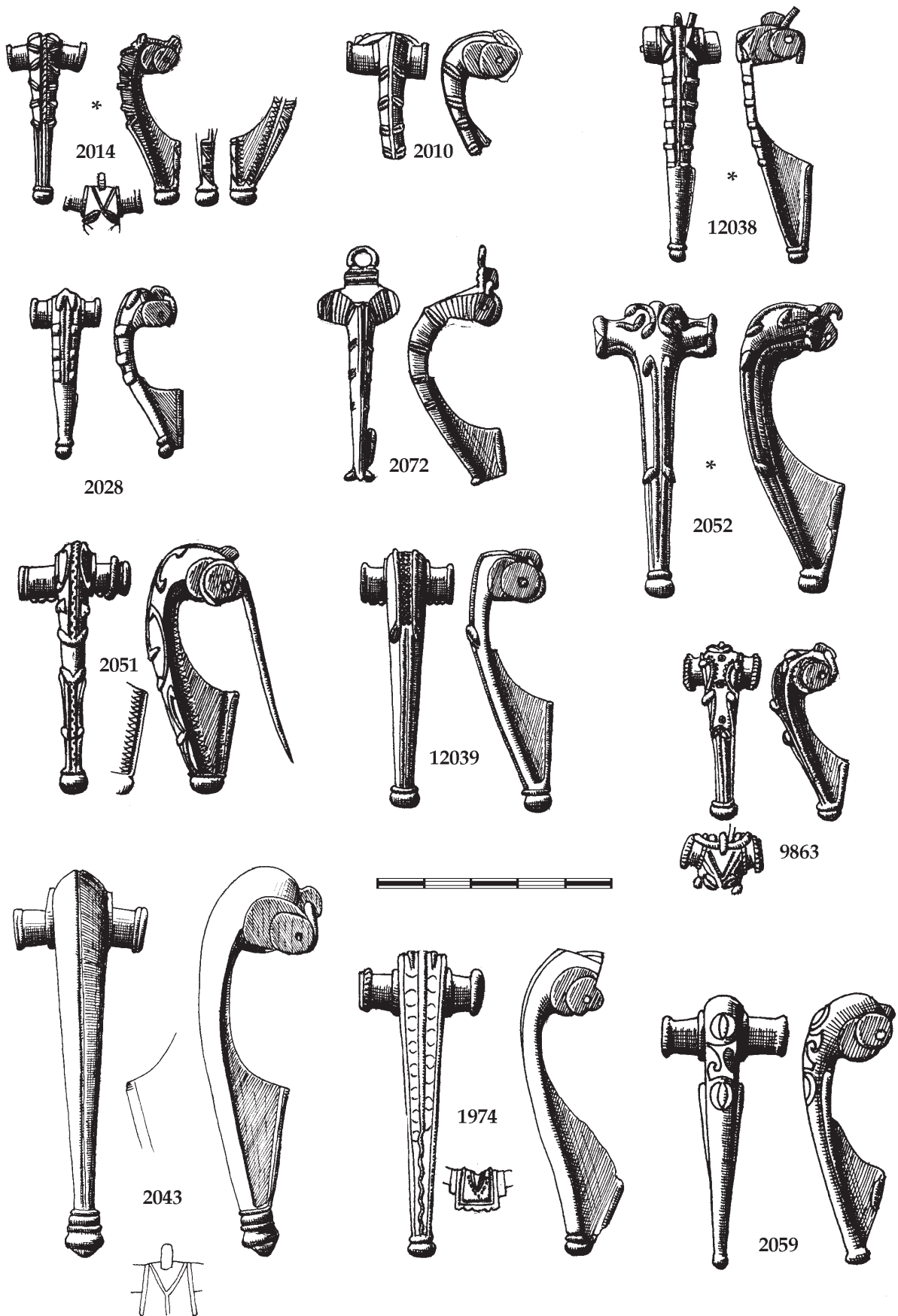
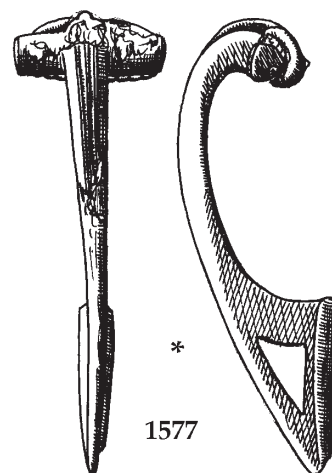
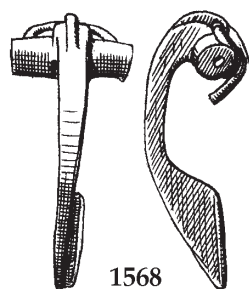
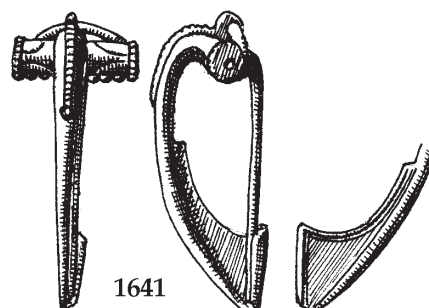
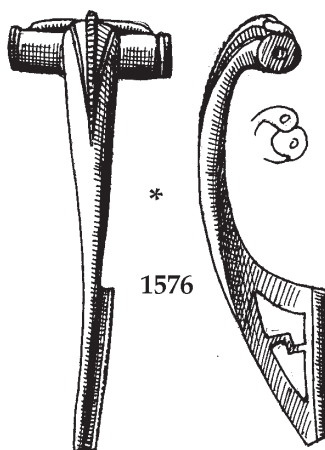
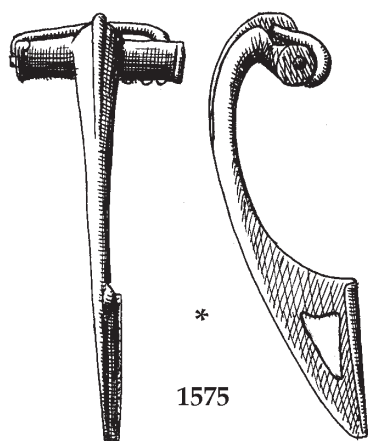
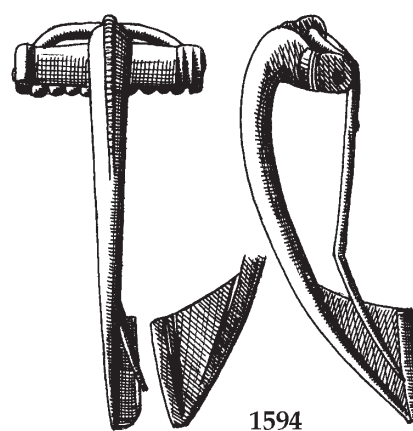
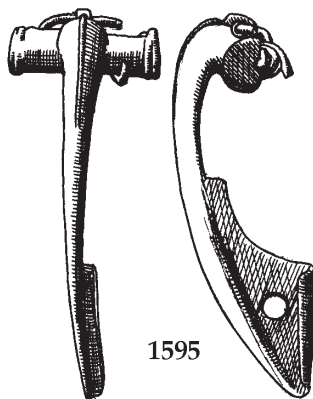
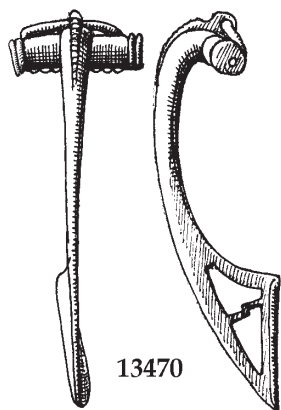
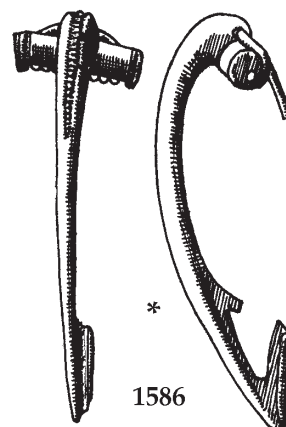
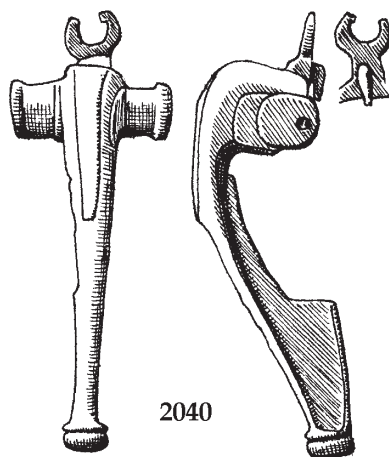
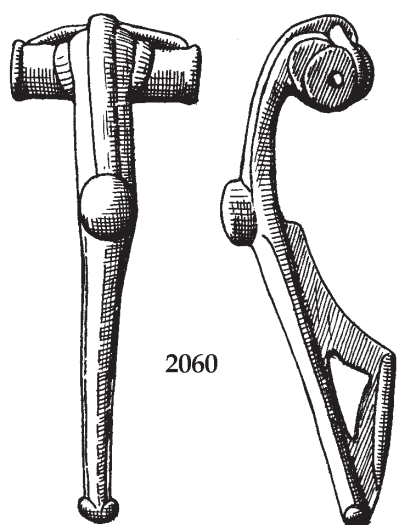
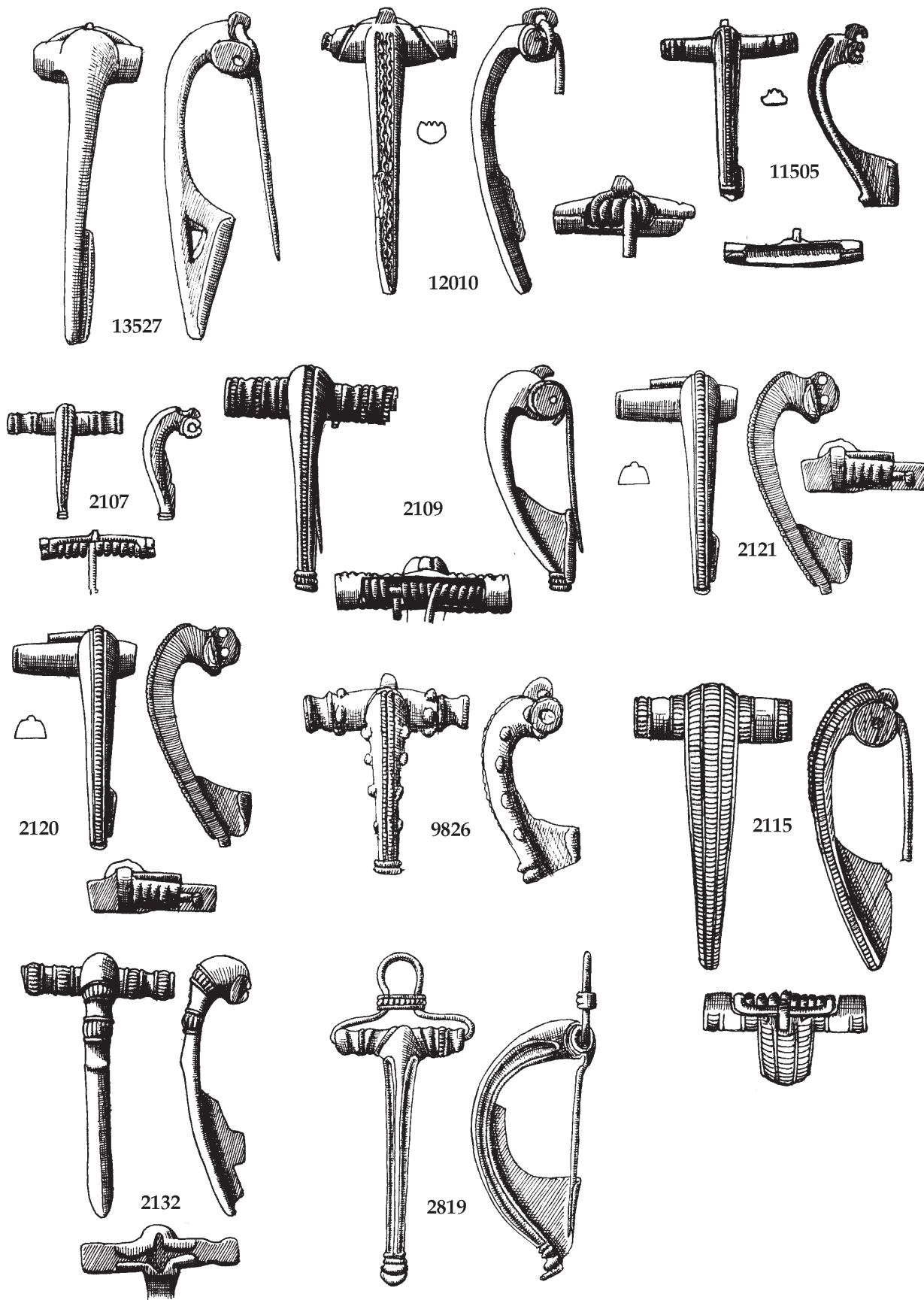


PLATE 48







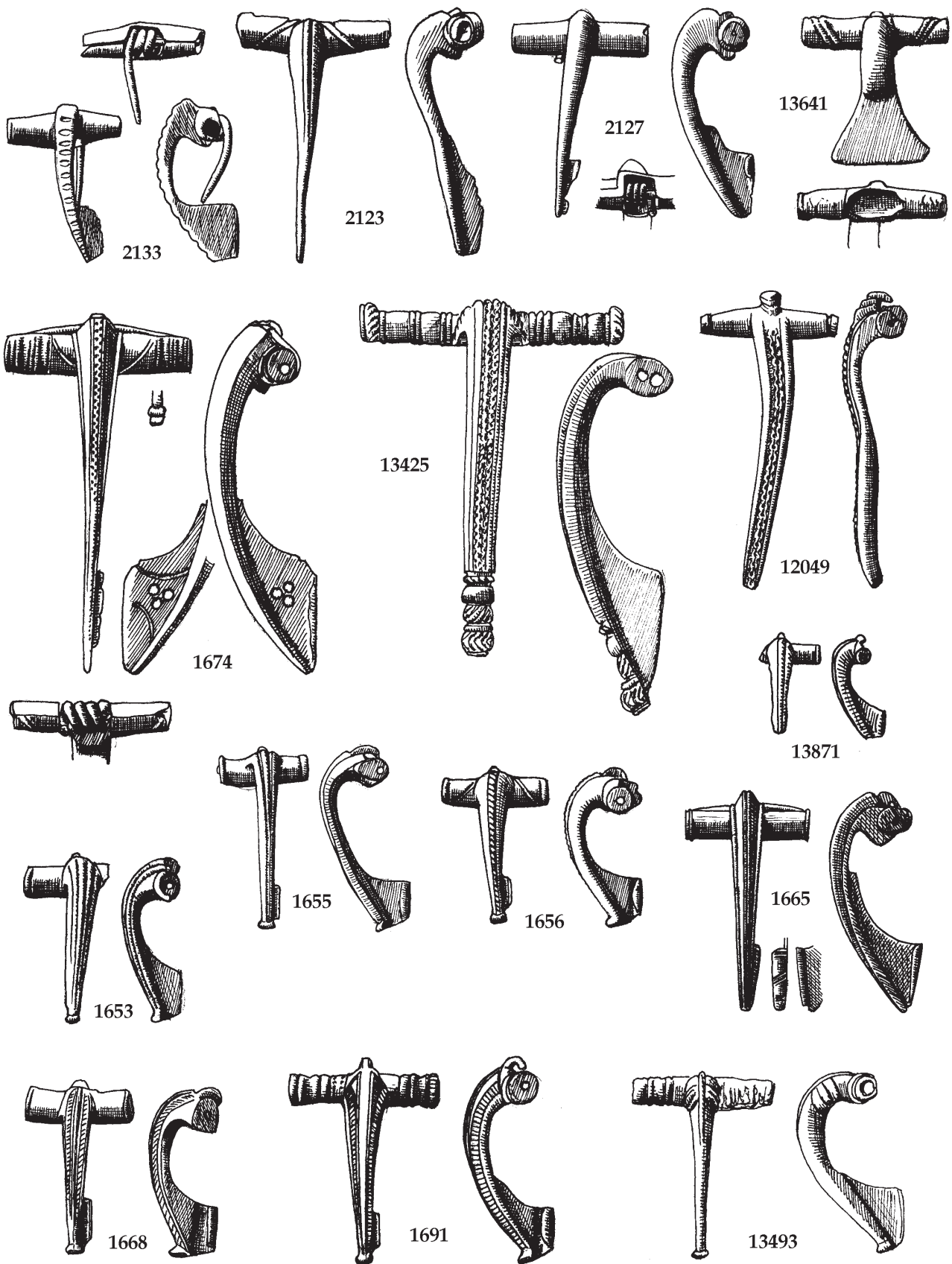
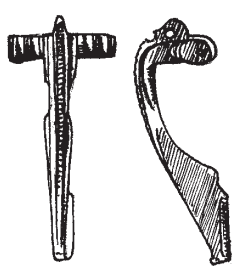


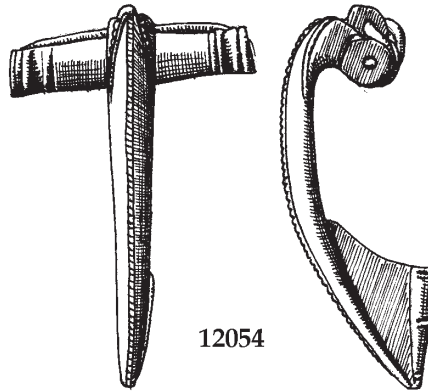


PLATE 53

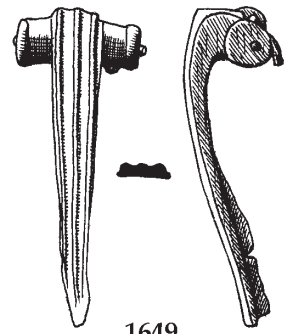




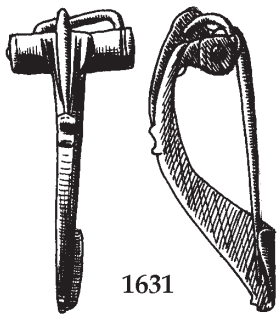
1681



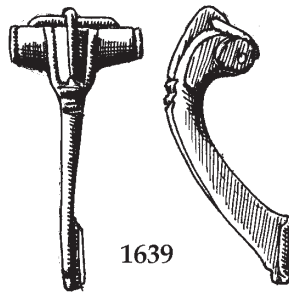
12054



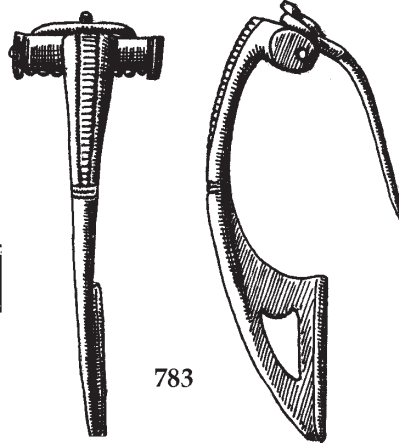
1649



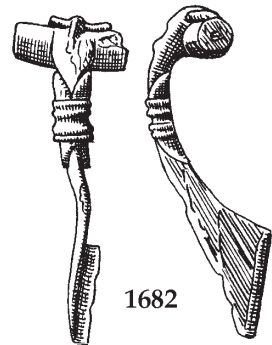
1631



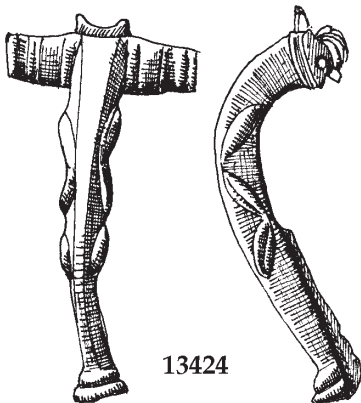
1639



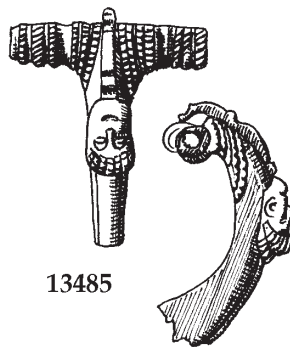
783



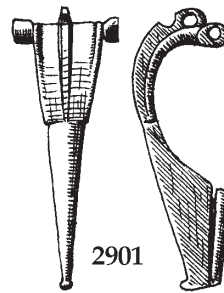
1682



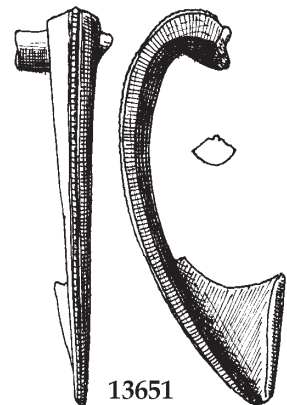
13424



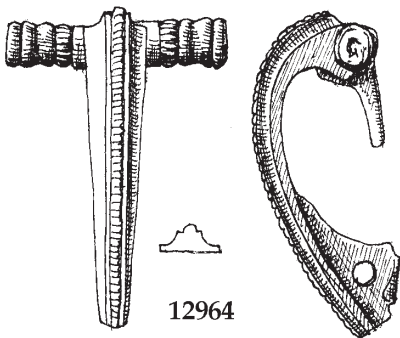
13485



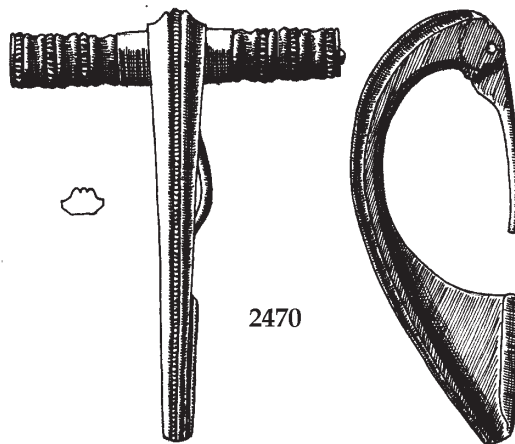
2901



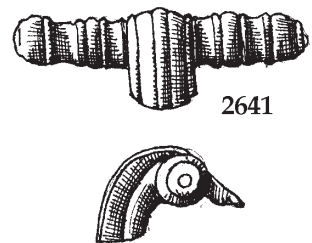
13651



12964



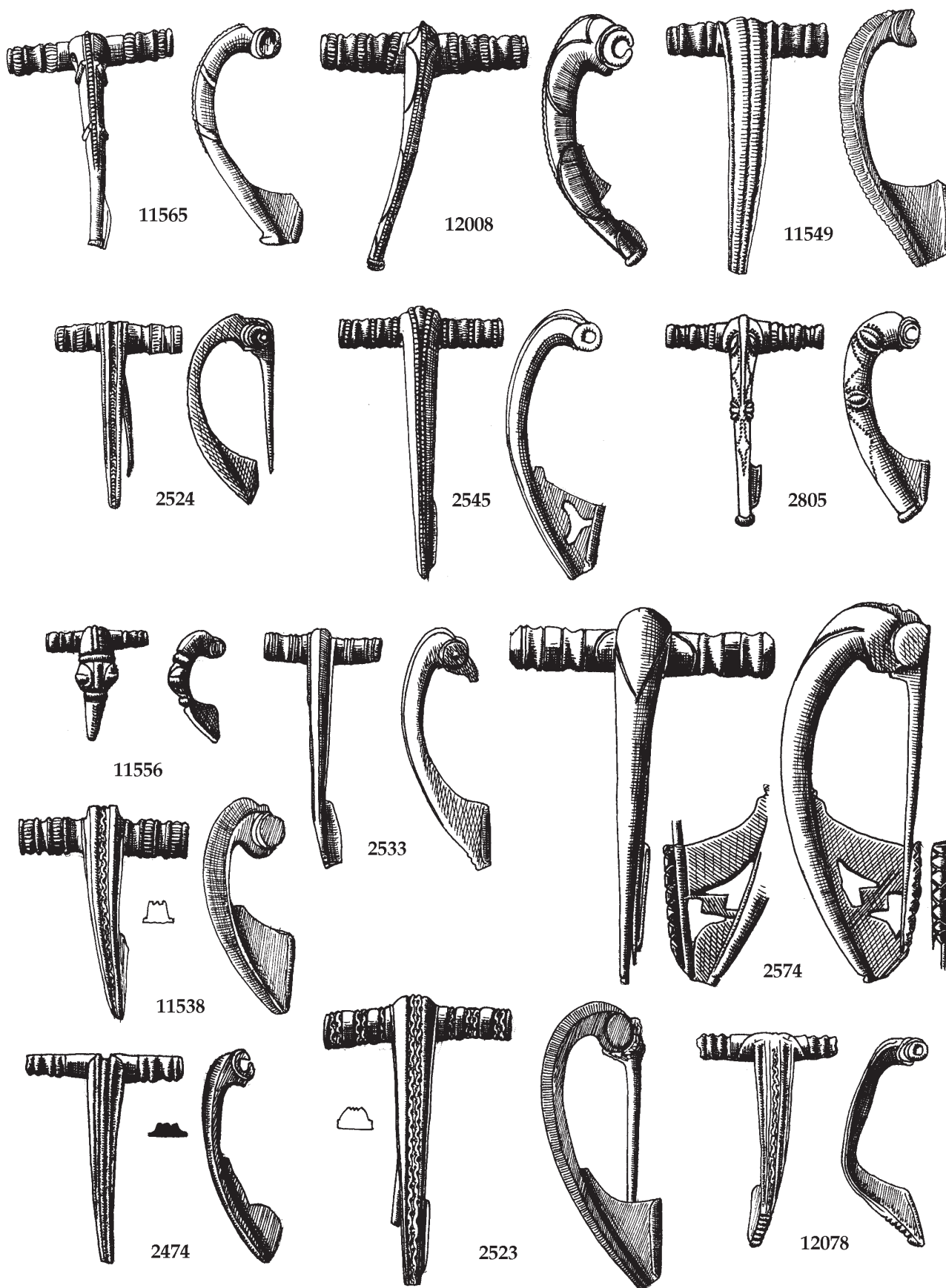
2470



2641



PLATE 54



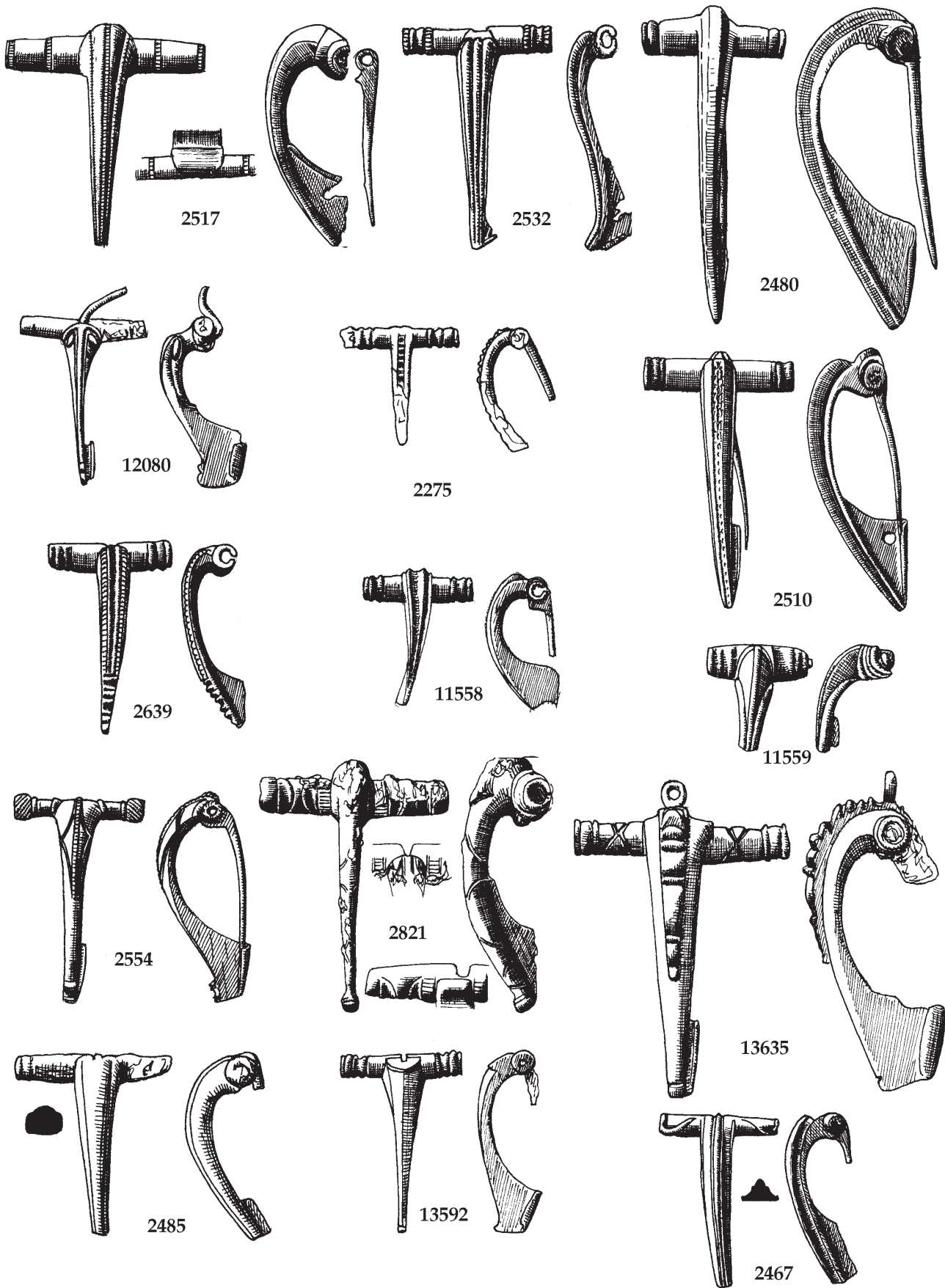
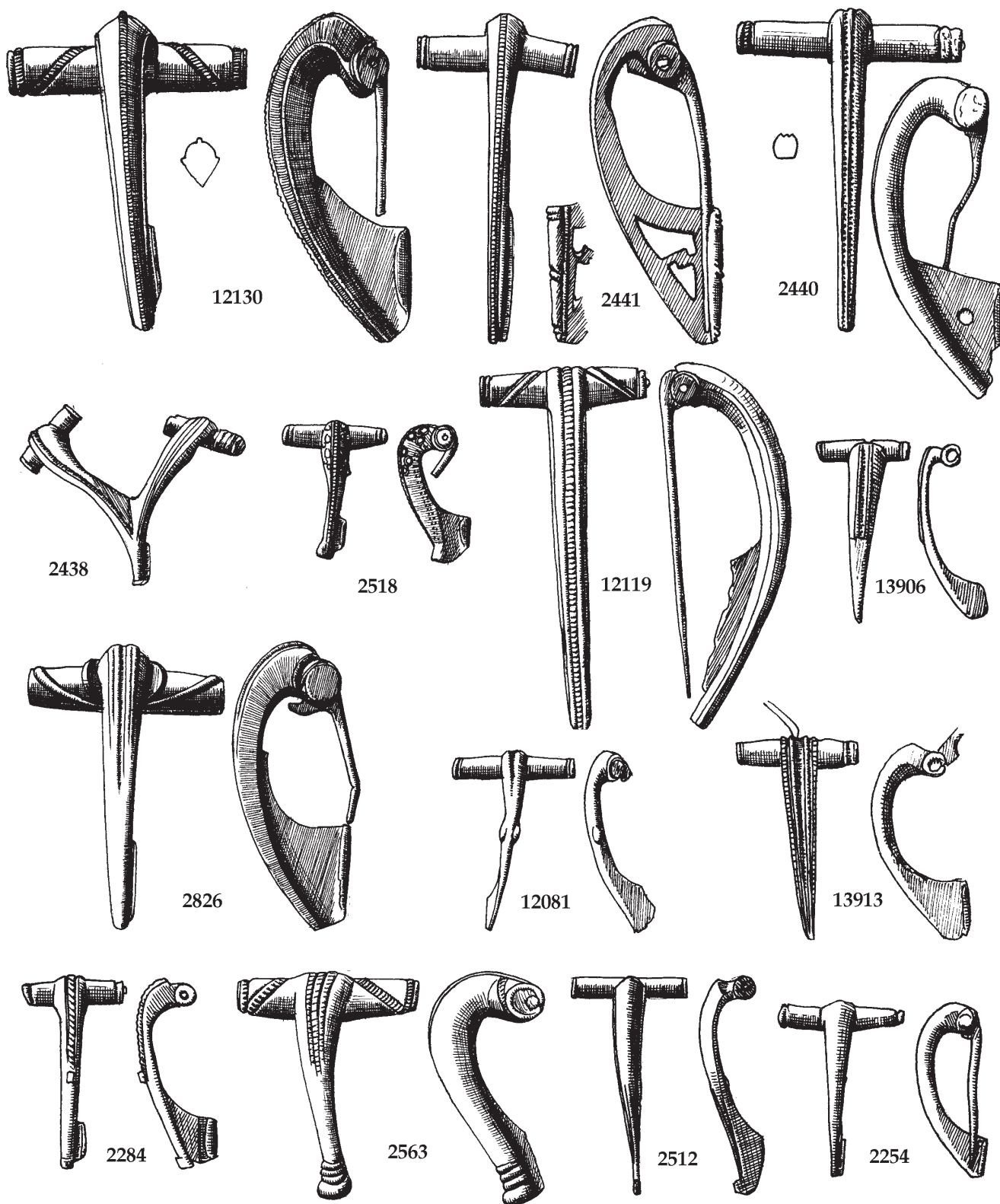


PLATE 56



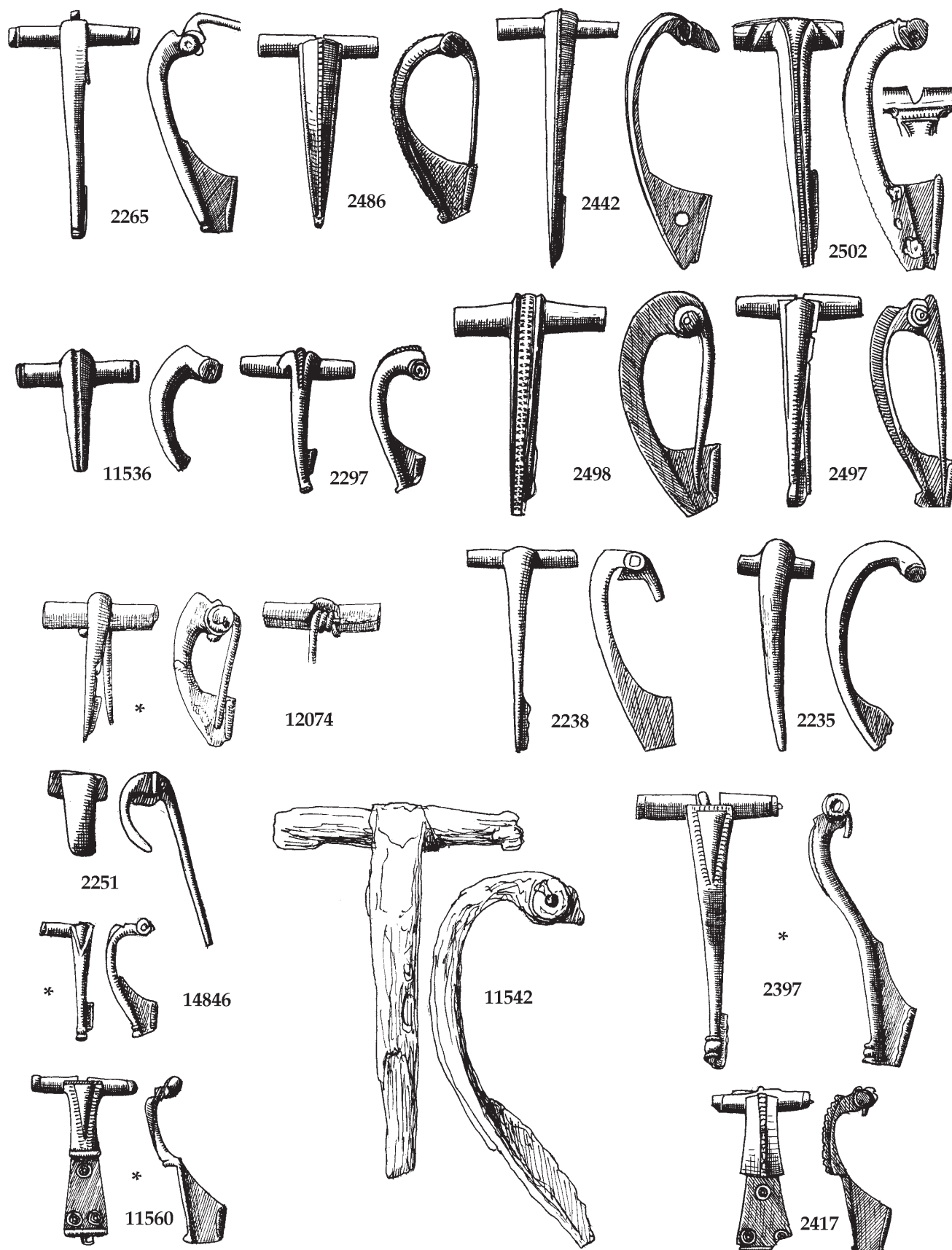


PLATE 58

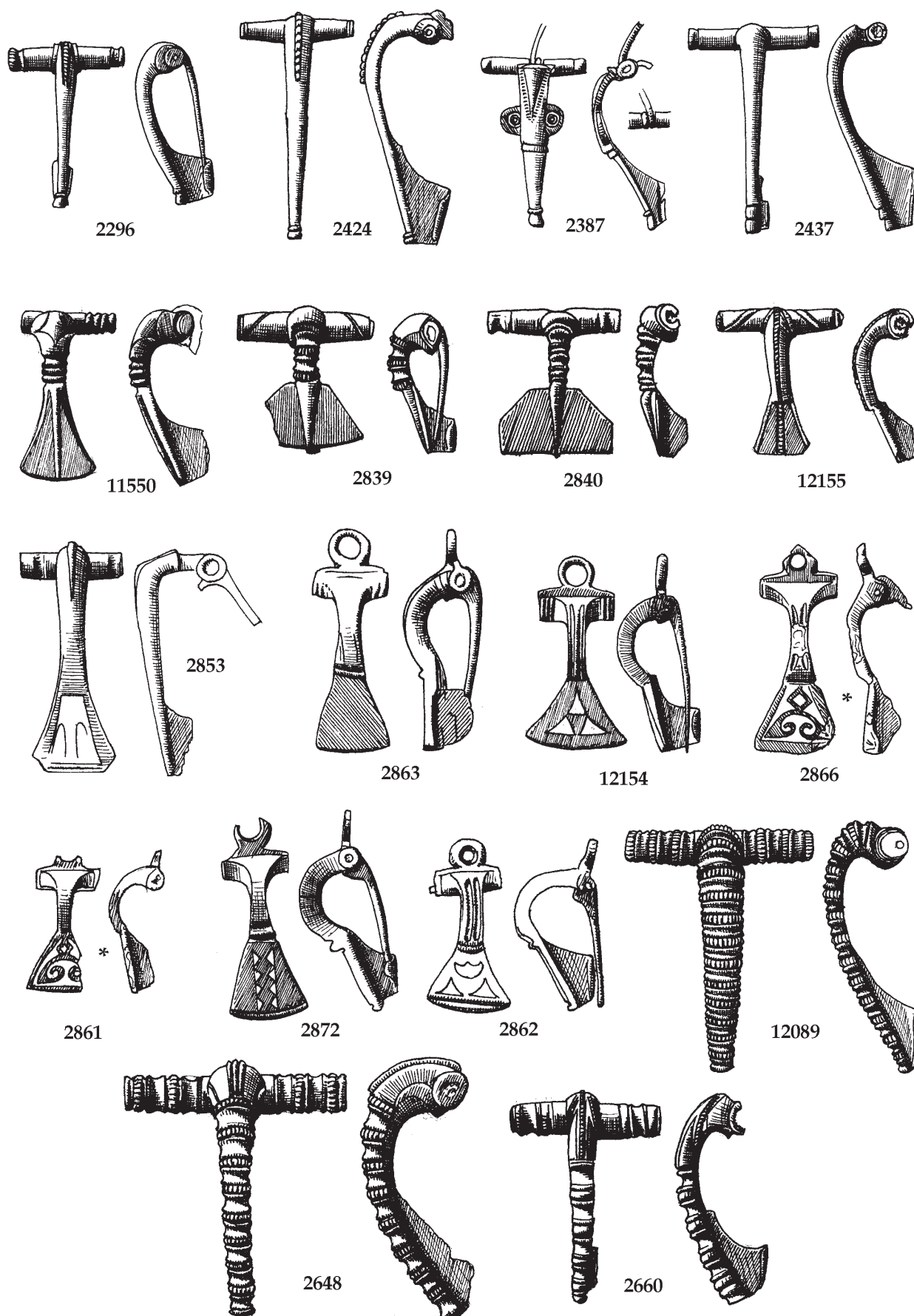


PLATE 59



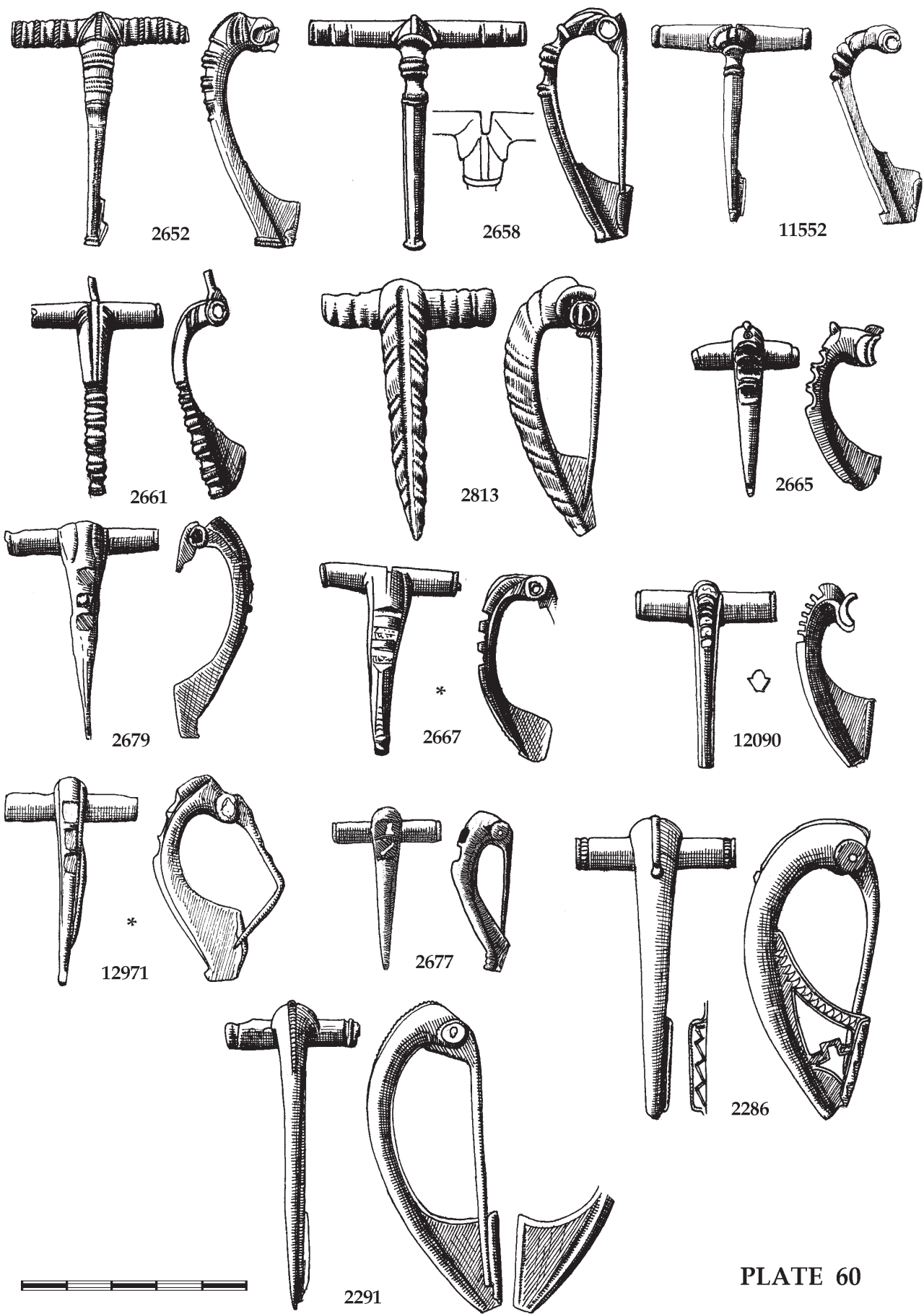


PLATE 60

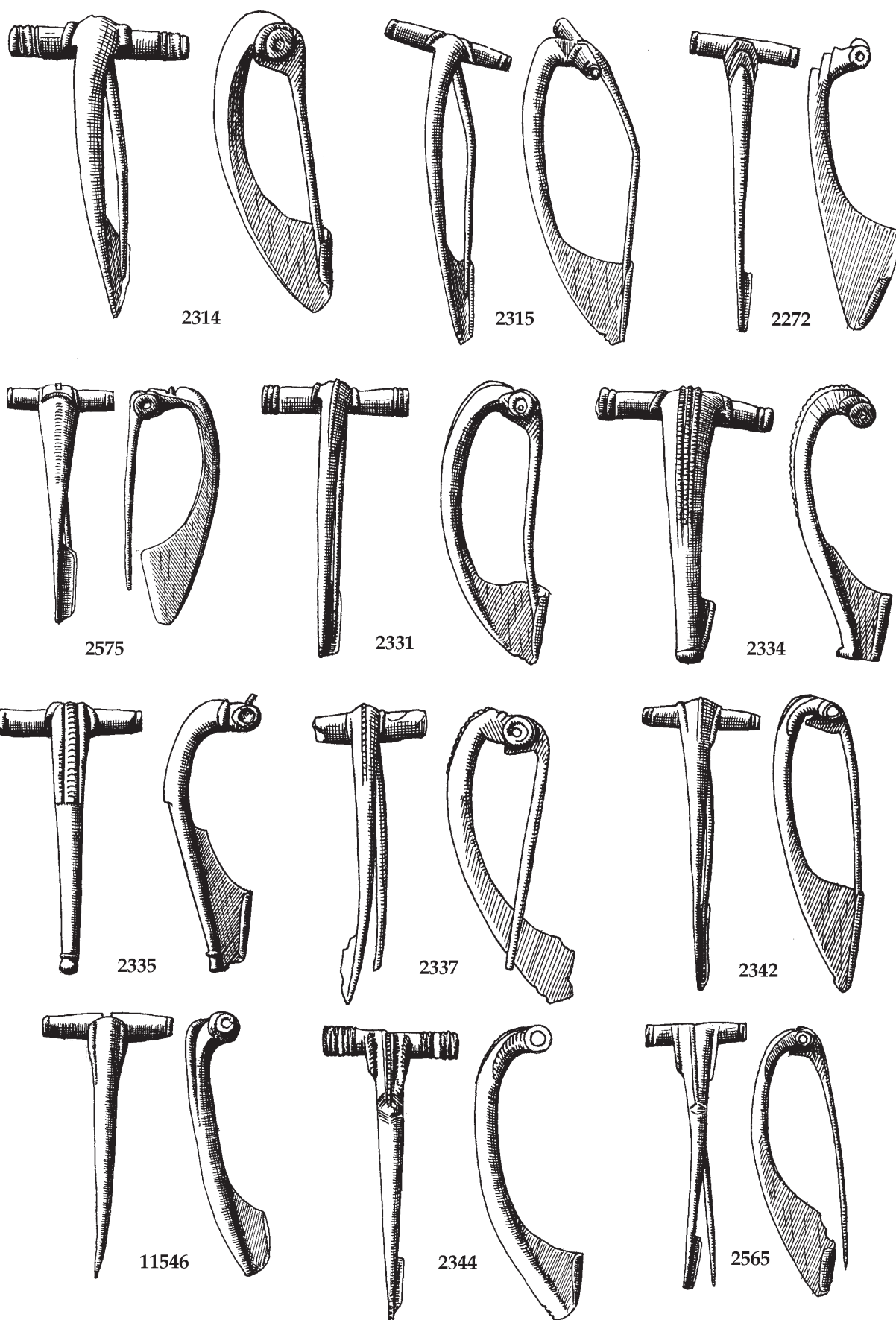
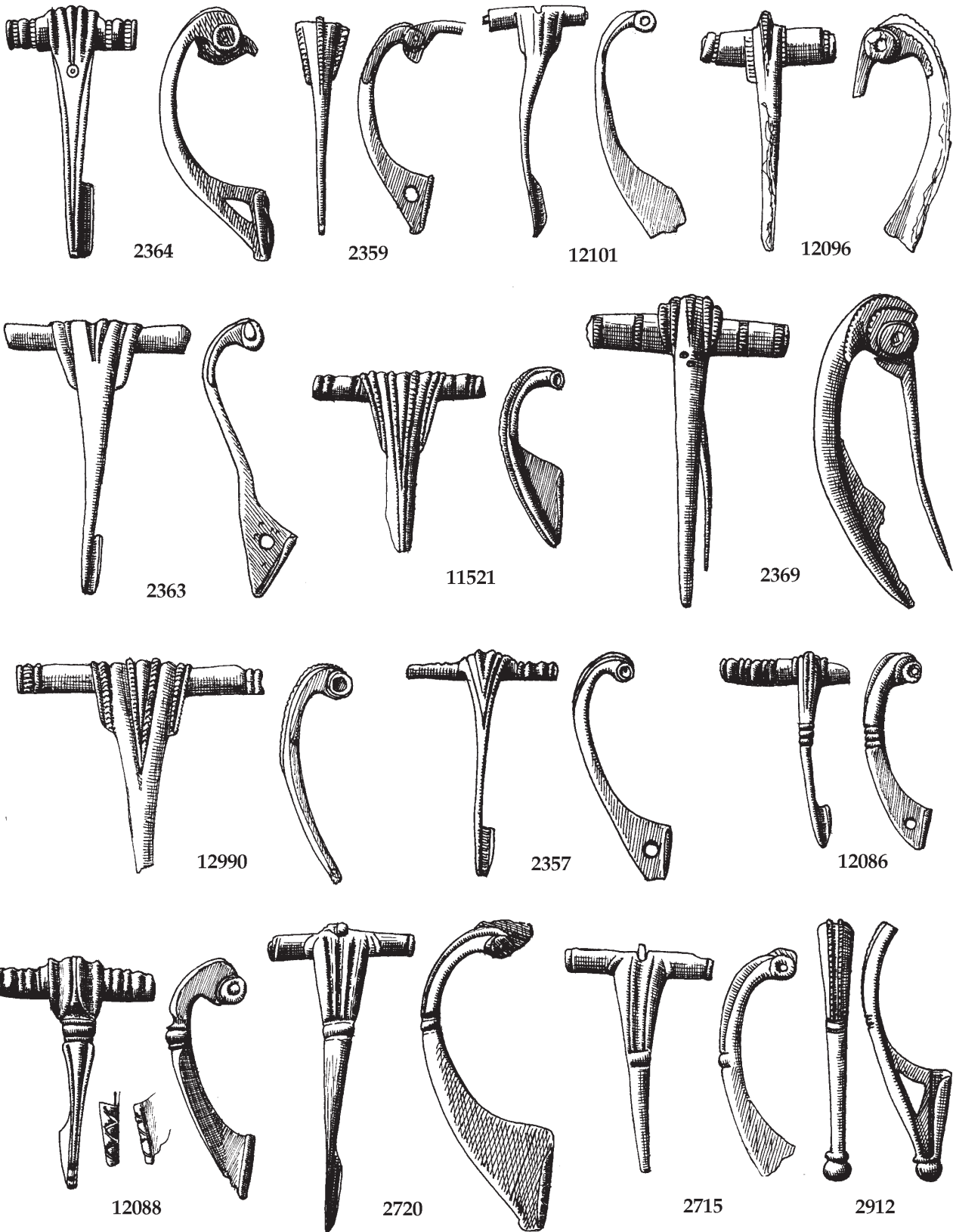


PLATE 61







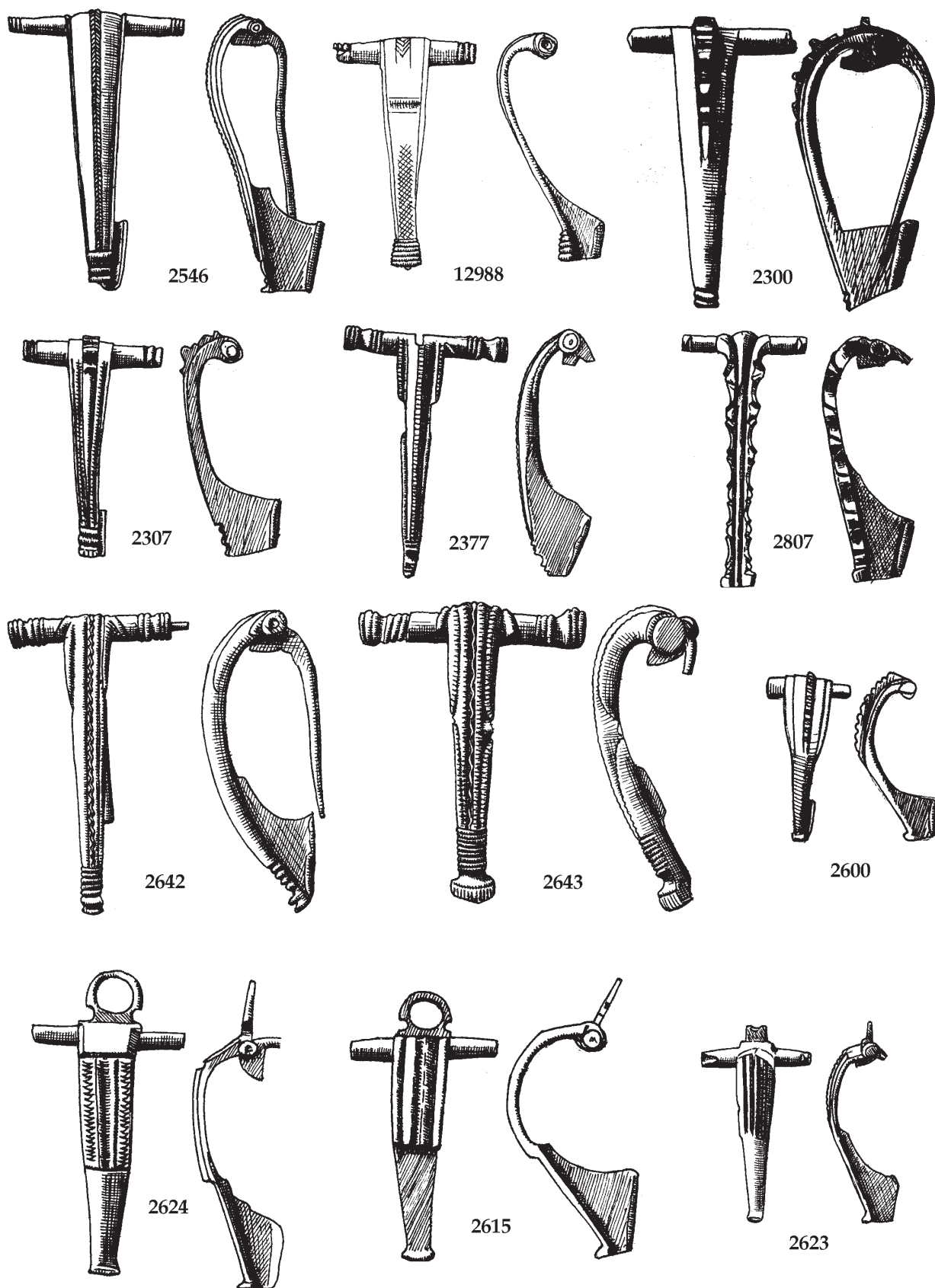
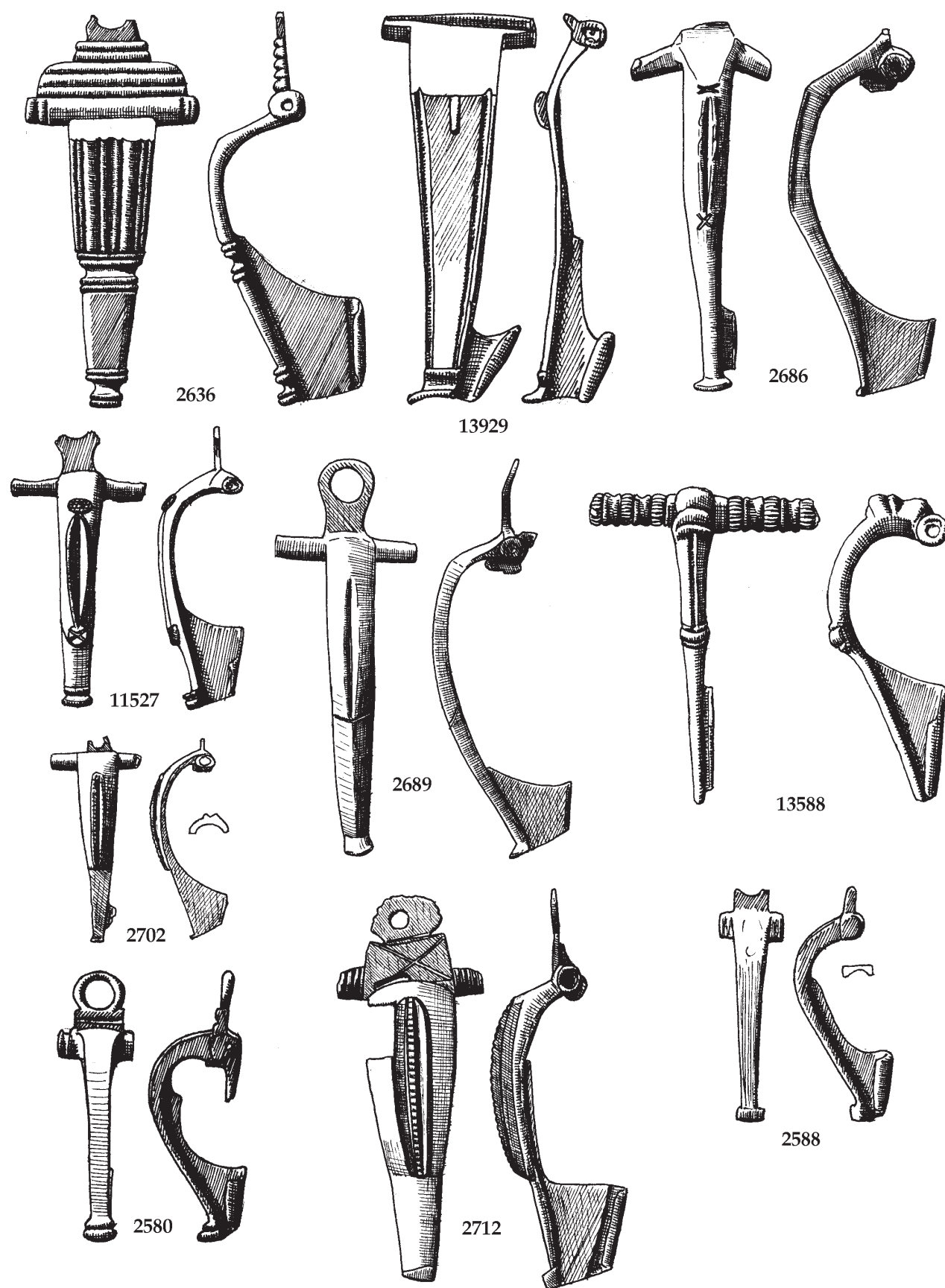
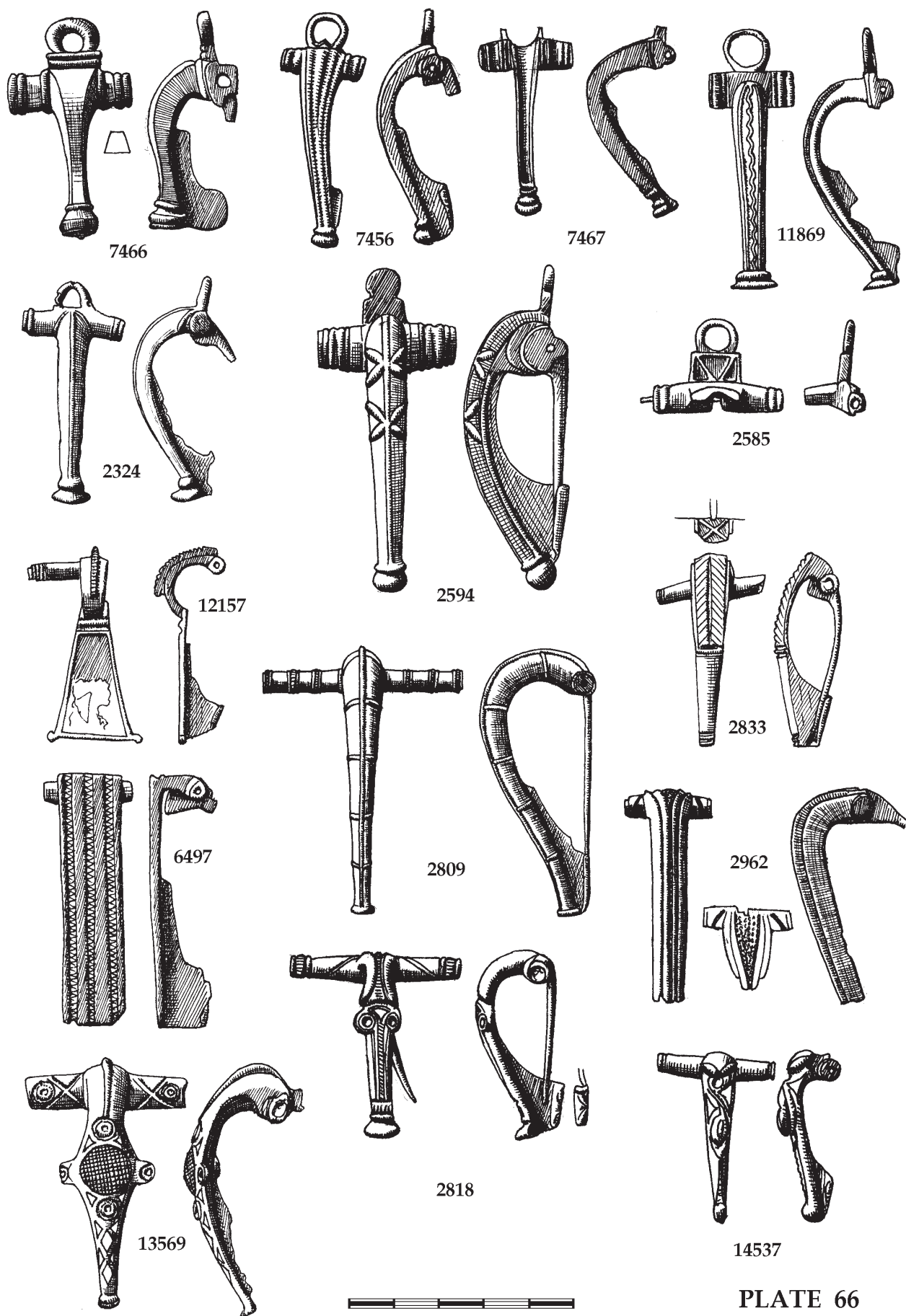
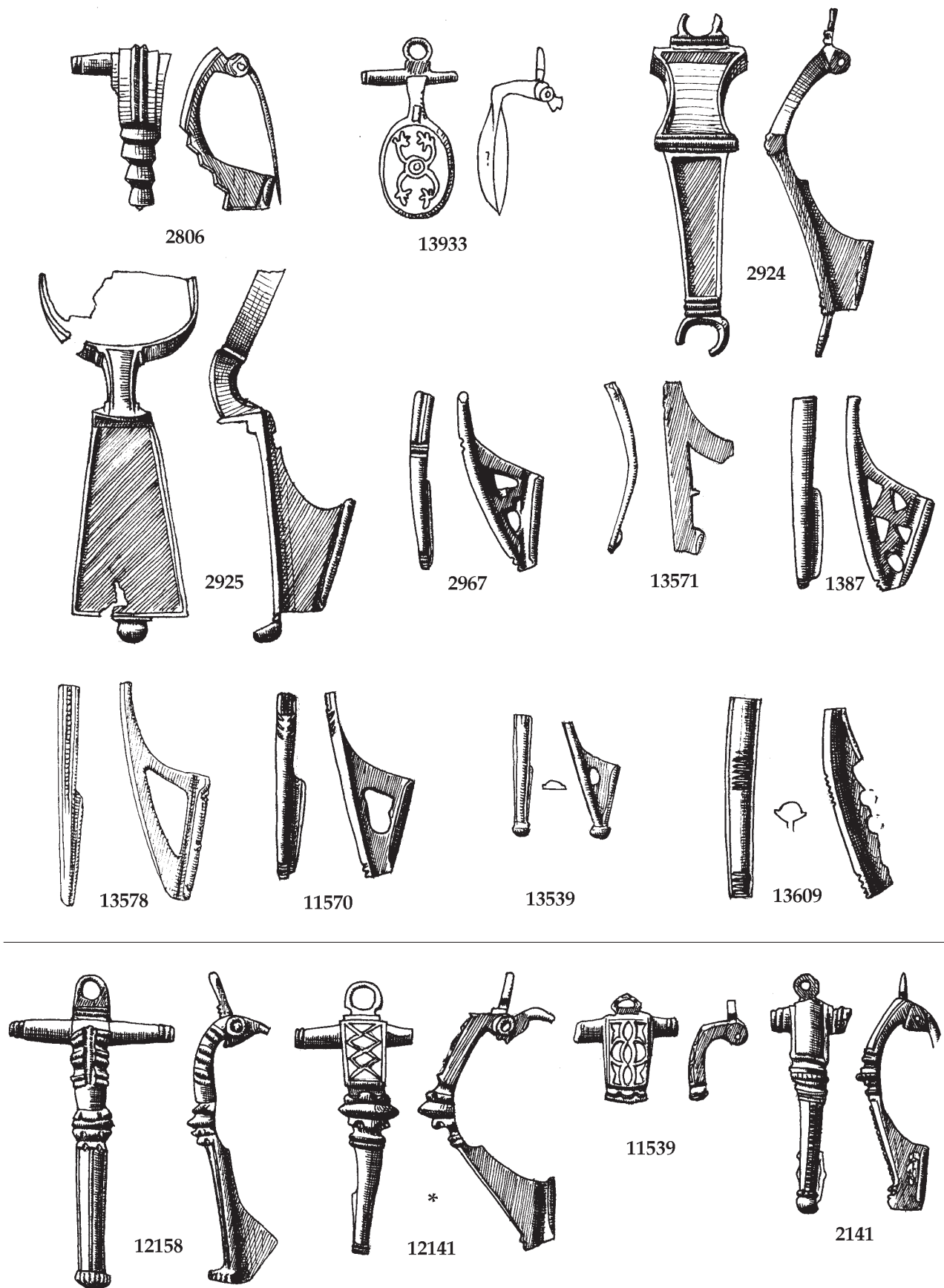


PLATE 64







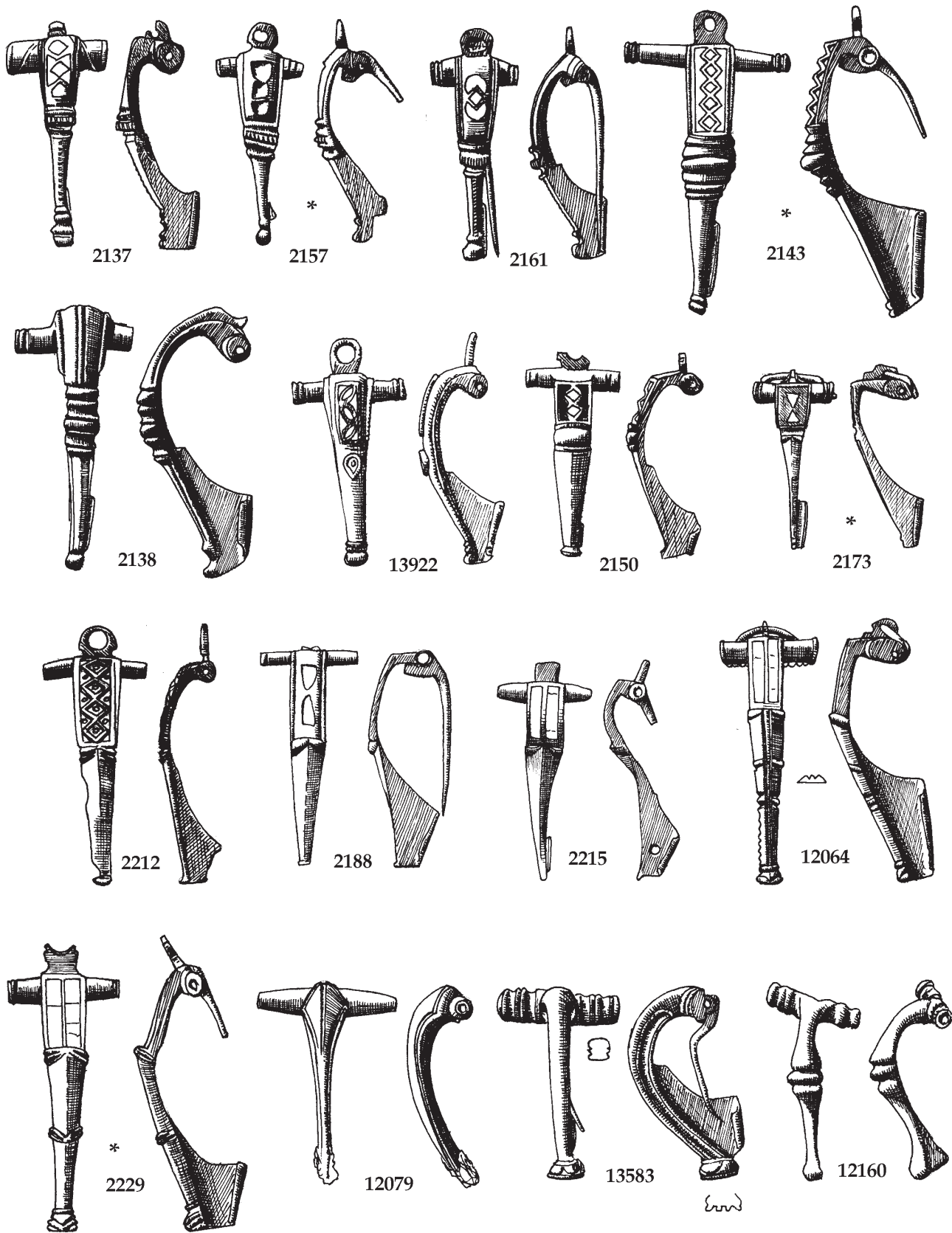


PLATE 68

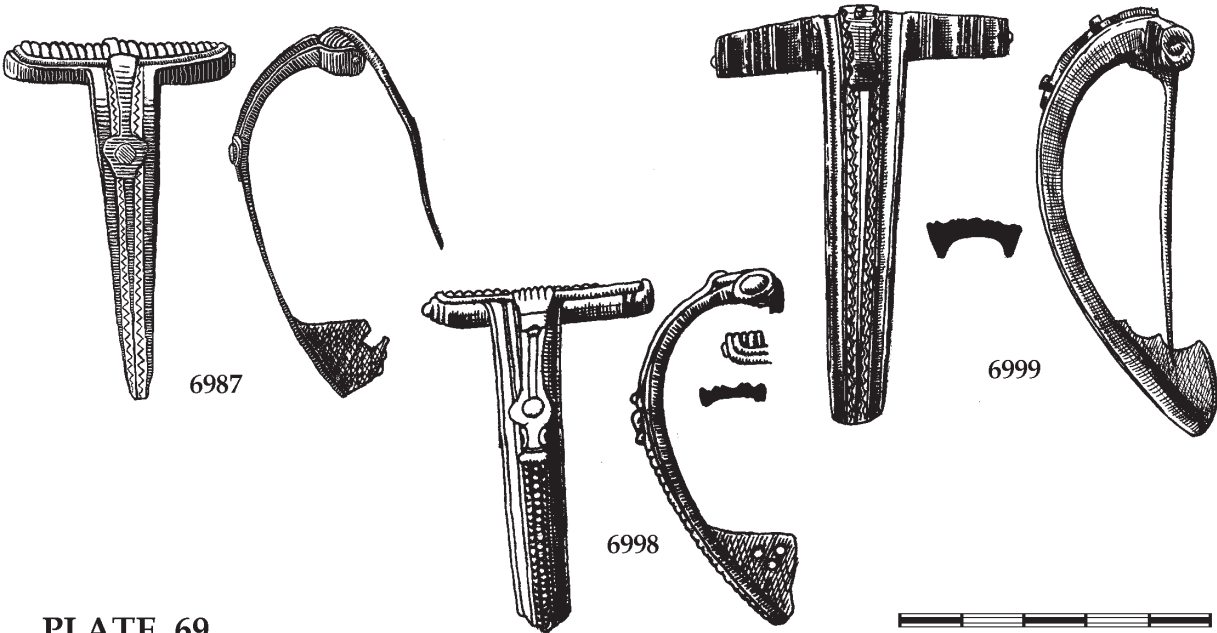
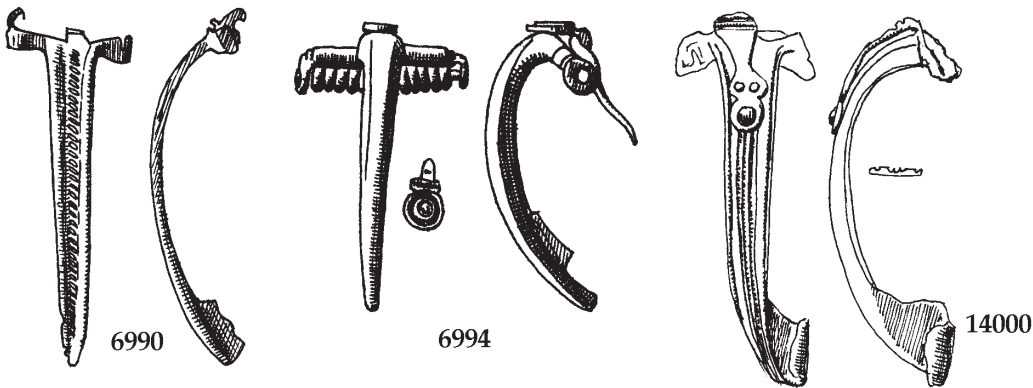
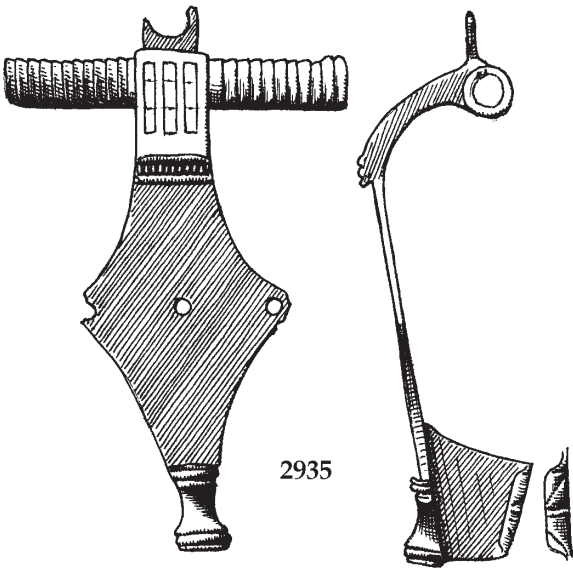
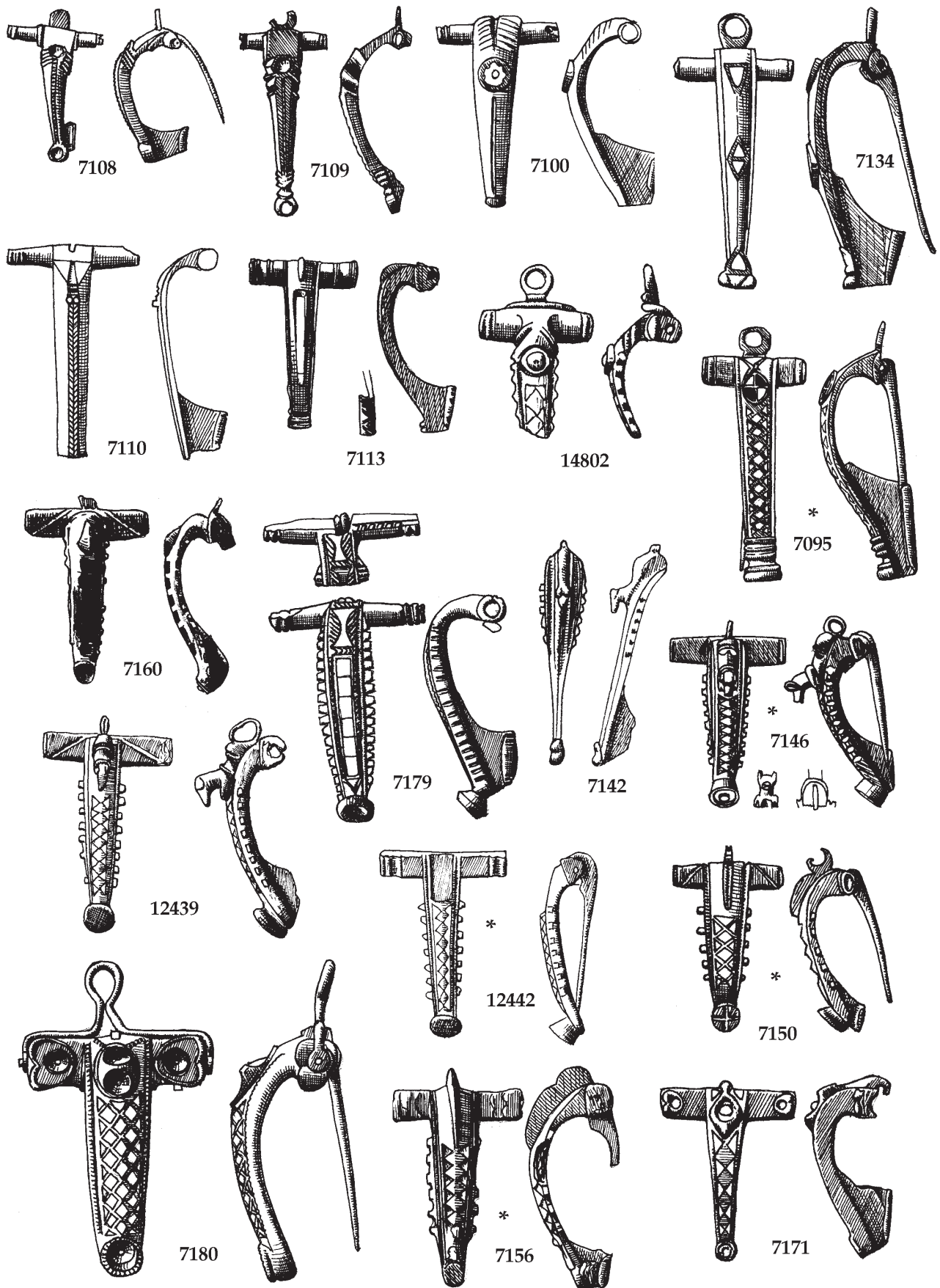


PLATE 69





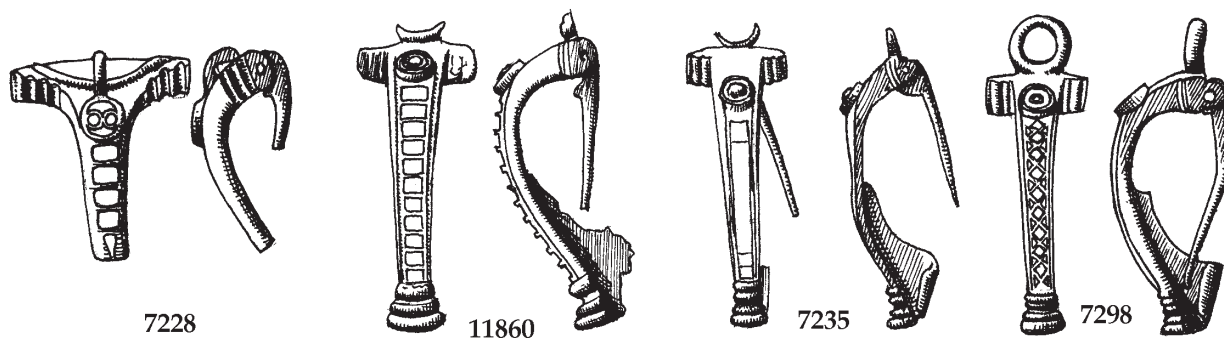
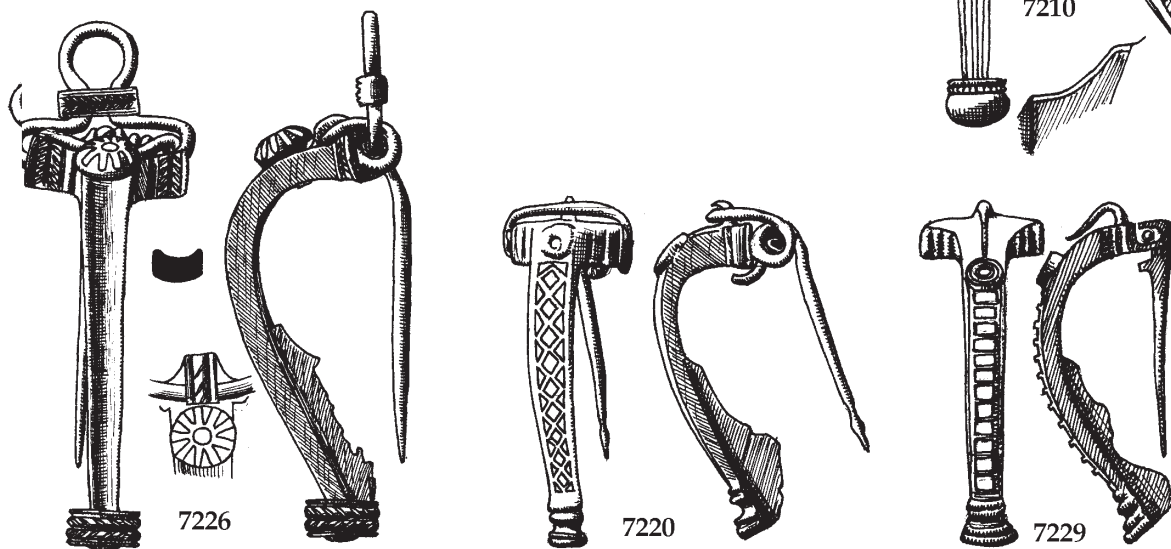
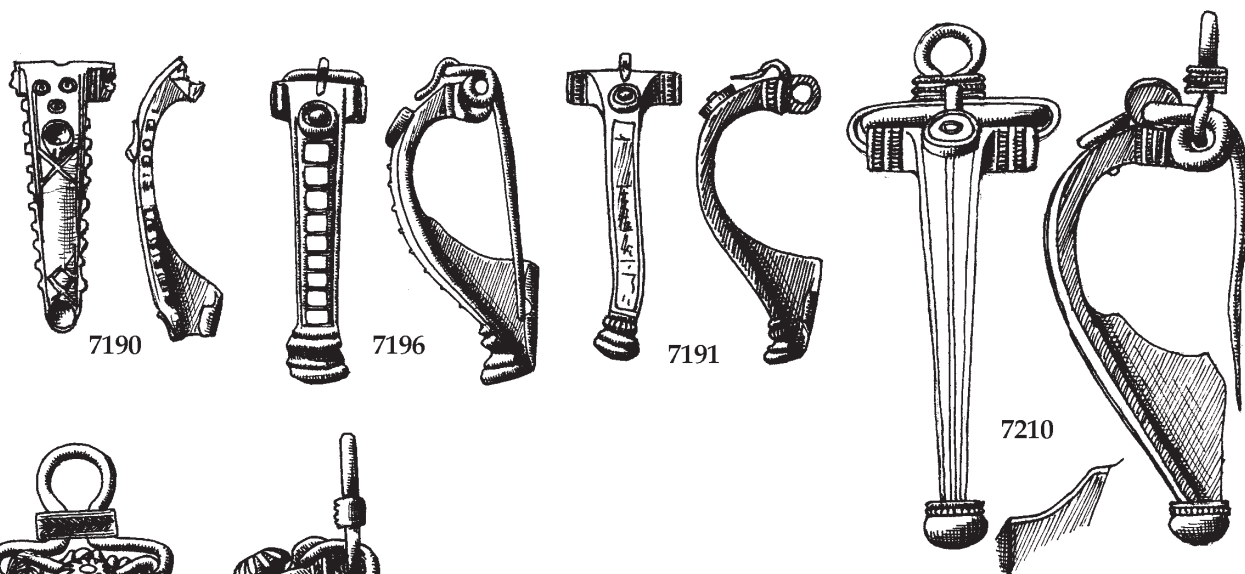
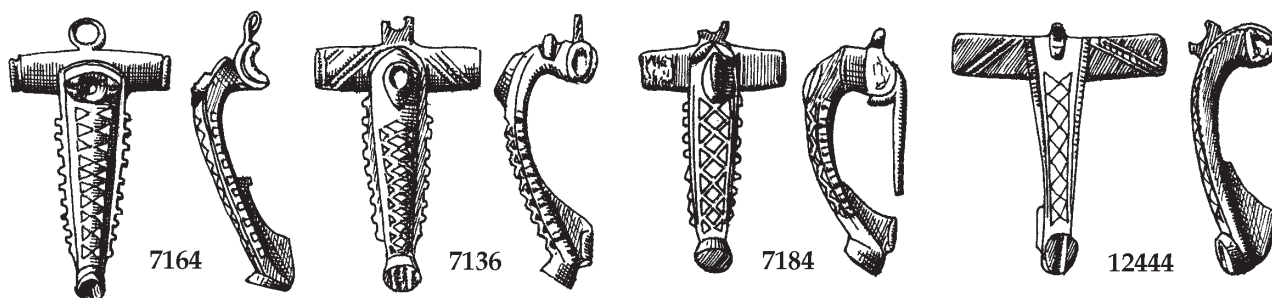
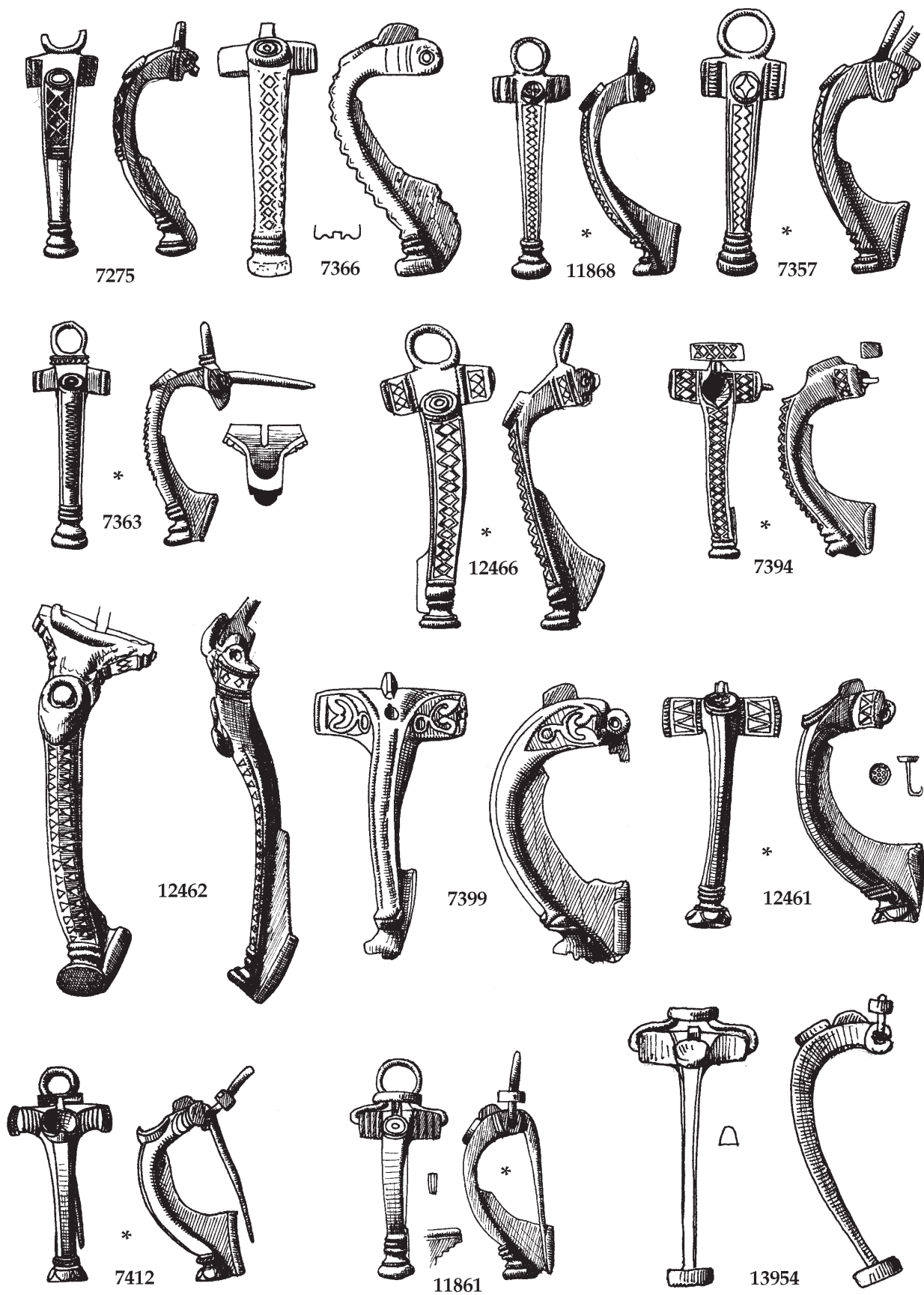


PLATE 72



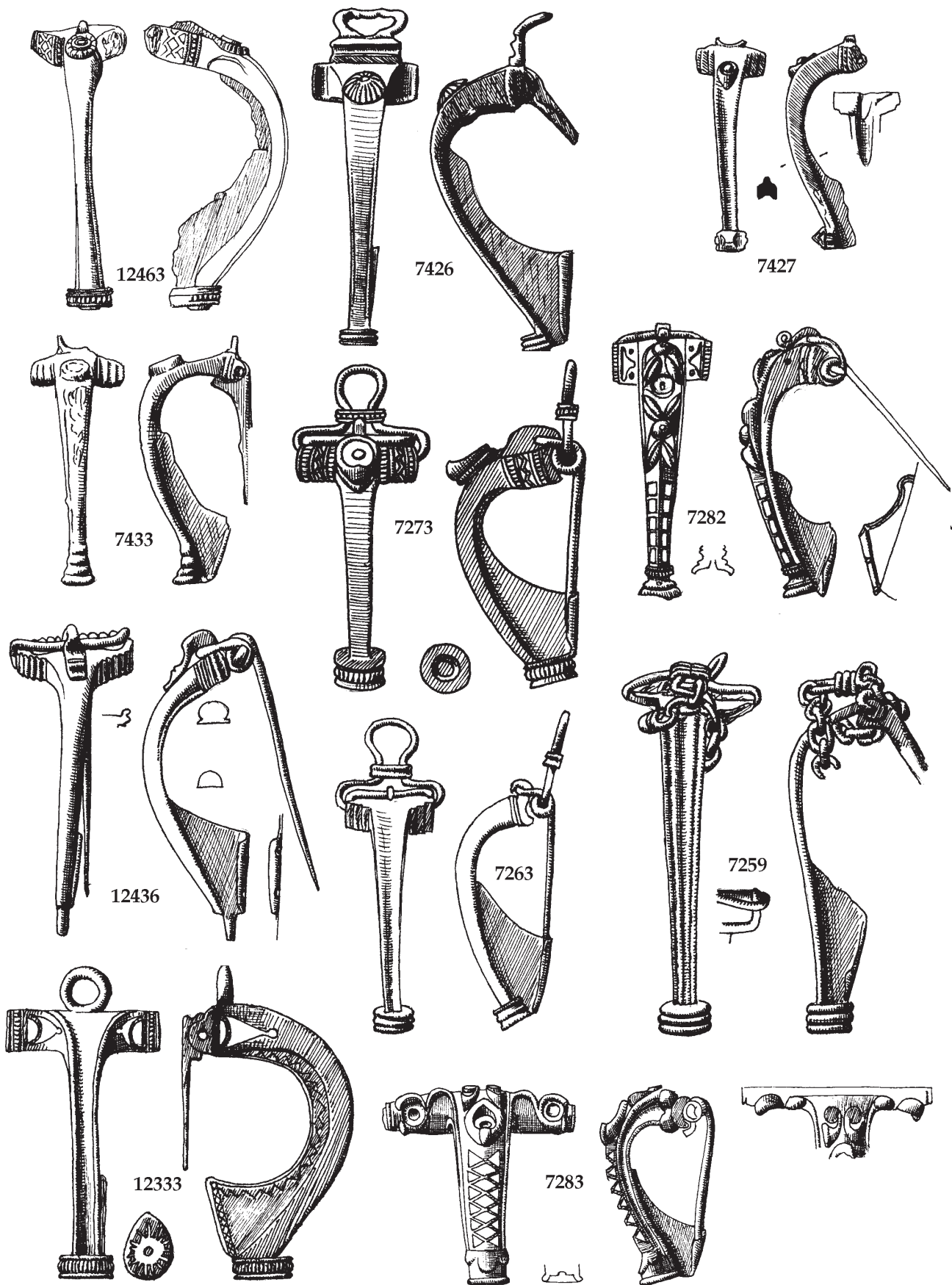
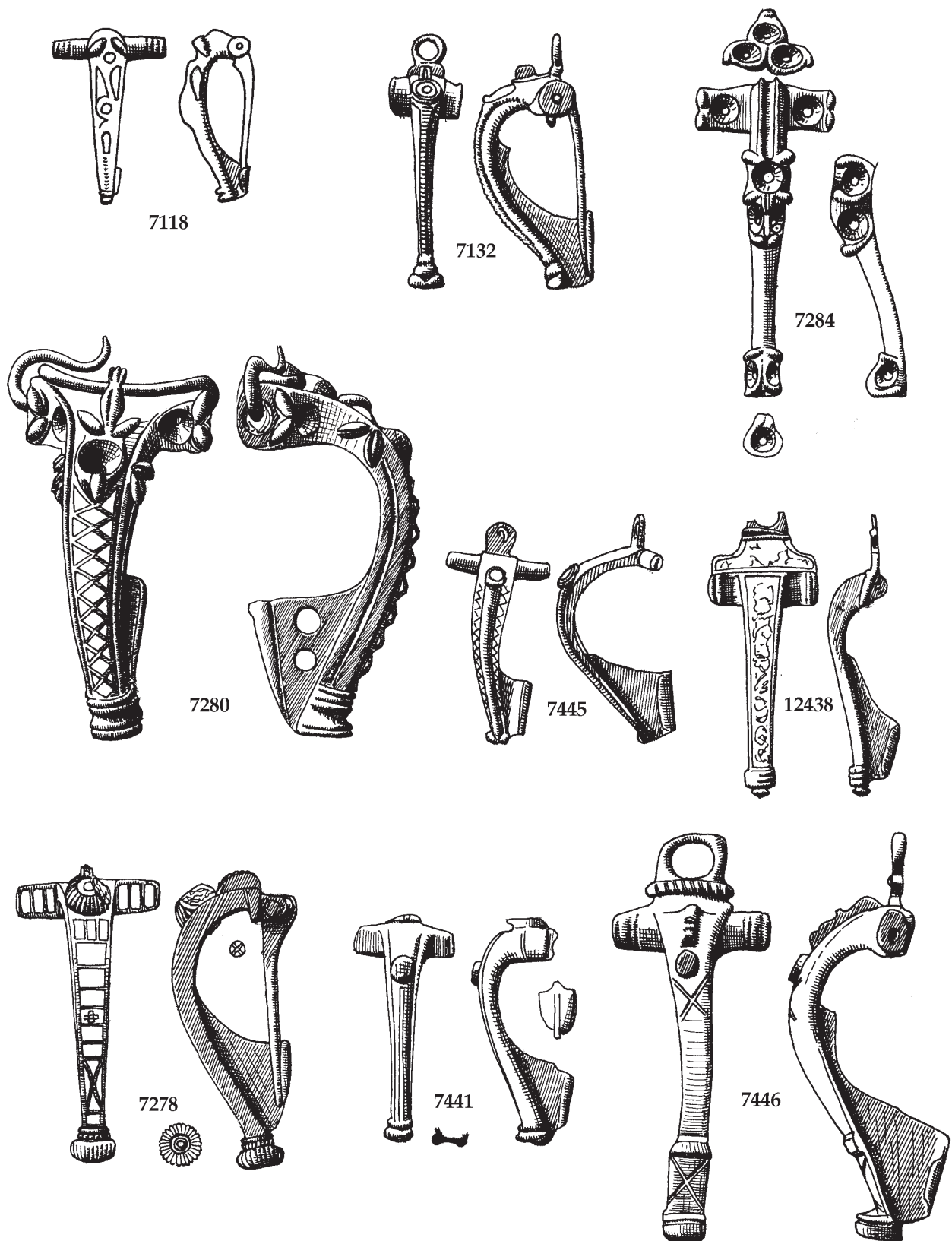
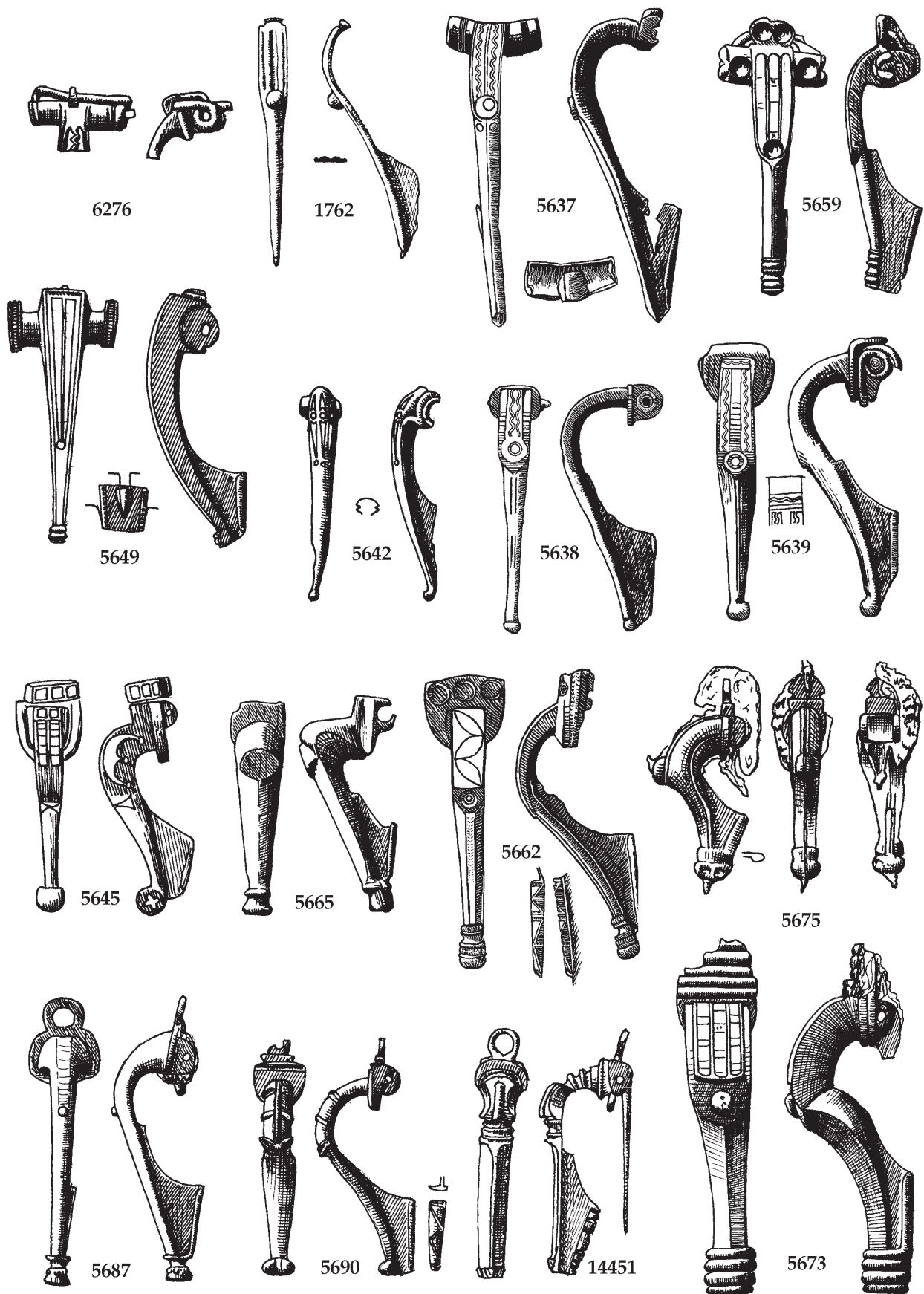
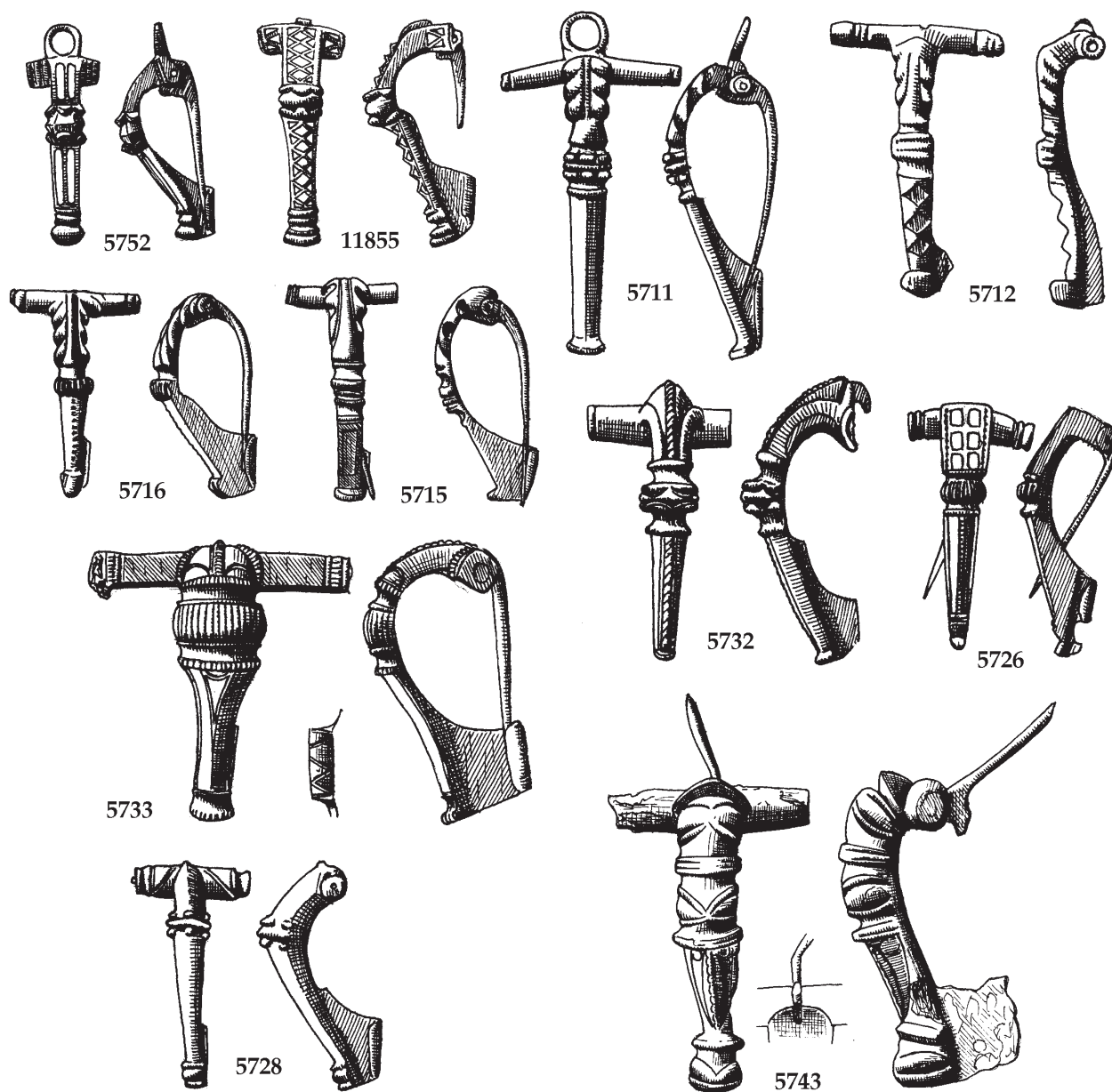
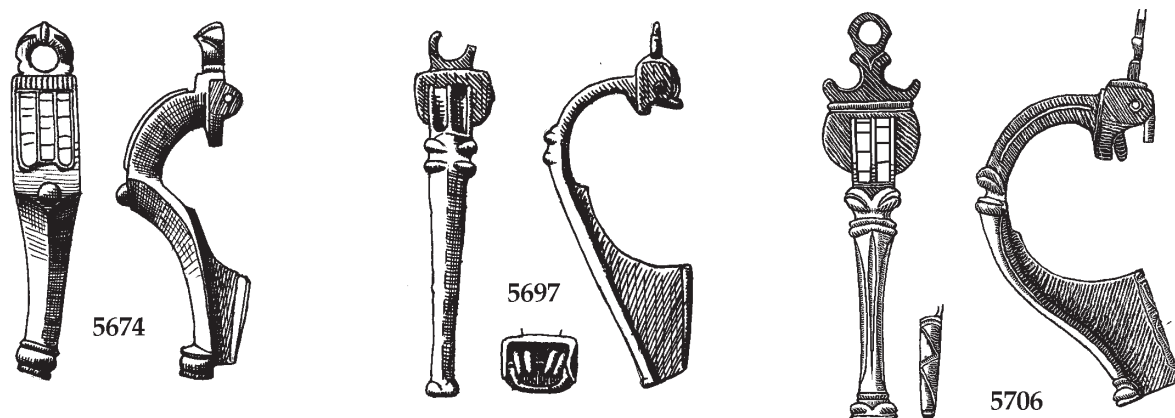
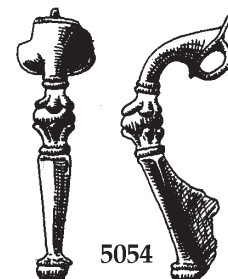
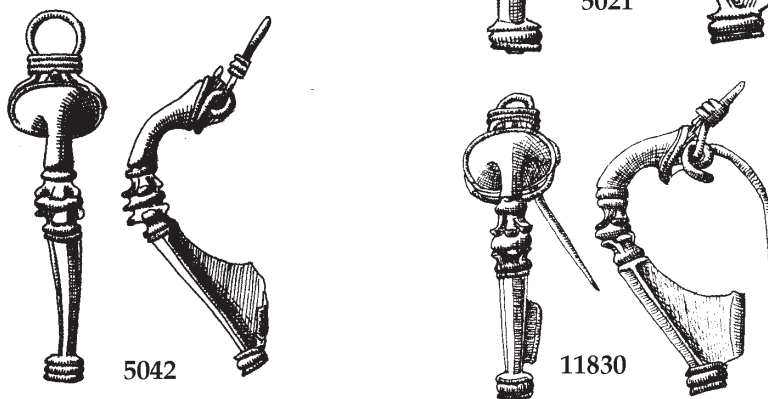
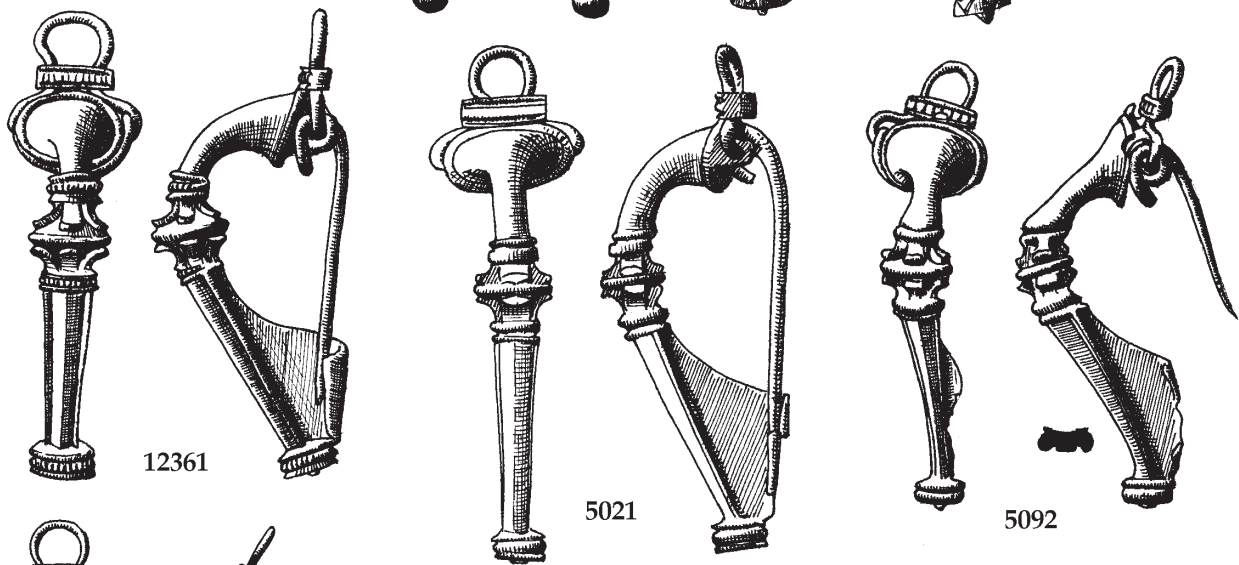
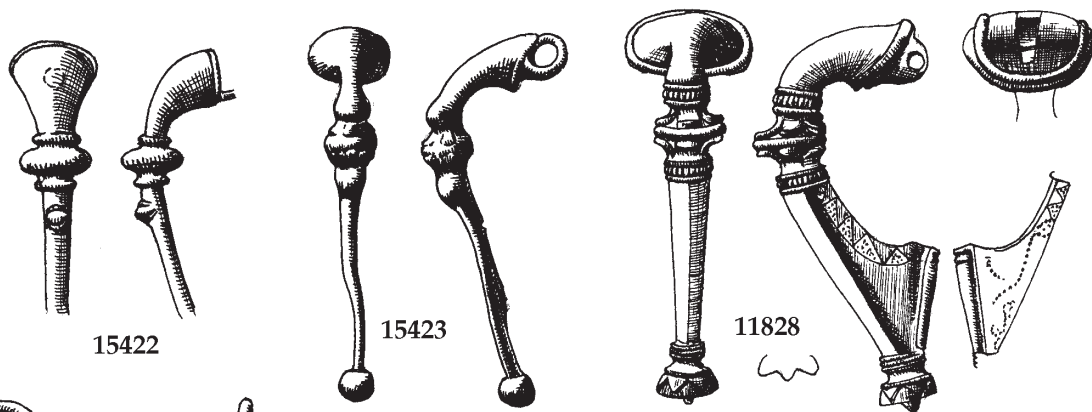
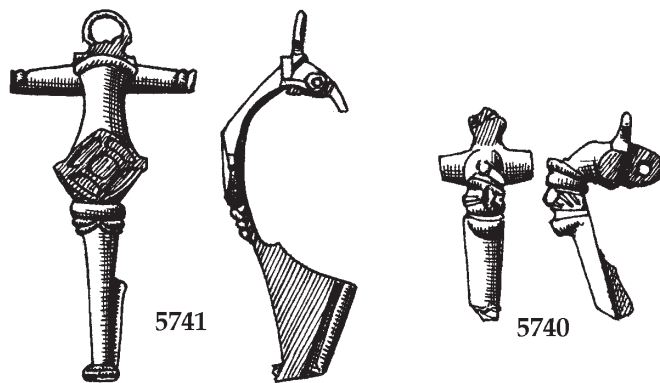


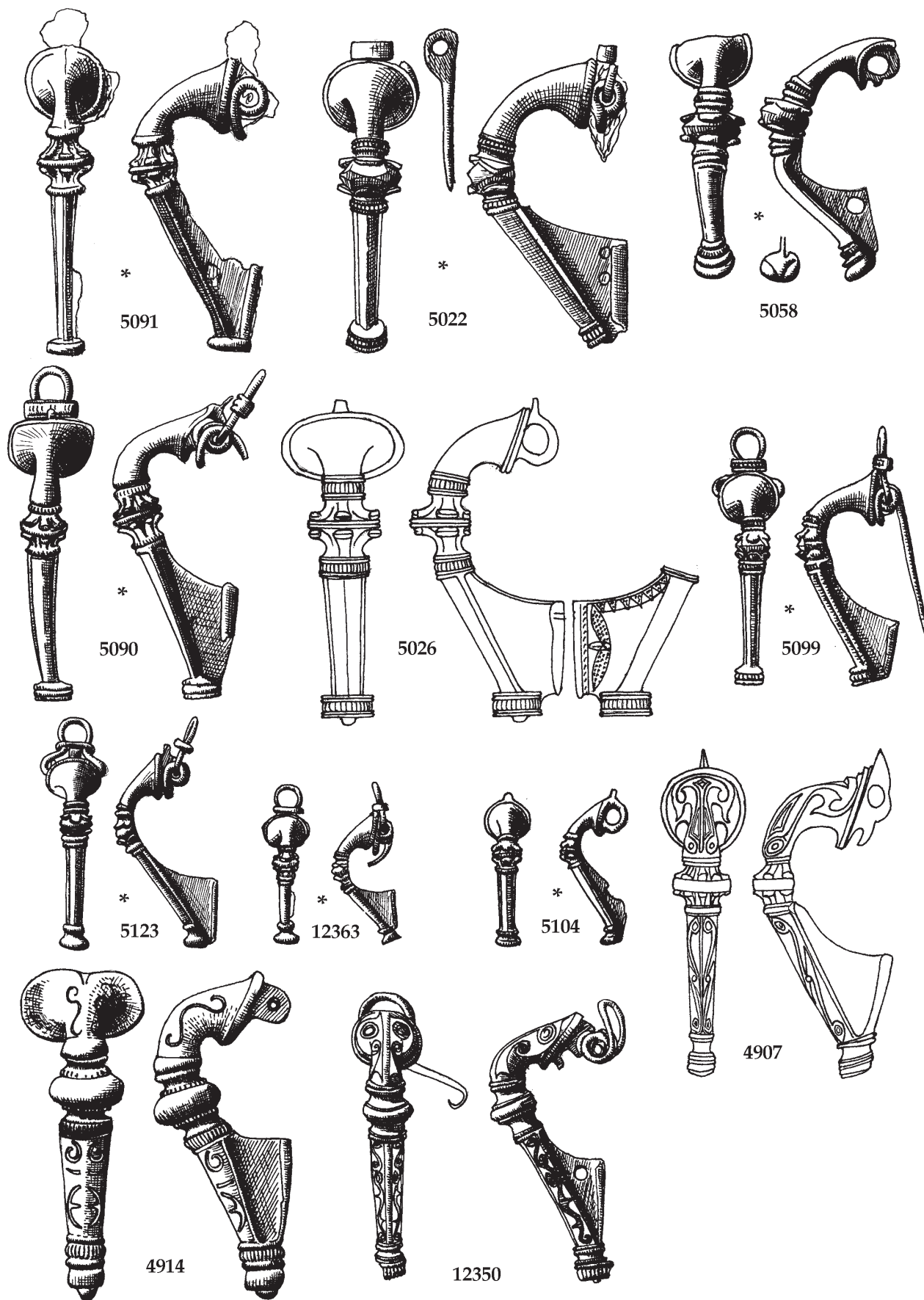
PLATE 74











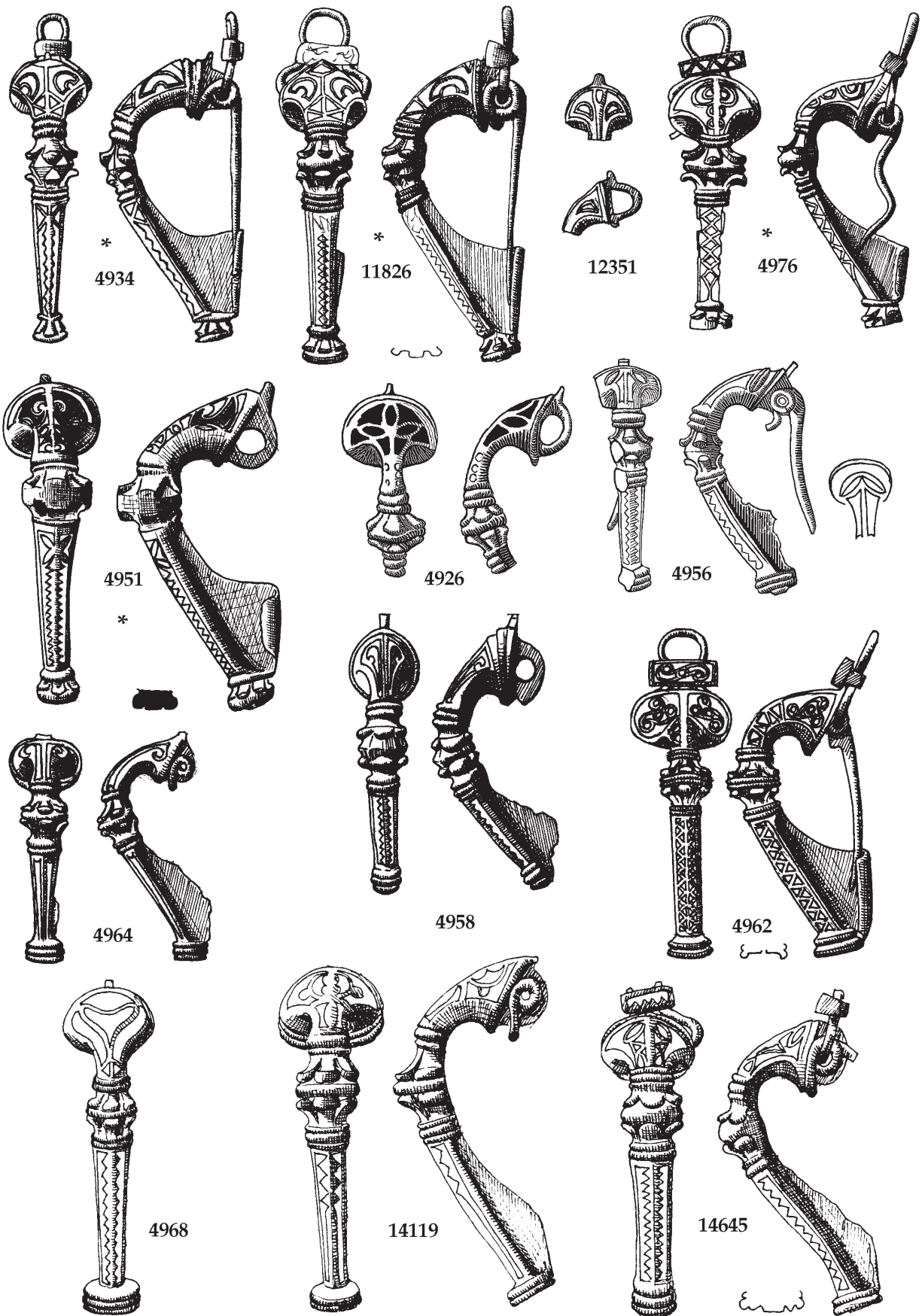
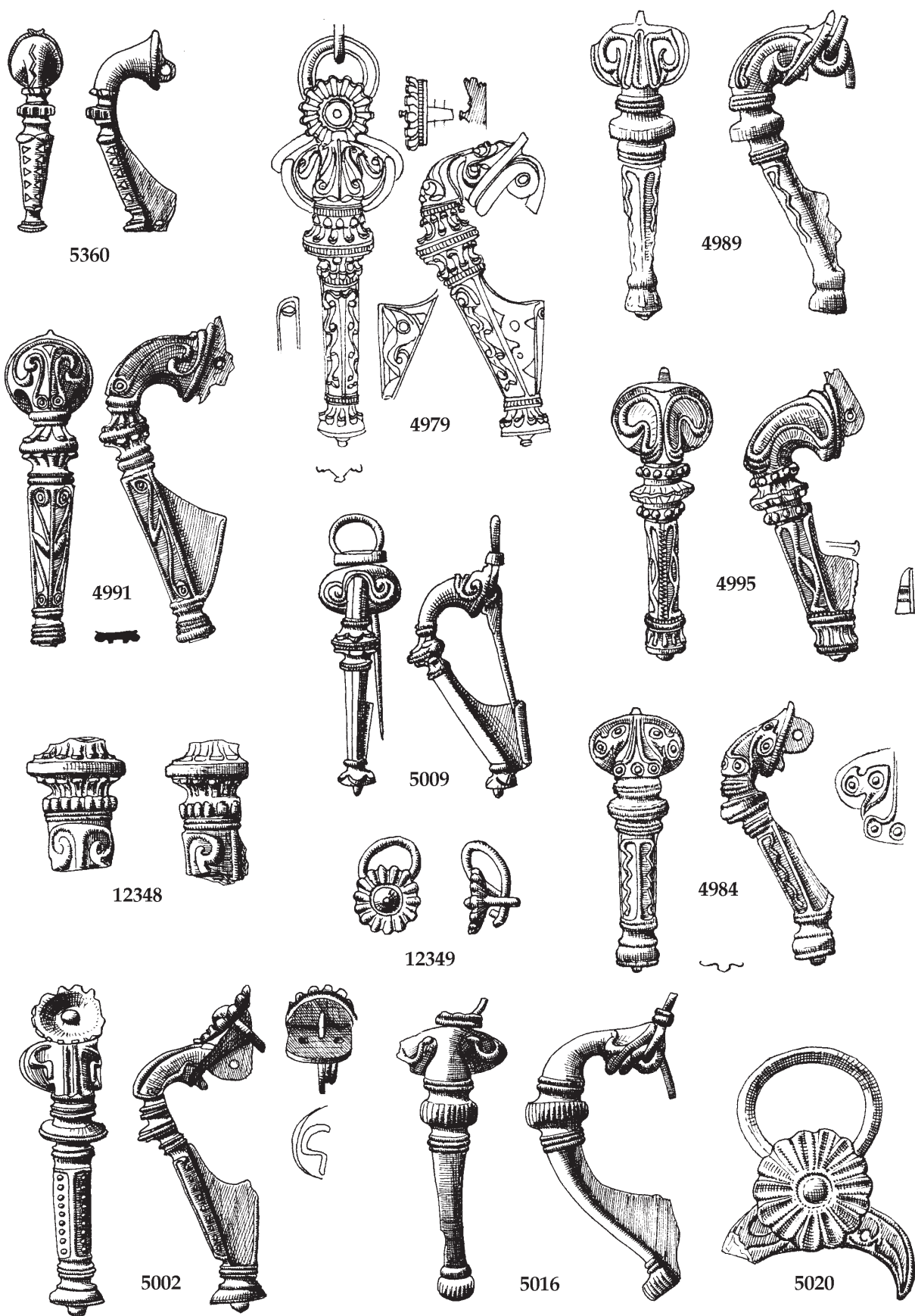


PLATE 80



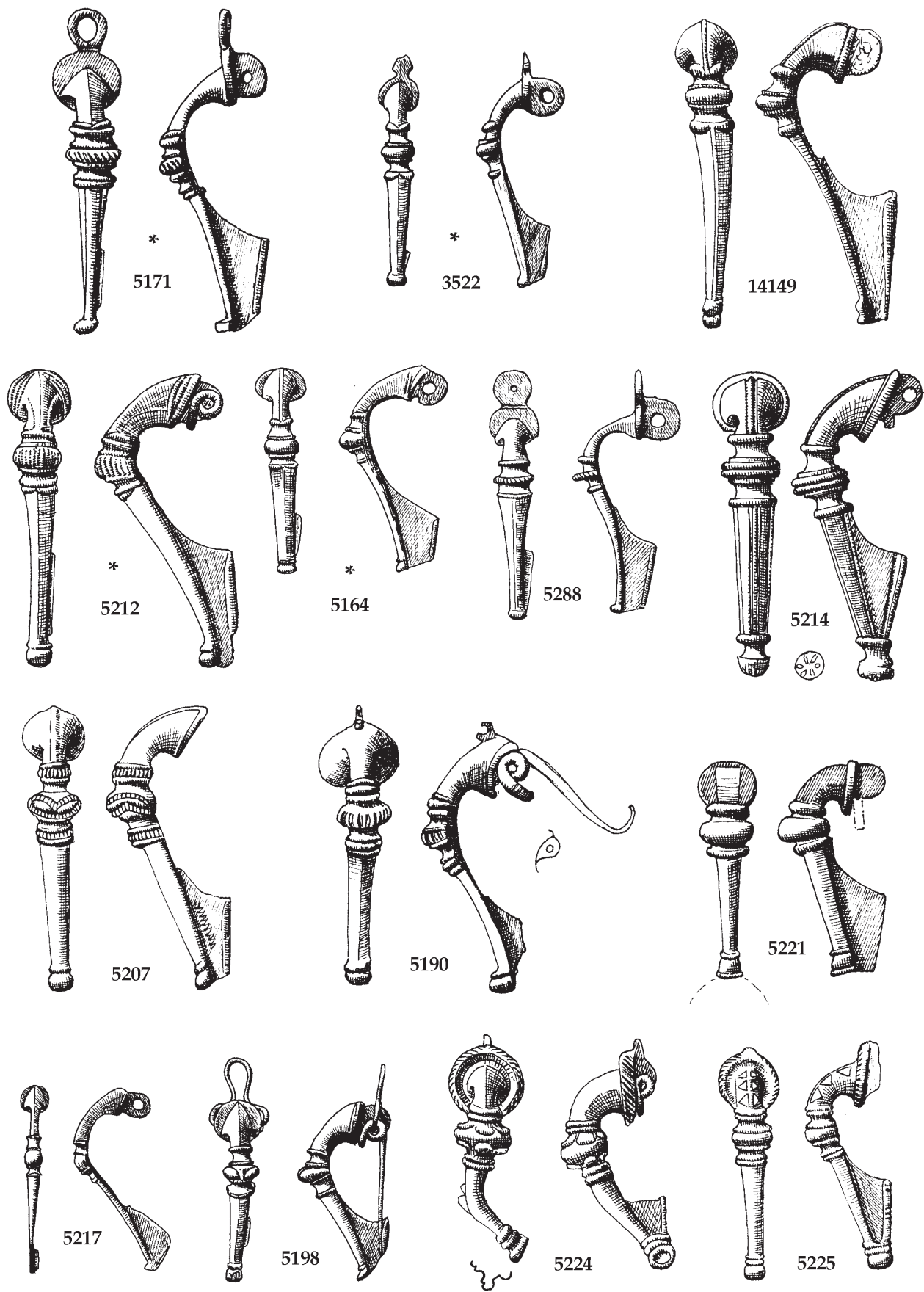
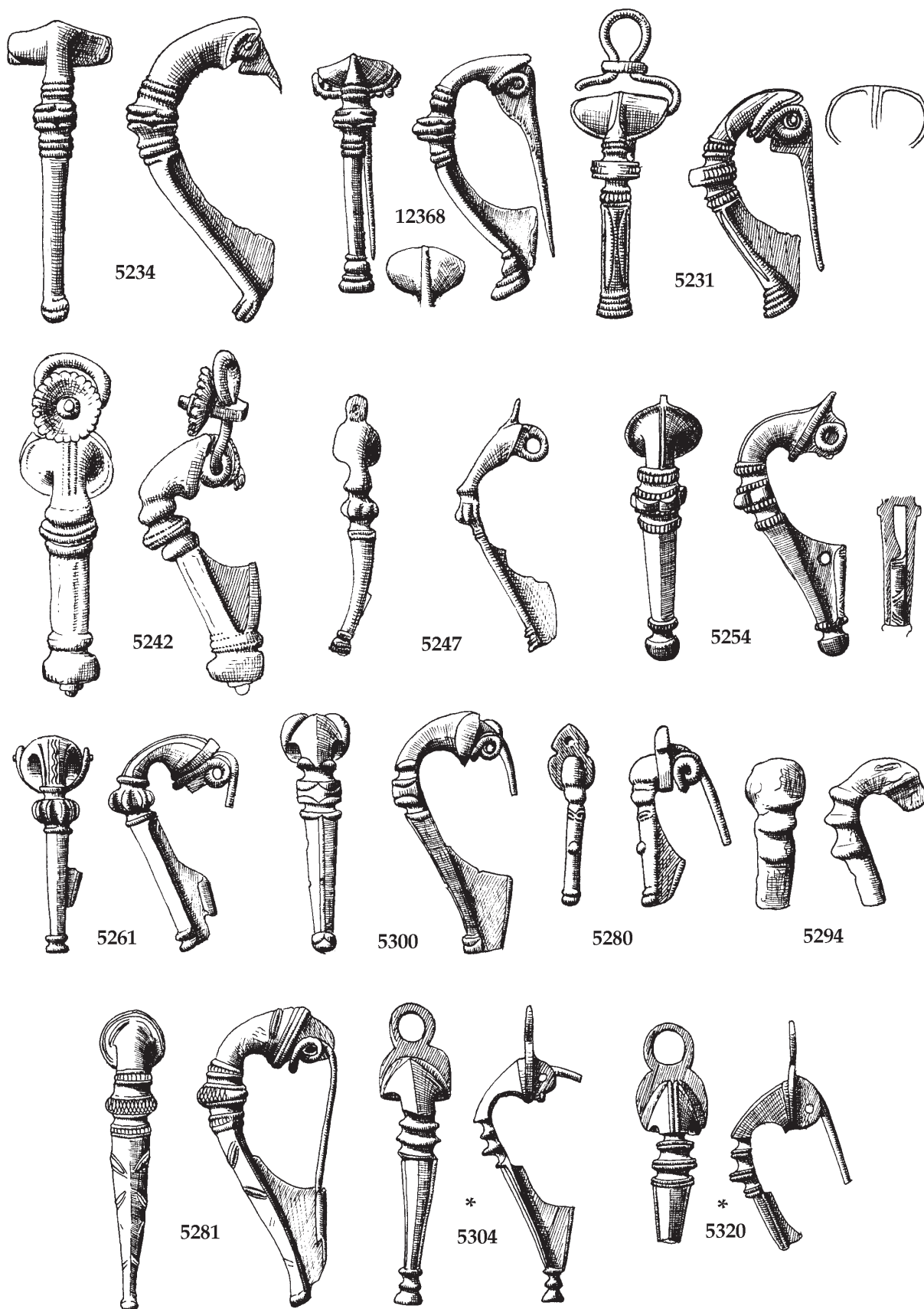


PLATE 82



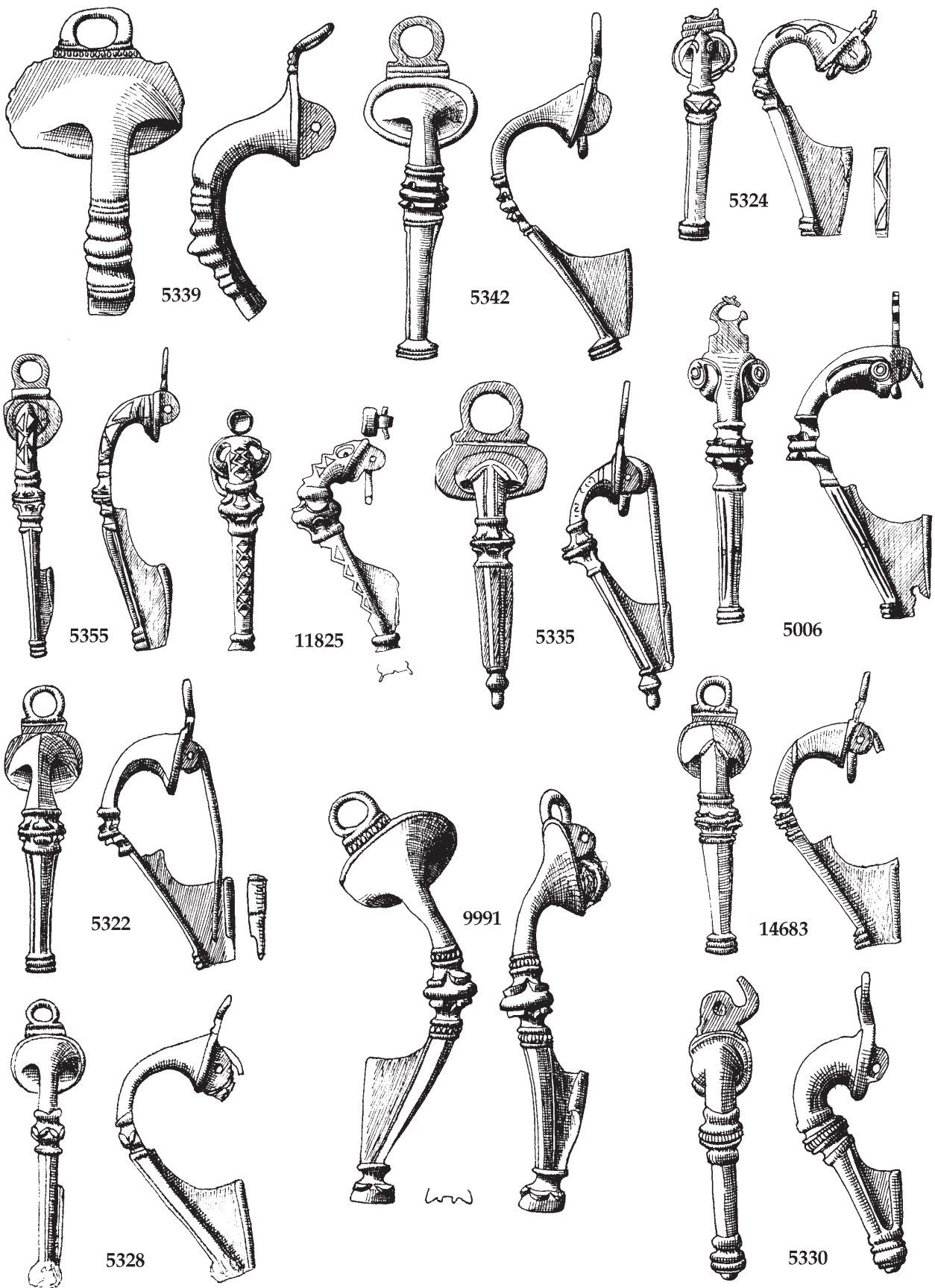
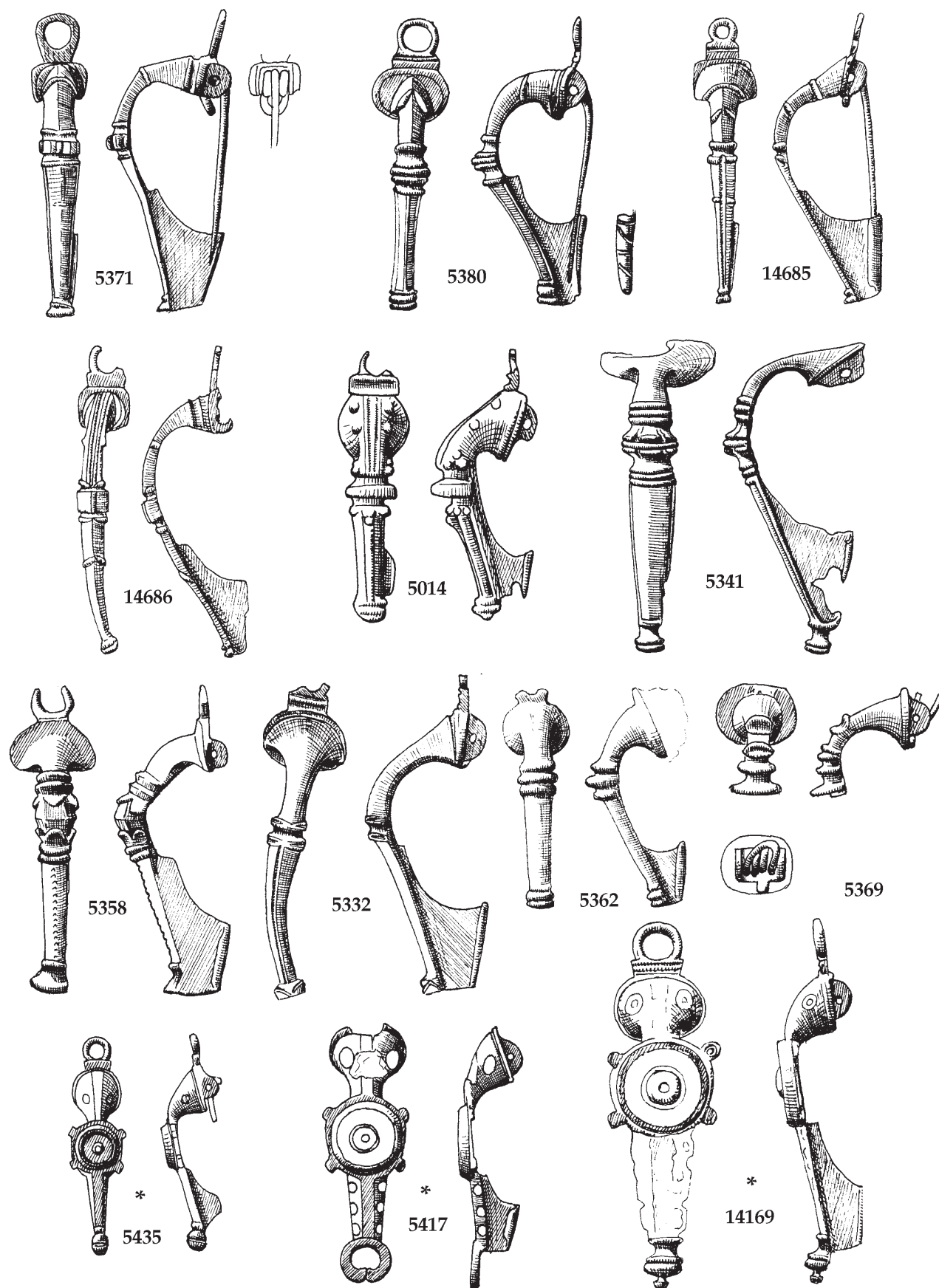


PLATE 84



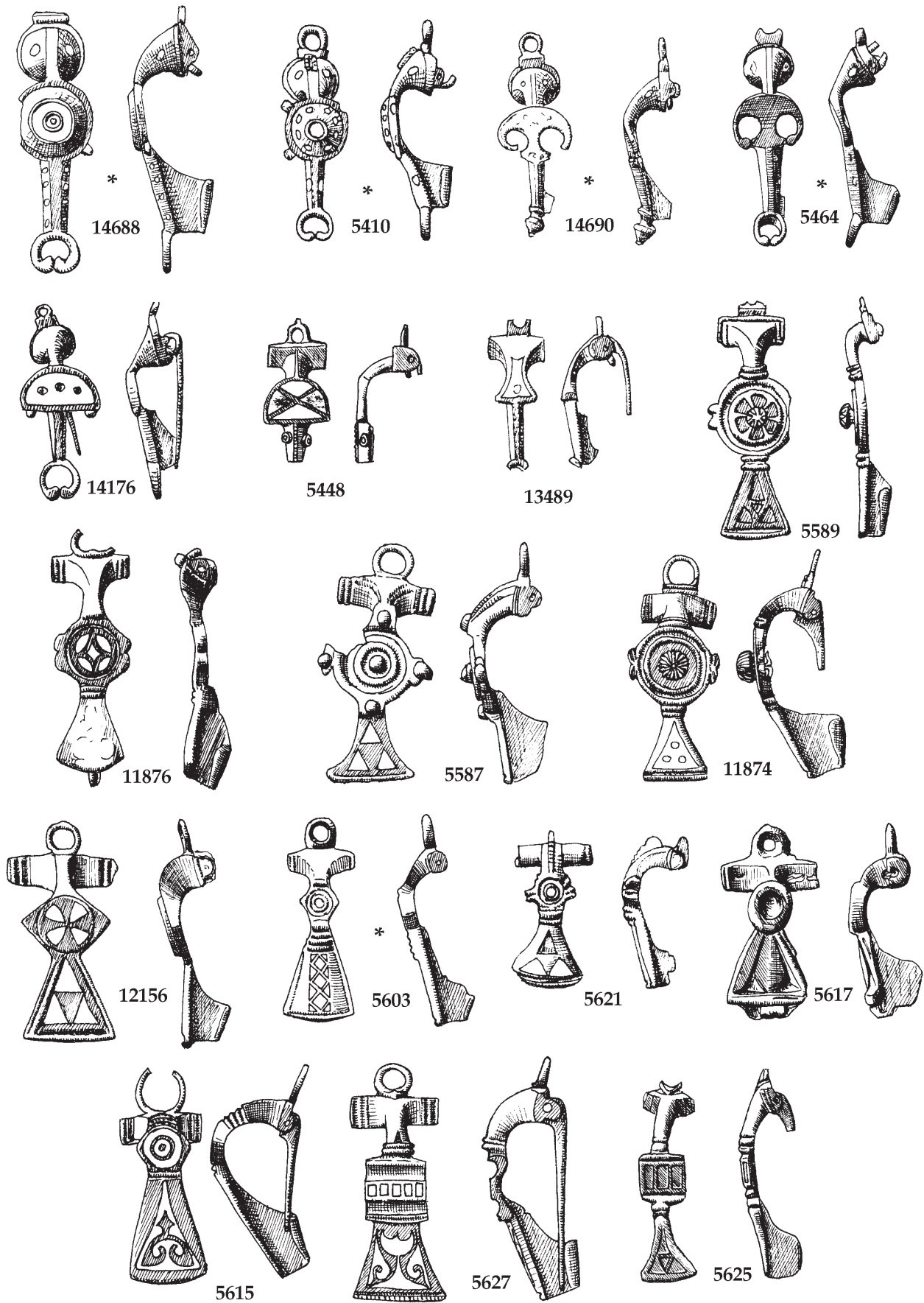
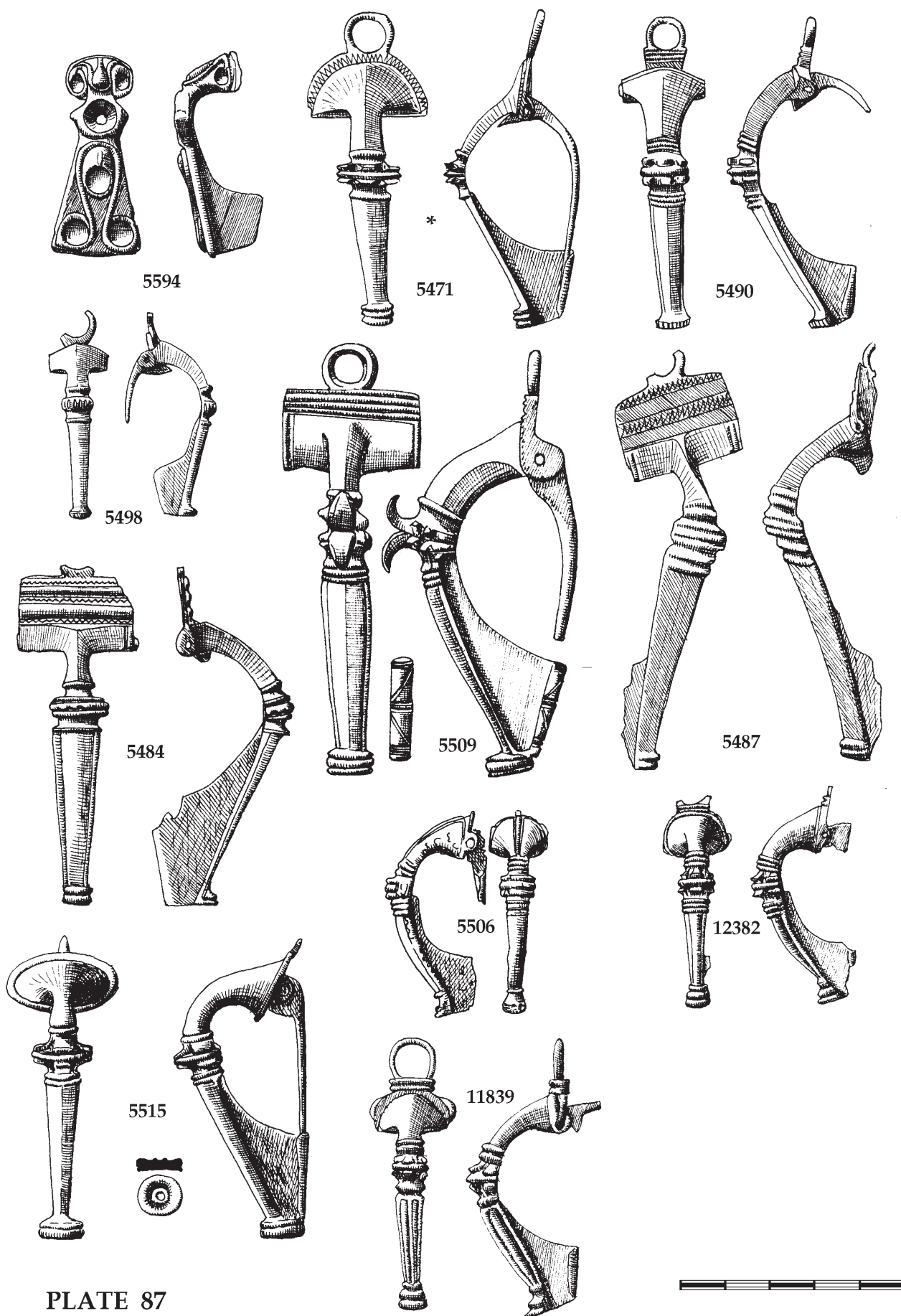
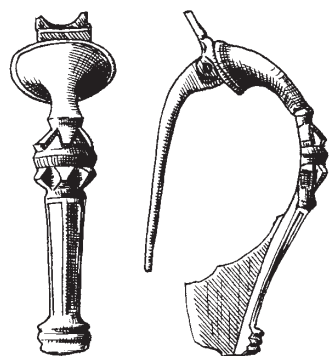
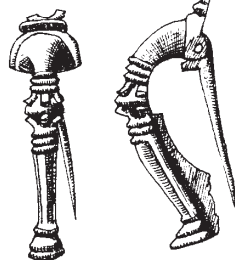


PLATE 86

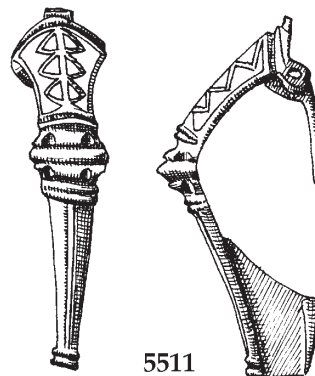




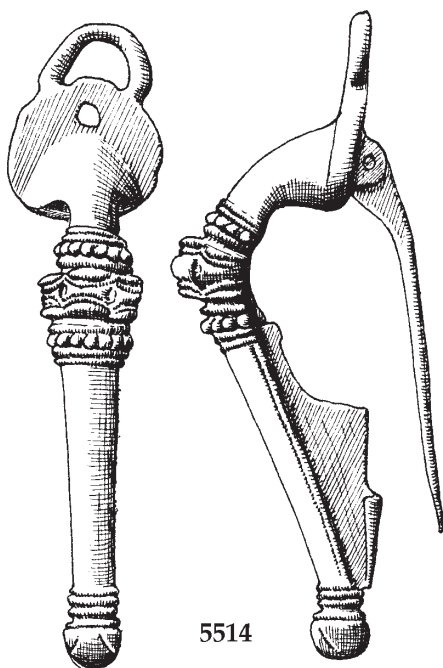
12381



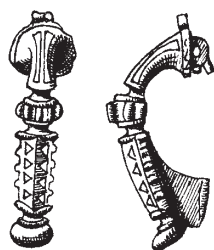
5519



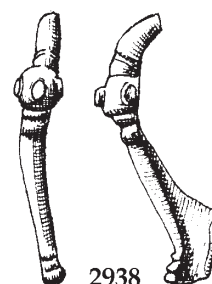
5511



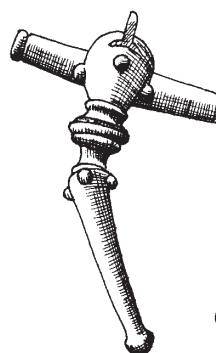
5514



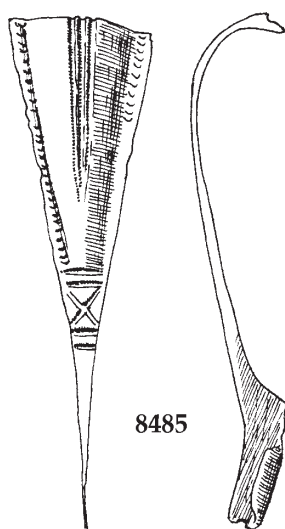
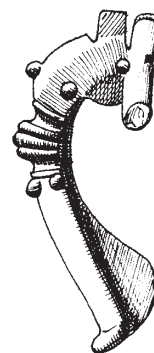
14861



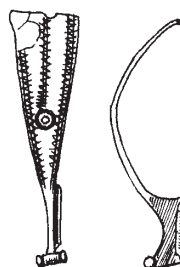
2938



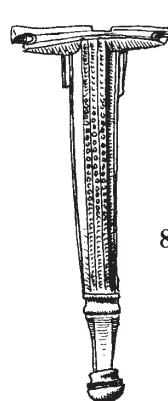
6306



8485



8487



8536

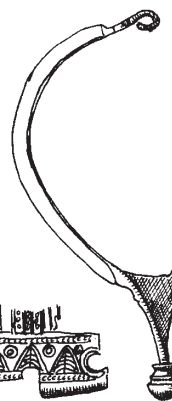


PLATE 88

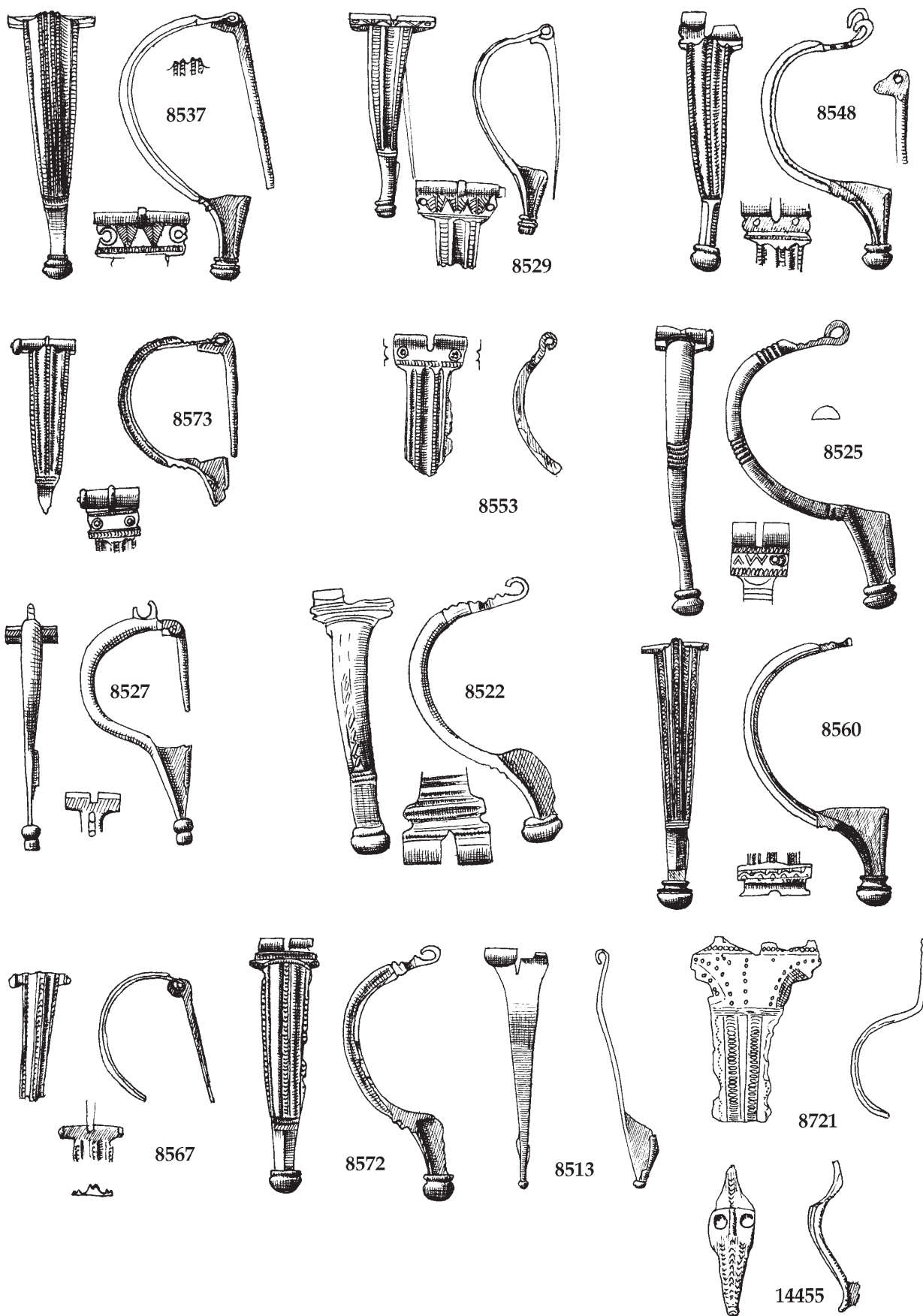
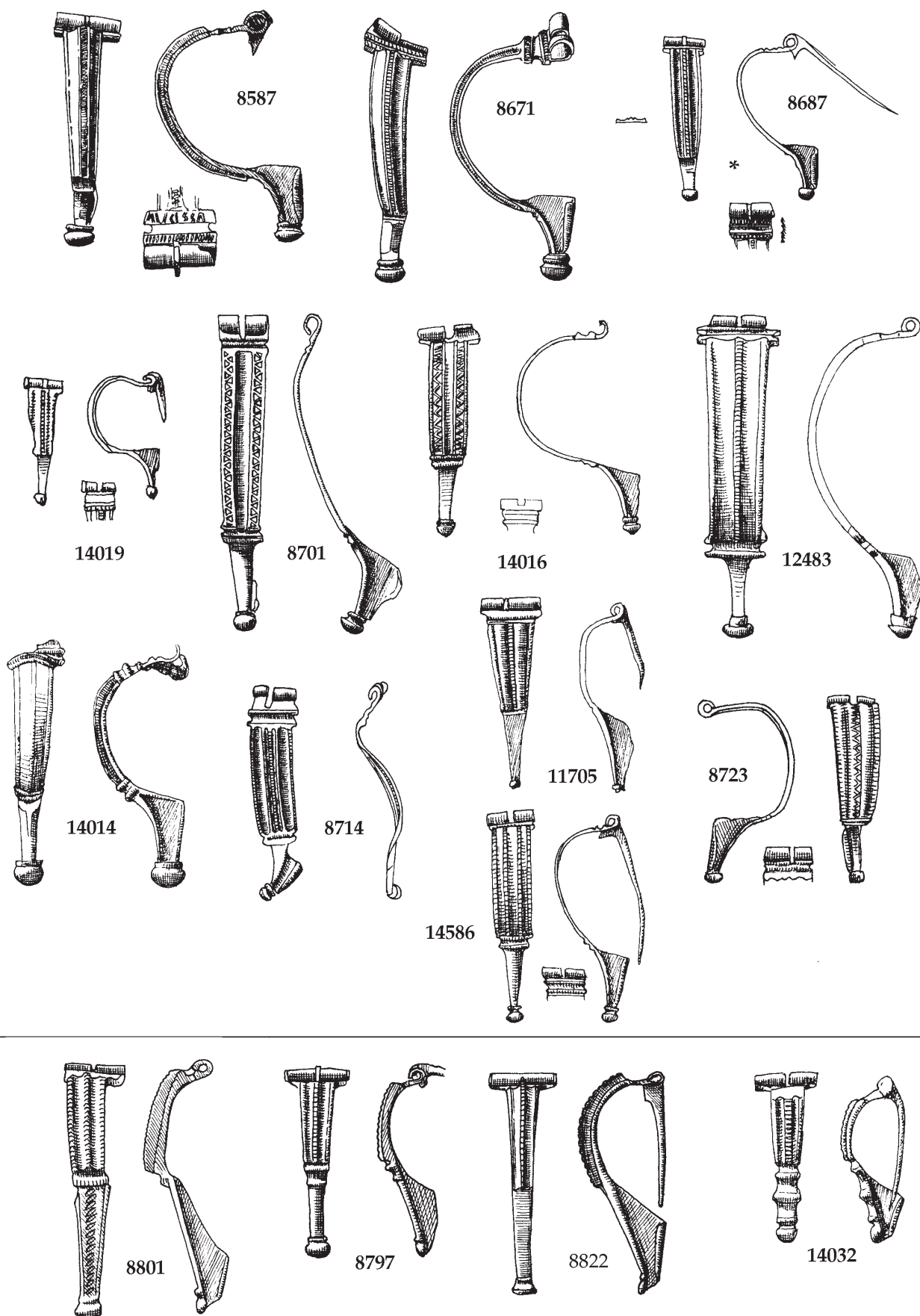
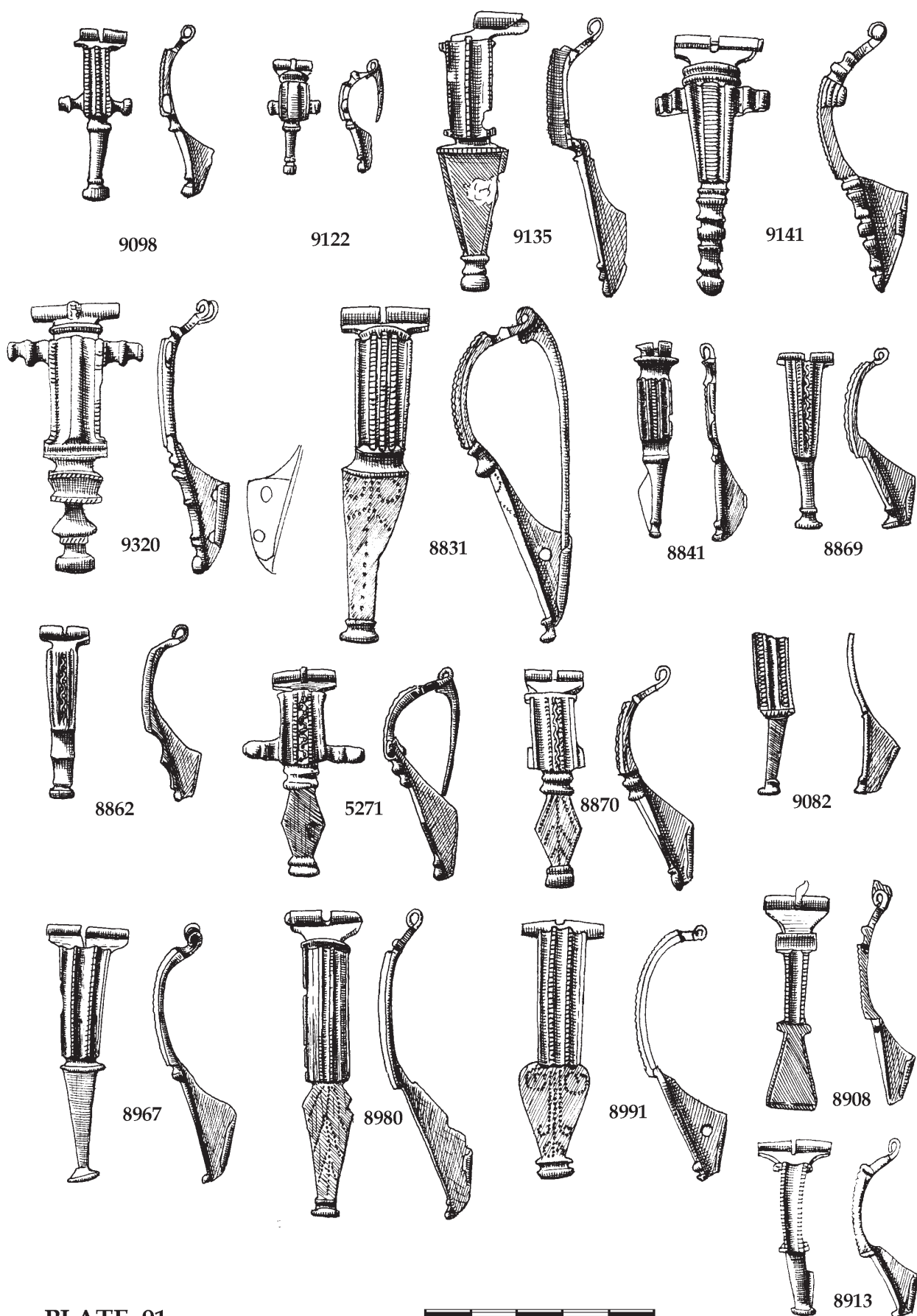


PLATE 89







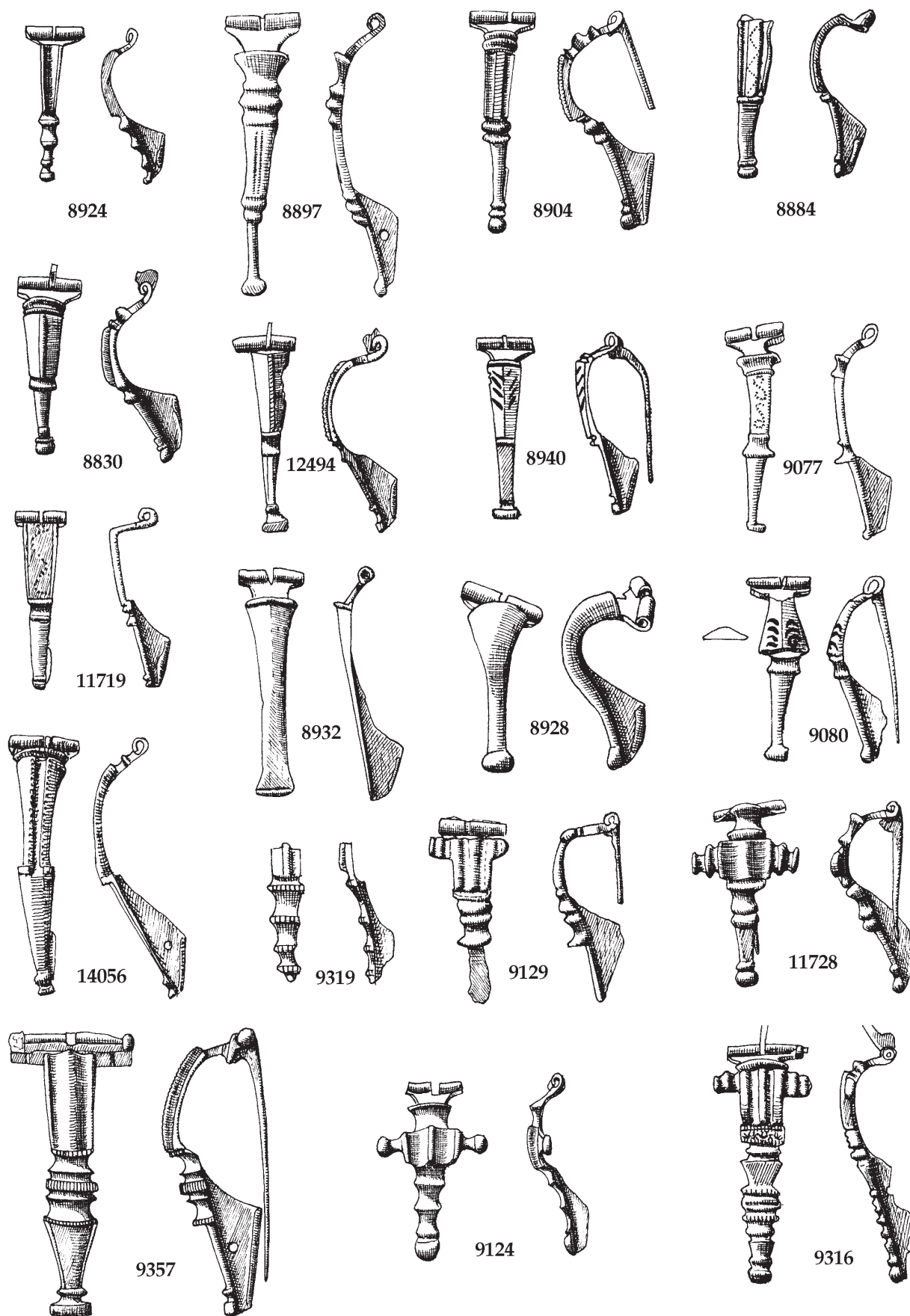
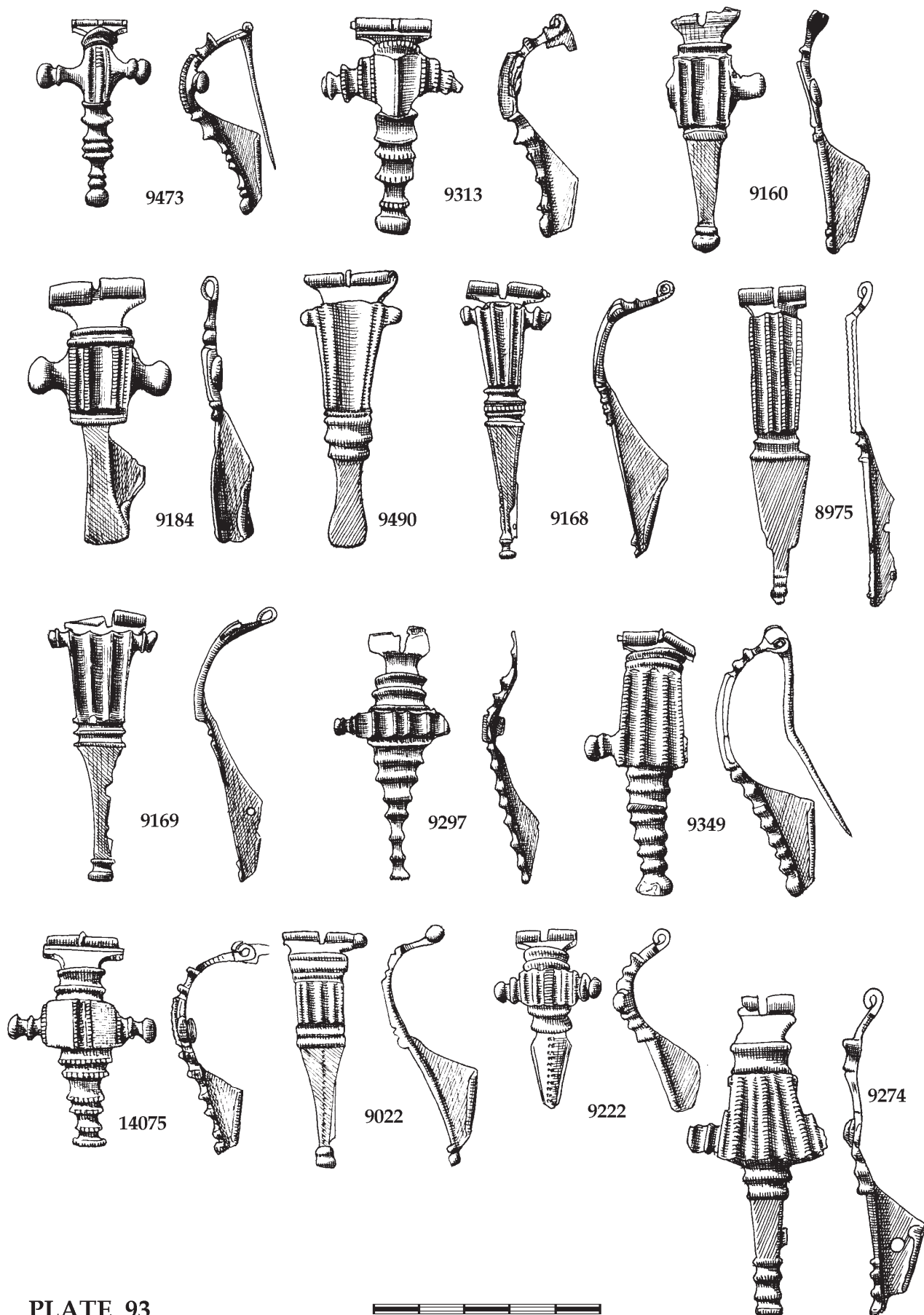
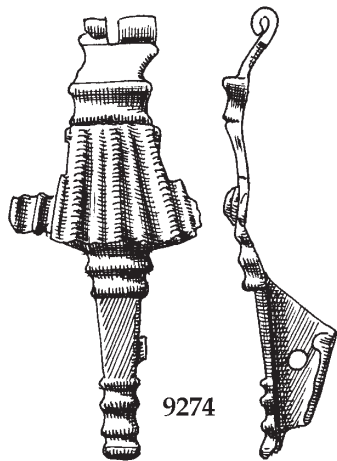
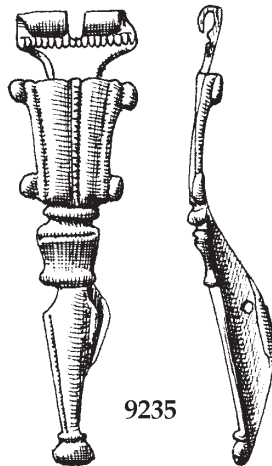


PLATE 92





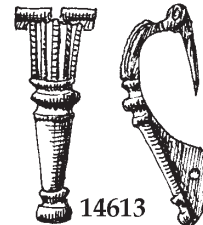
9274



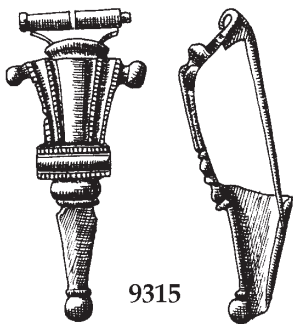
9235



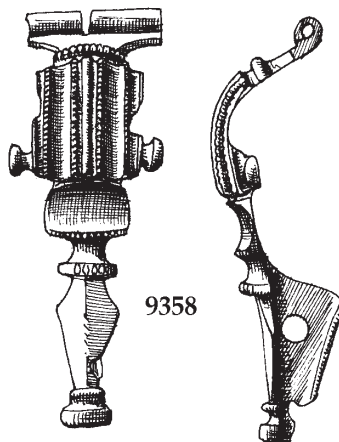
12286



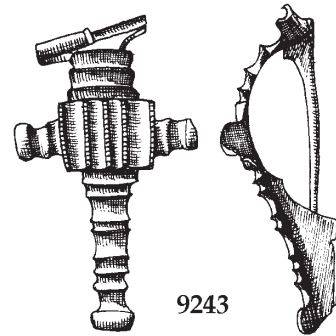
14613



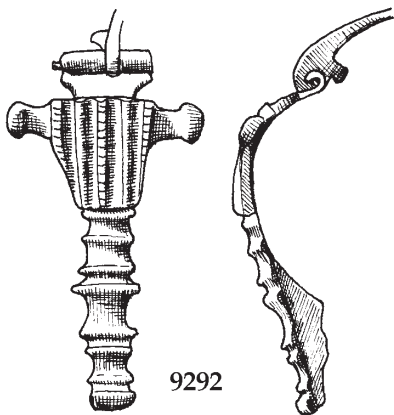
9315



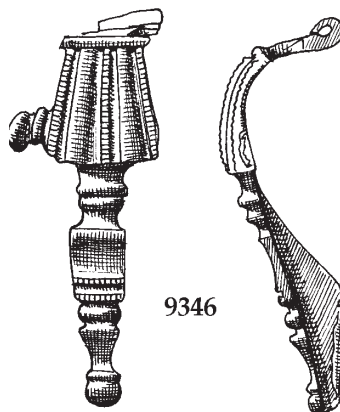
9358



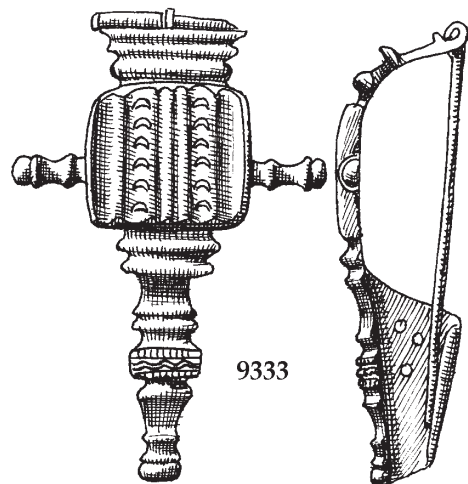
9243



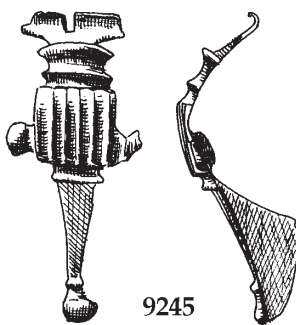
9292



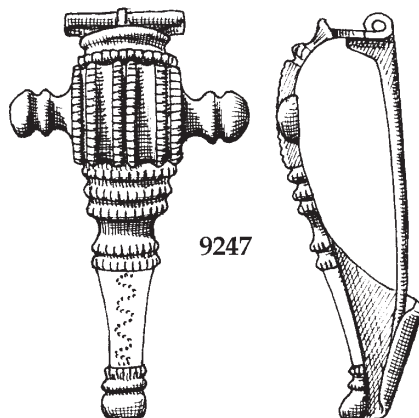
9346



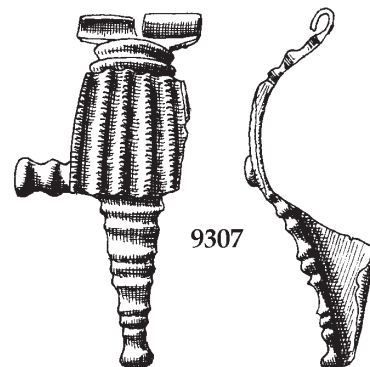
9333



9245



9247



9307



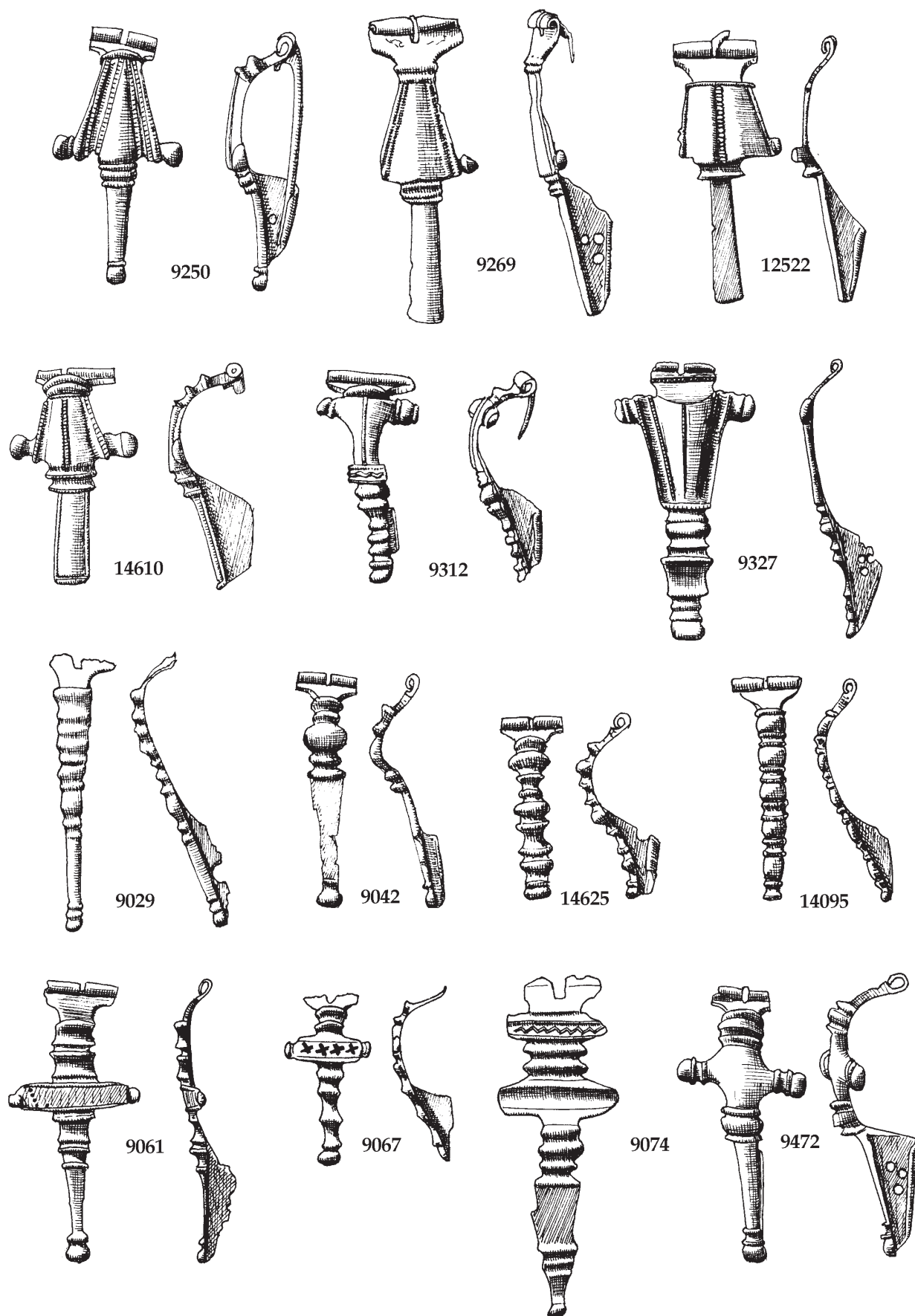
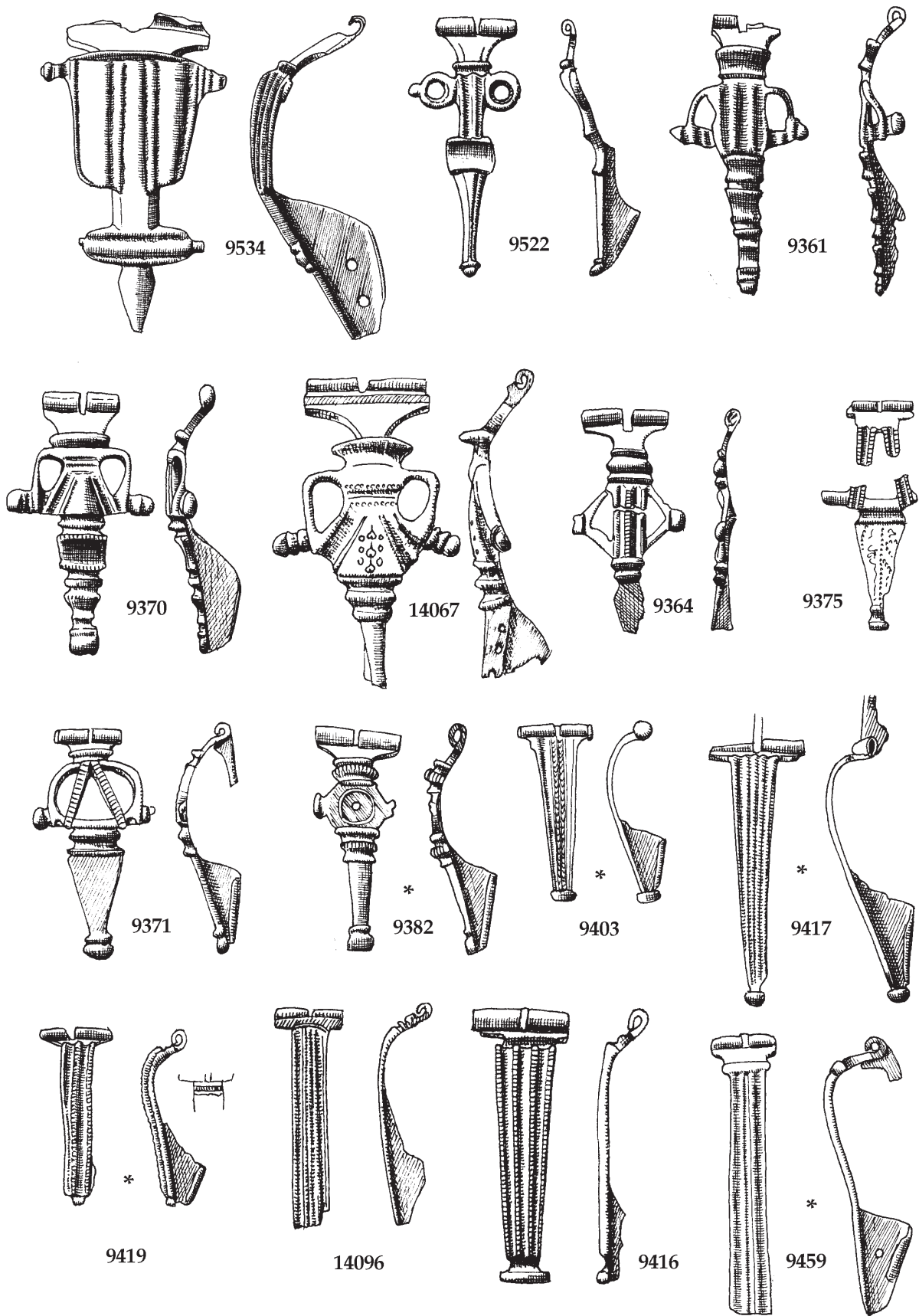
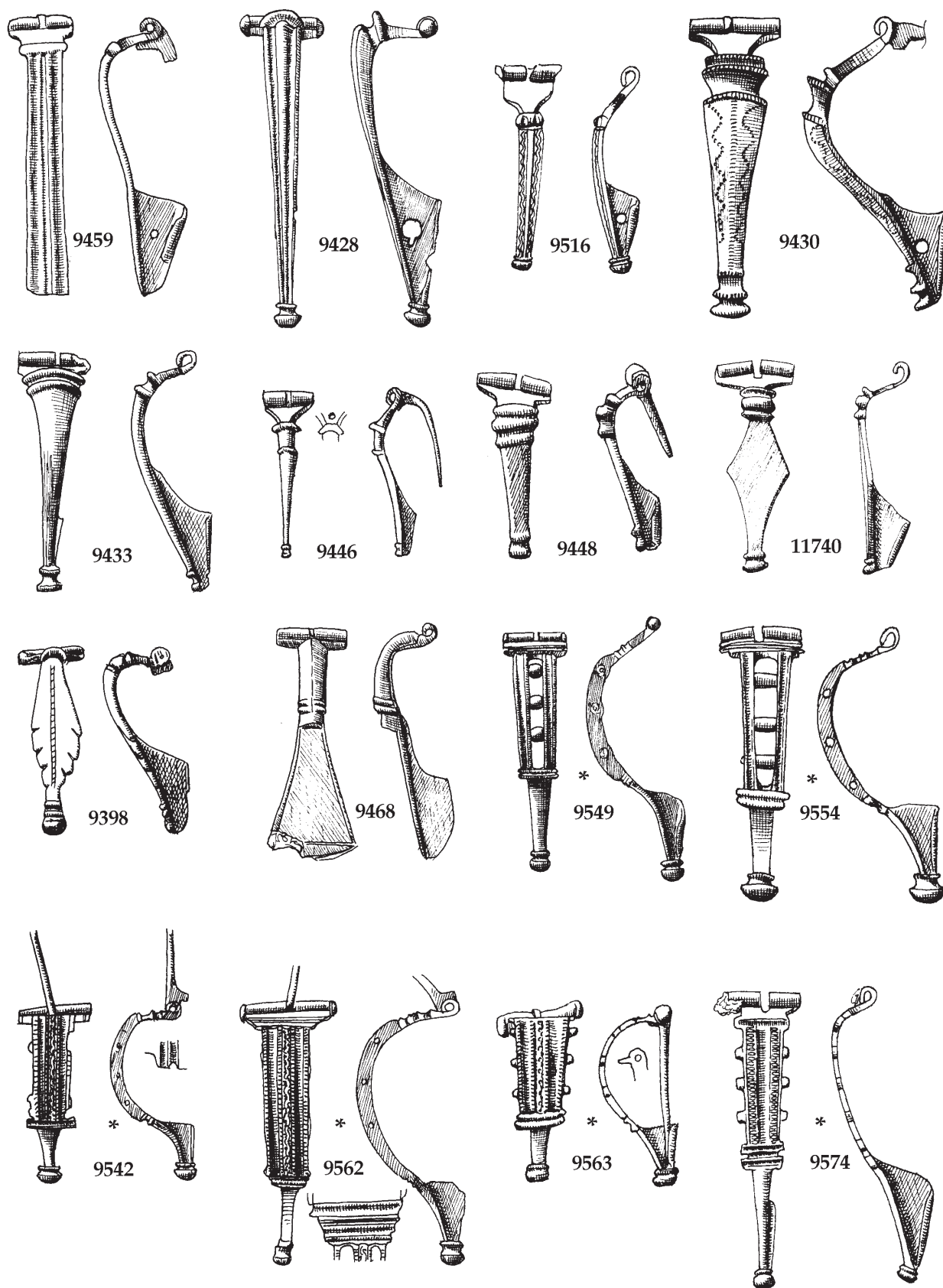
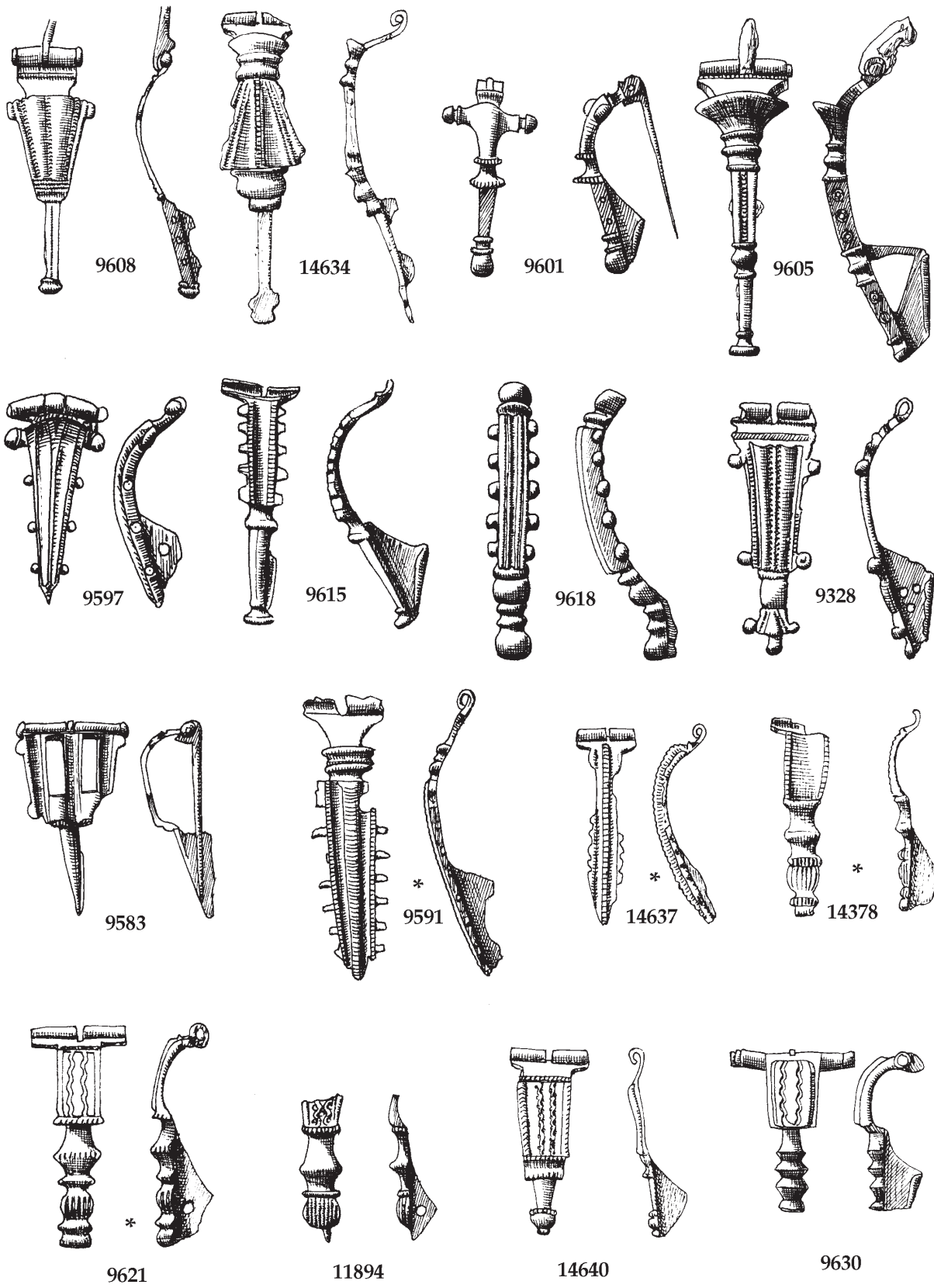


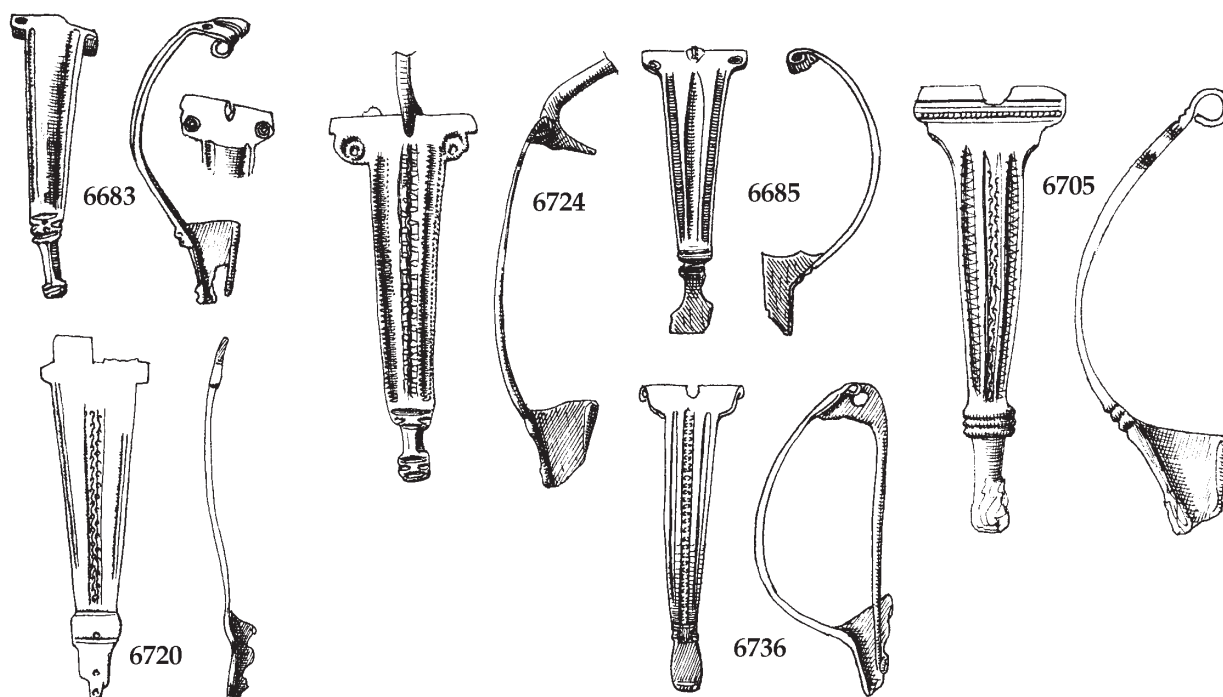
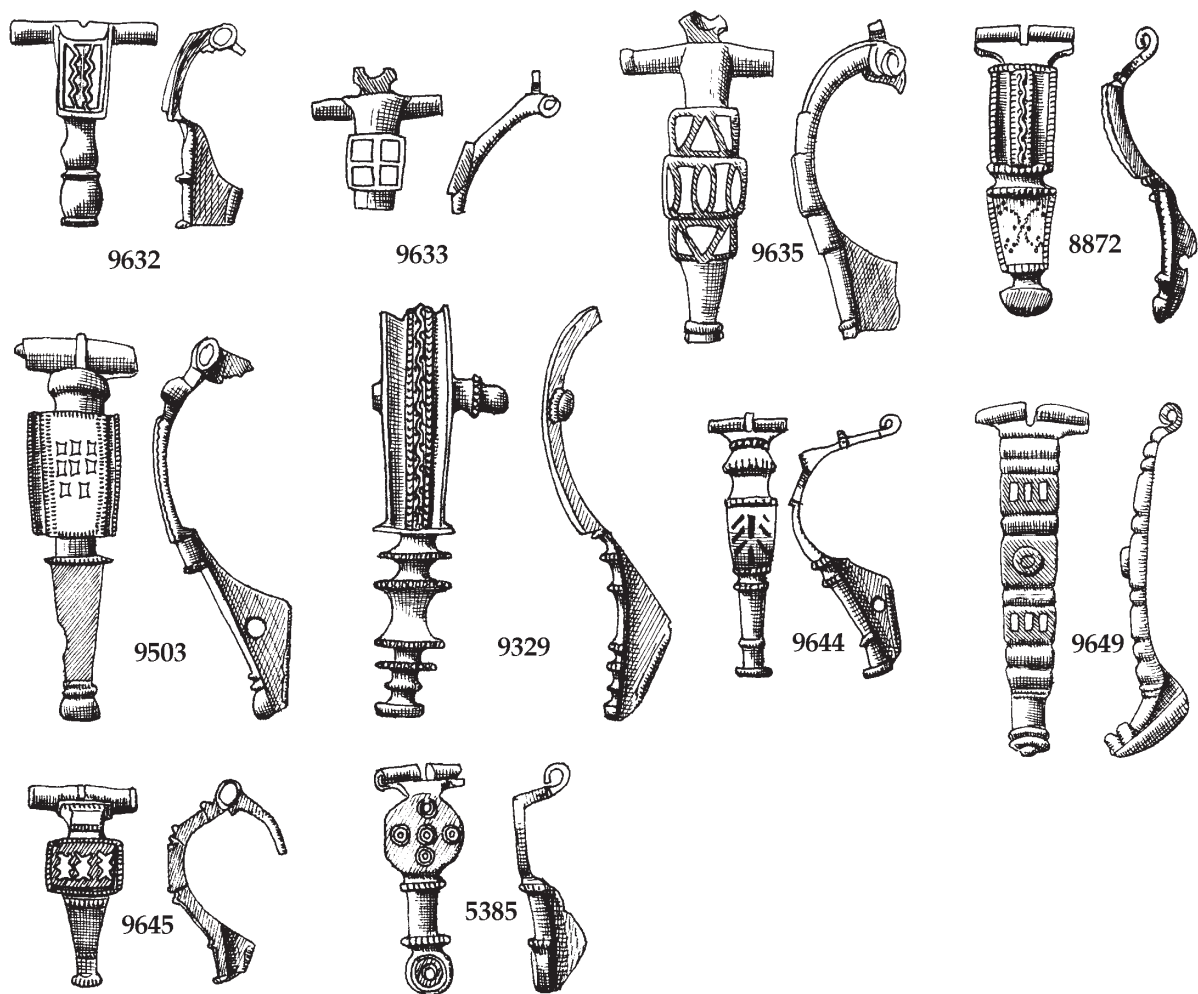
PLATE 95

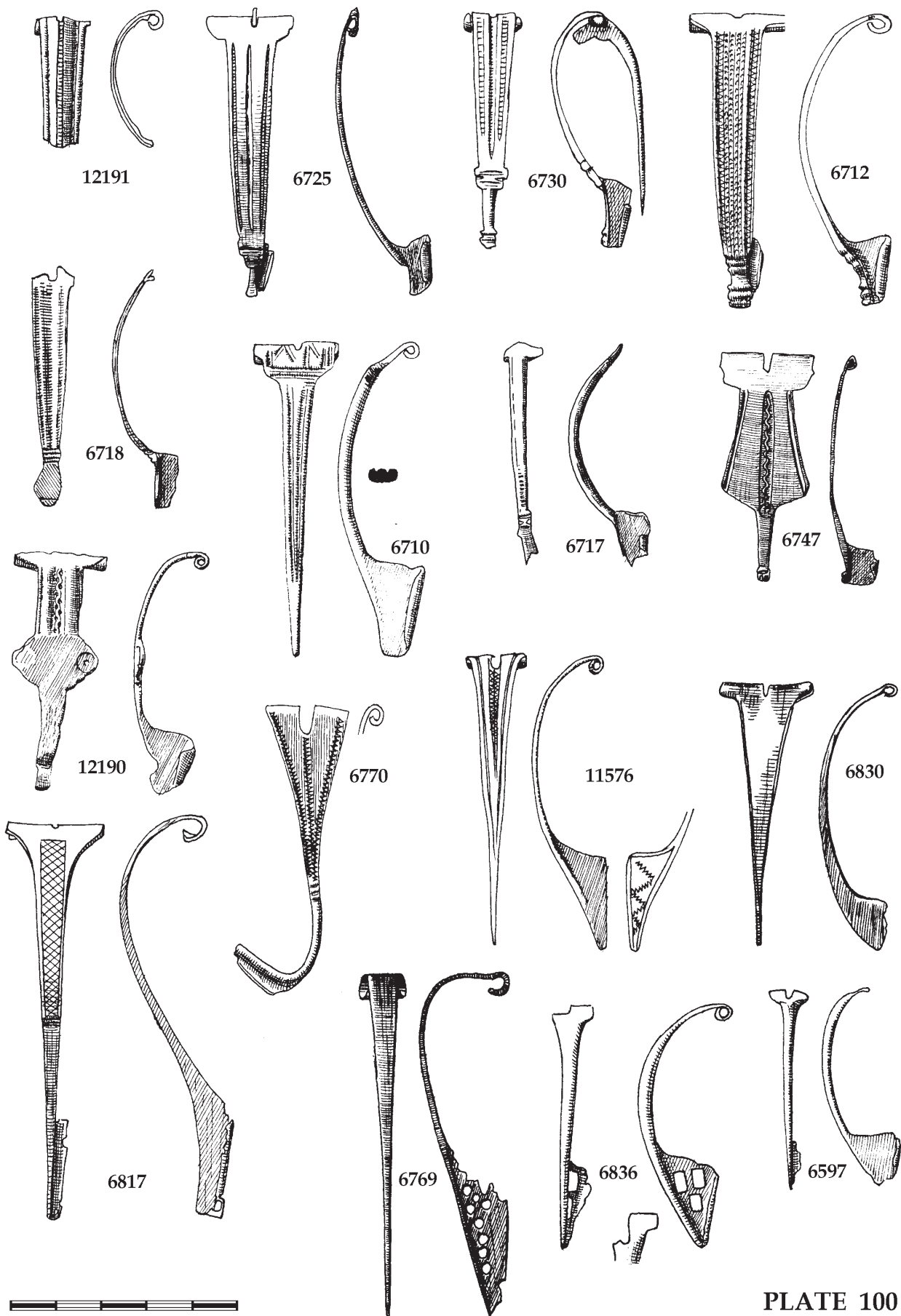












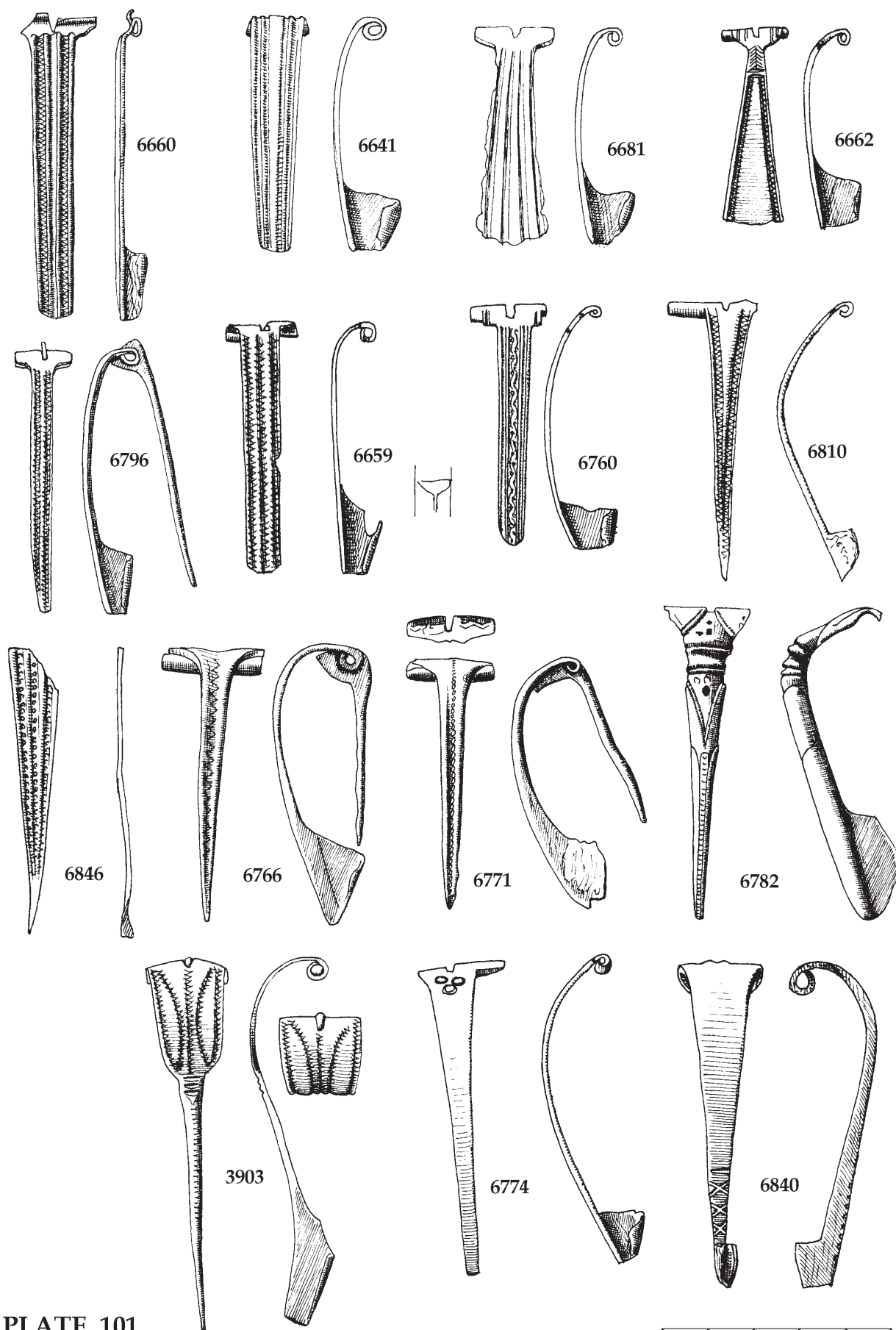




PLATE 102

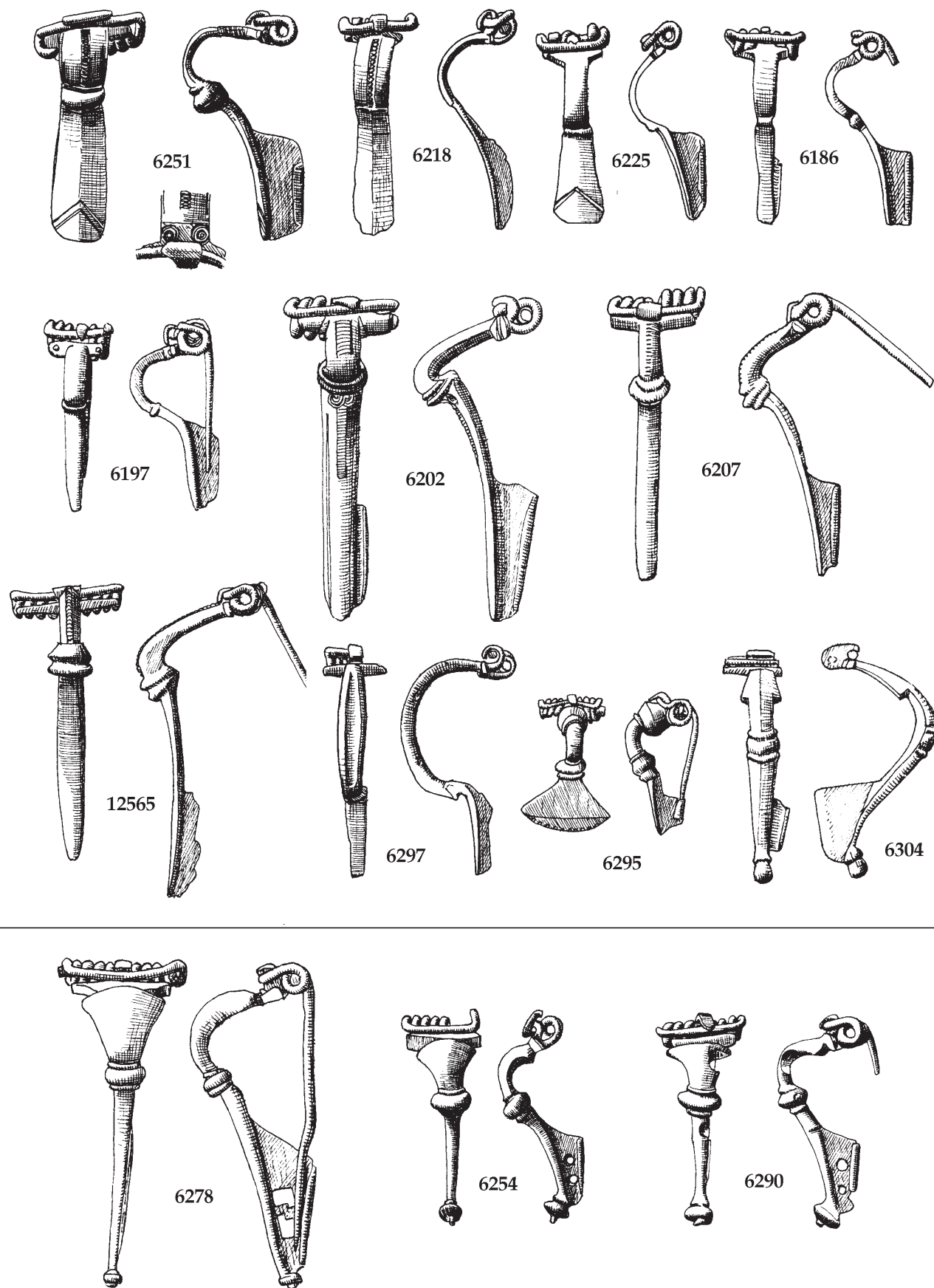
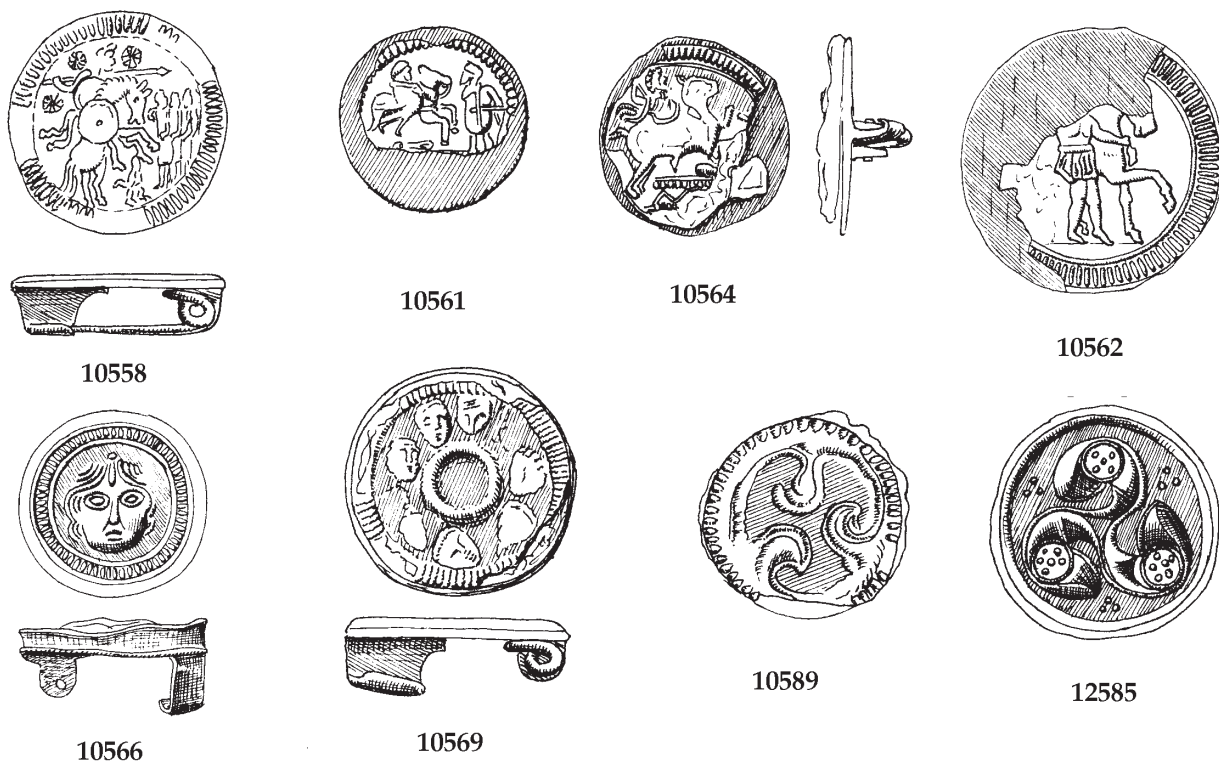
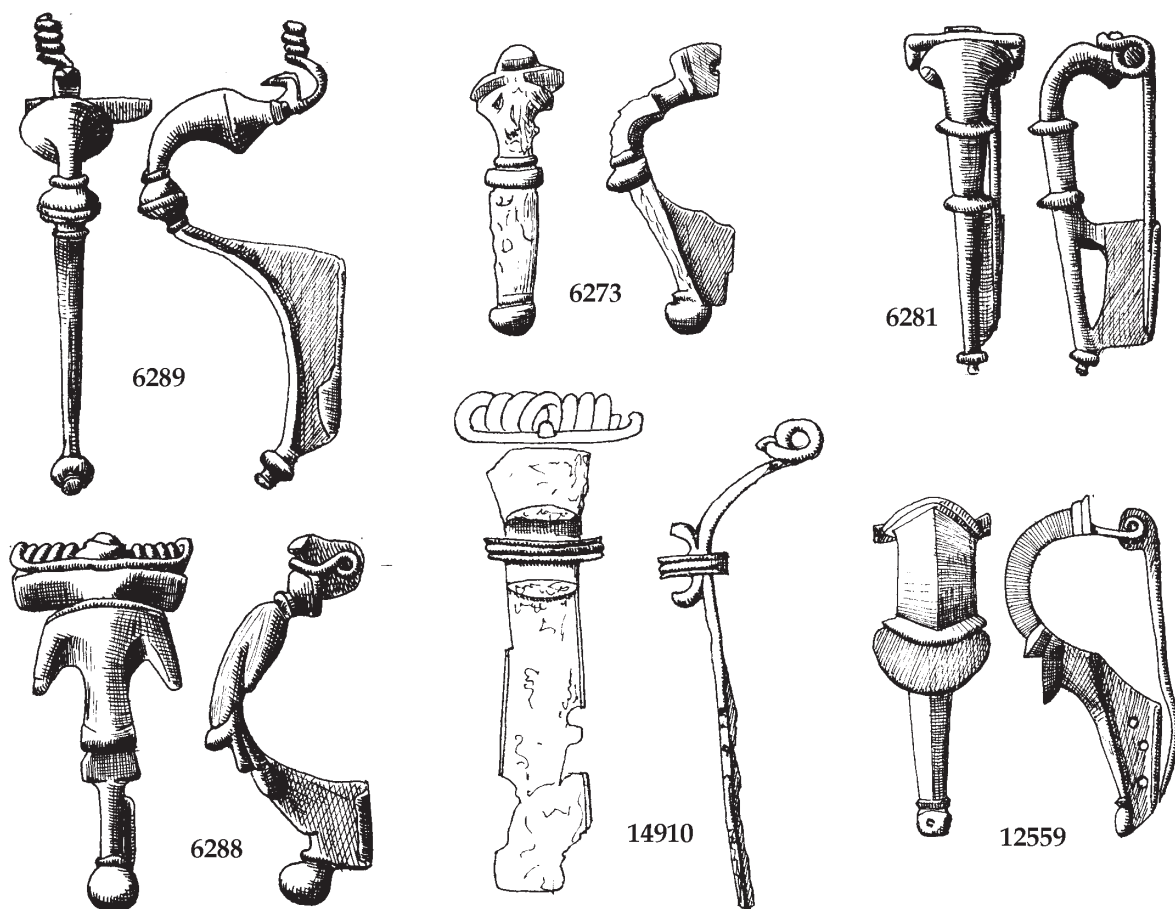
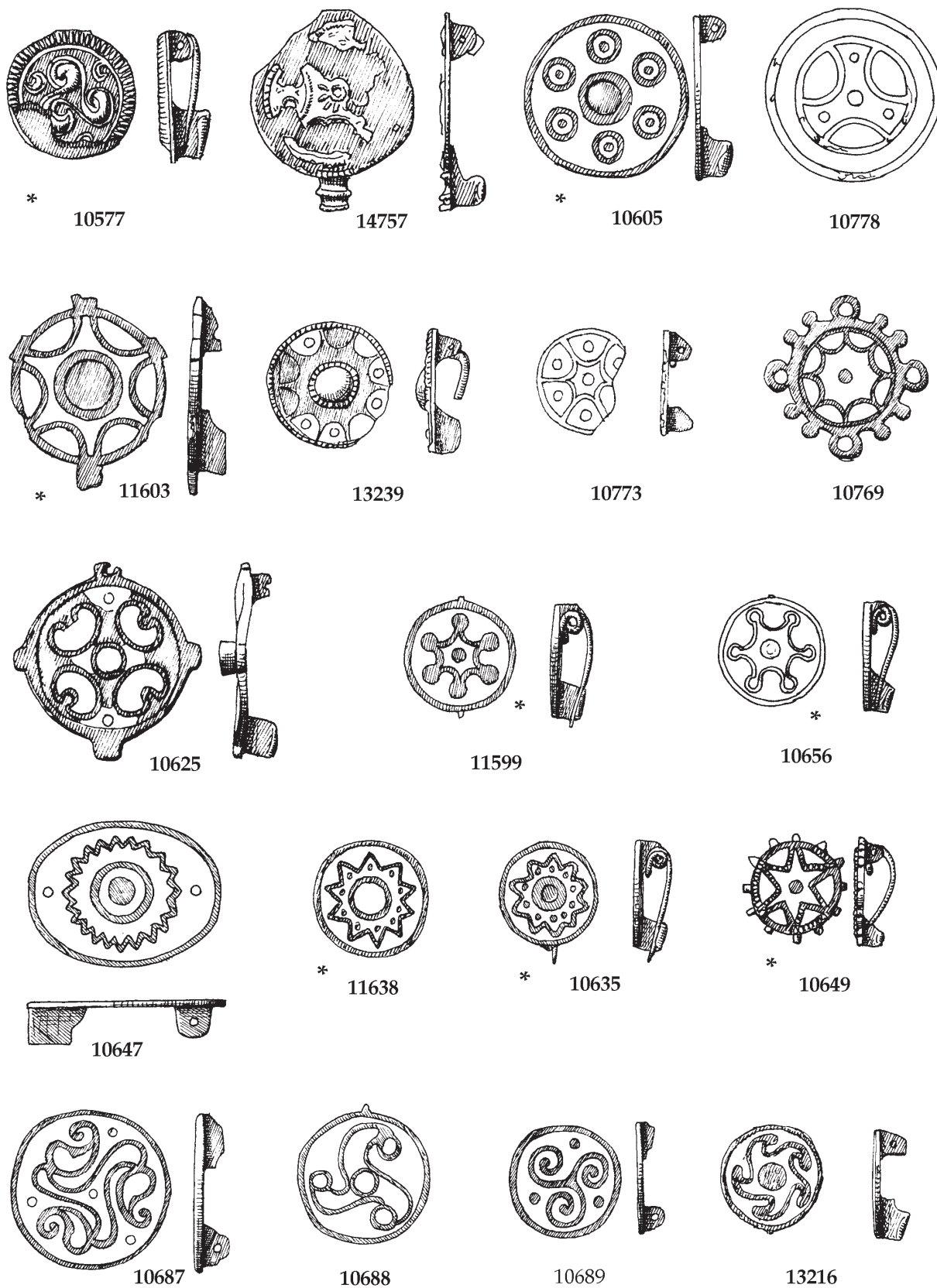
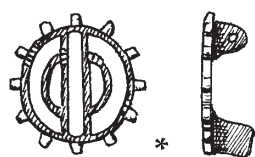


PLATE 103





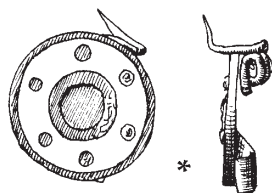




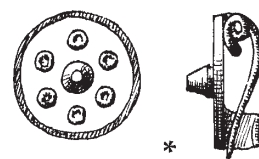
10693



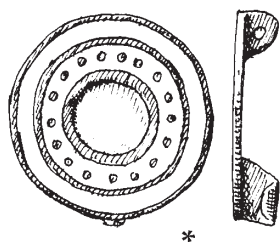
10719



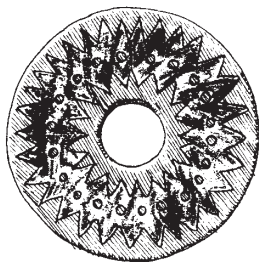
12602



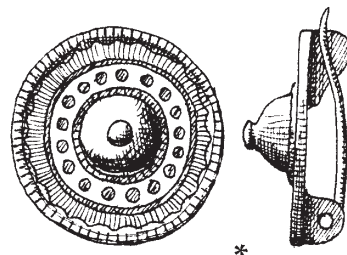
11606



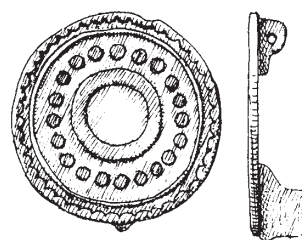
13238



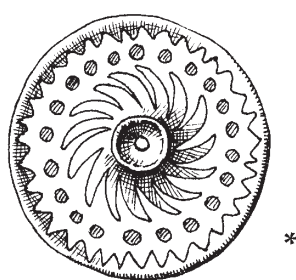
10745



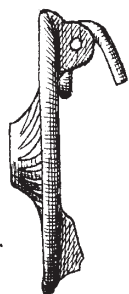
10730



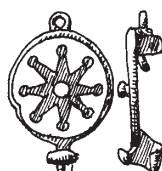
13234



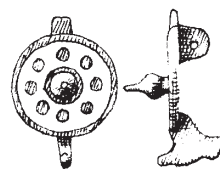
10740



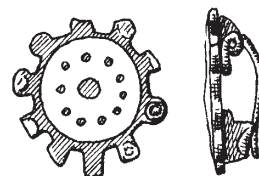
11004



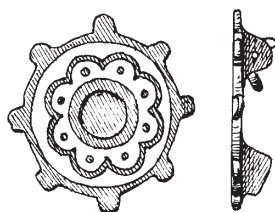
11008



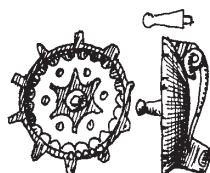
10748



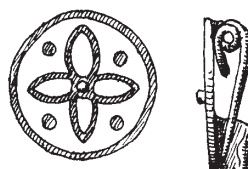
10771



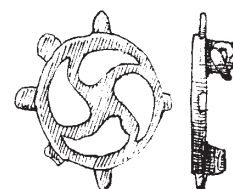
10766



10776



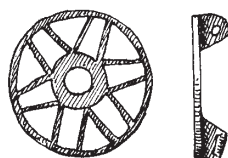
10765



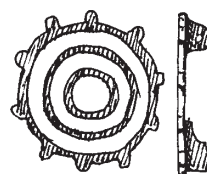
13219



12598



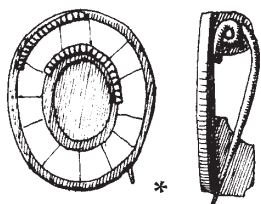
14742



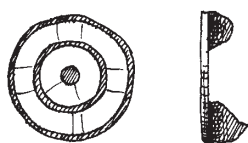
10835



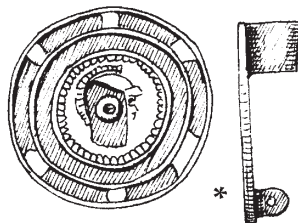
11615

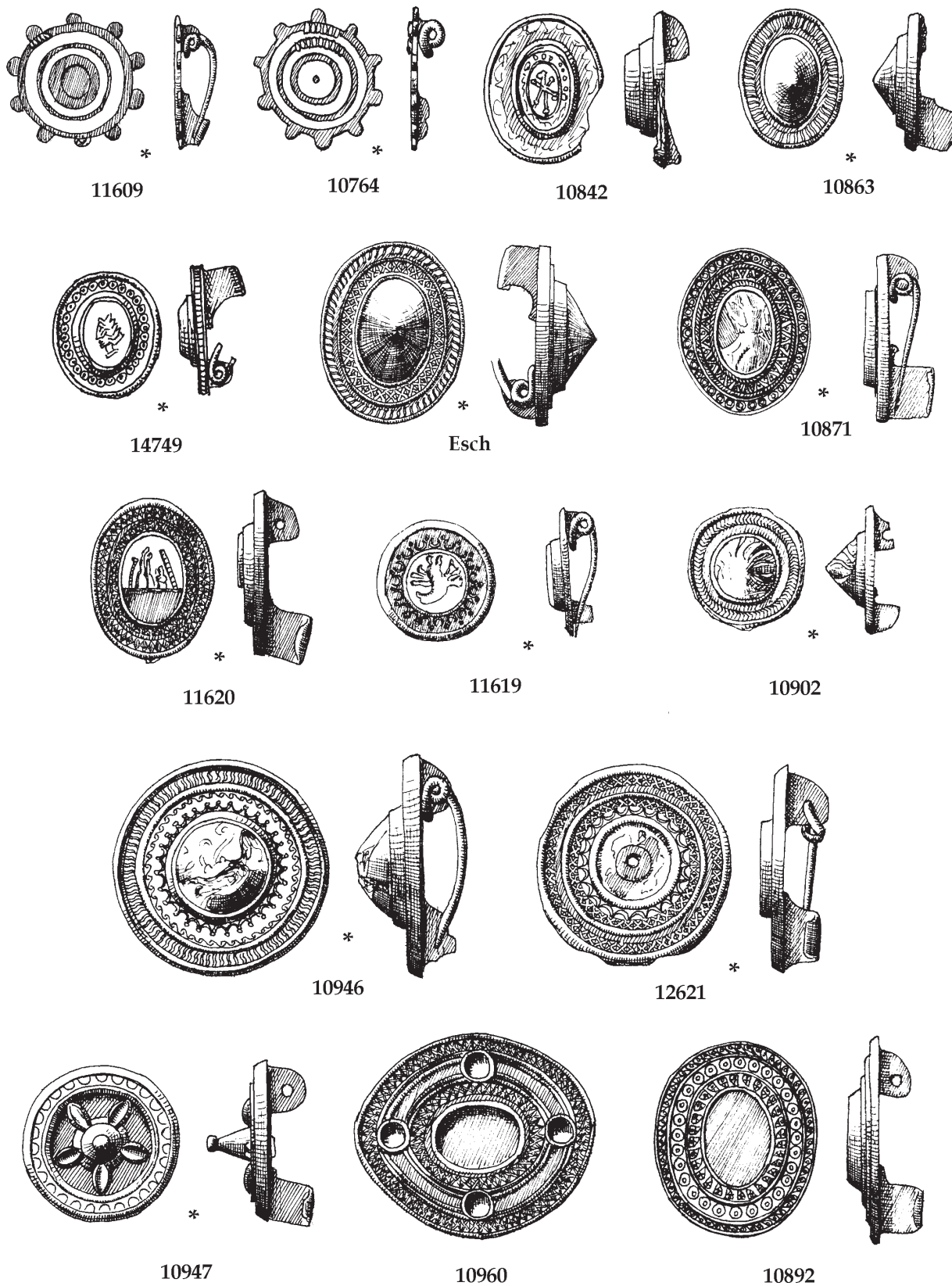


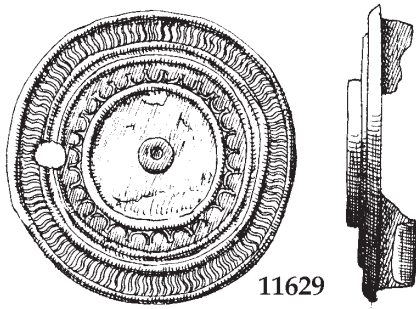
10775



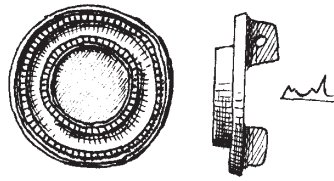
10781



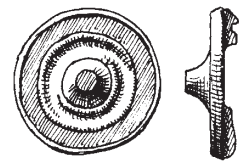




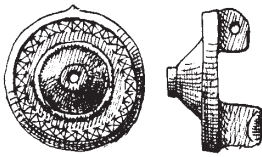
11629



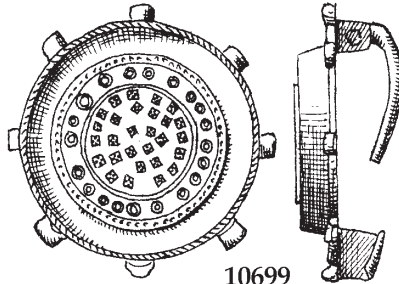
10914



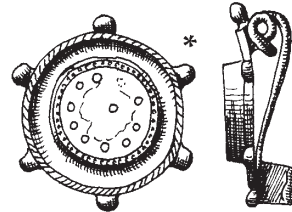
12622



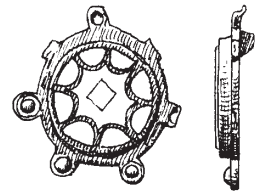
13273



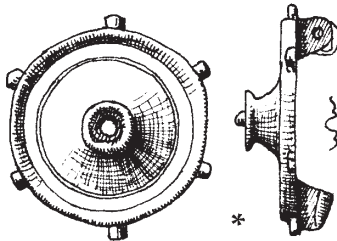
10699



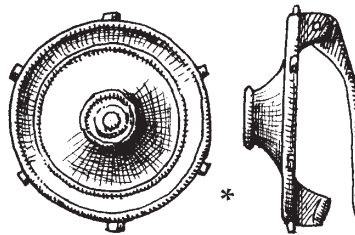
10697



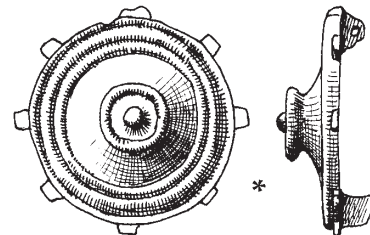
13244



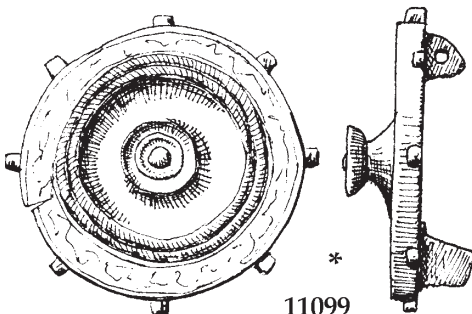
15483



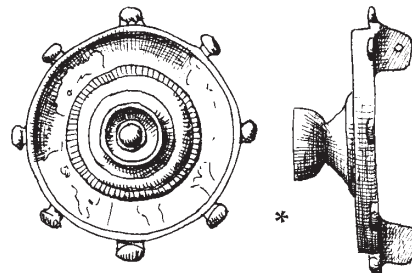
11105



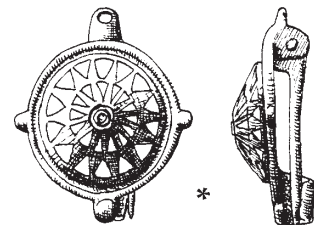
11095



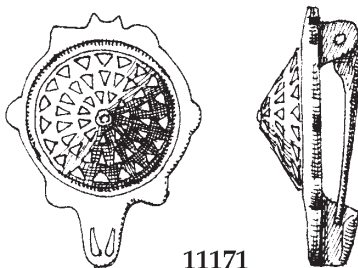
11099



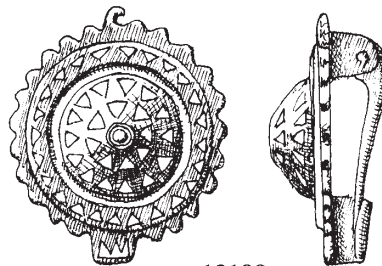
11119



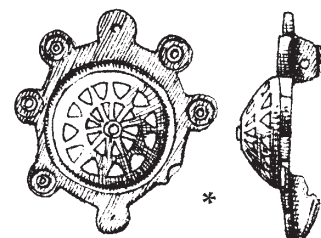
11577



11171



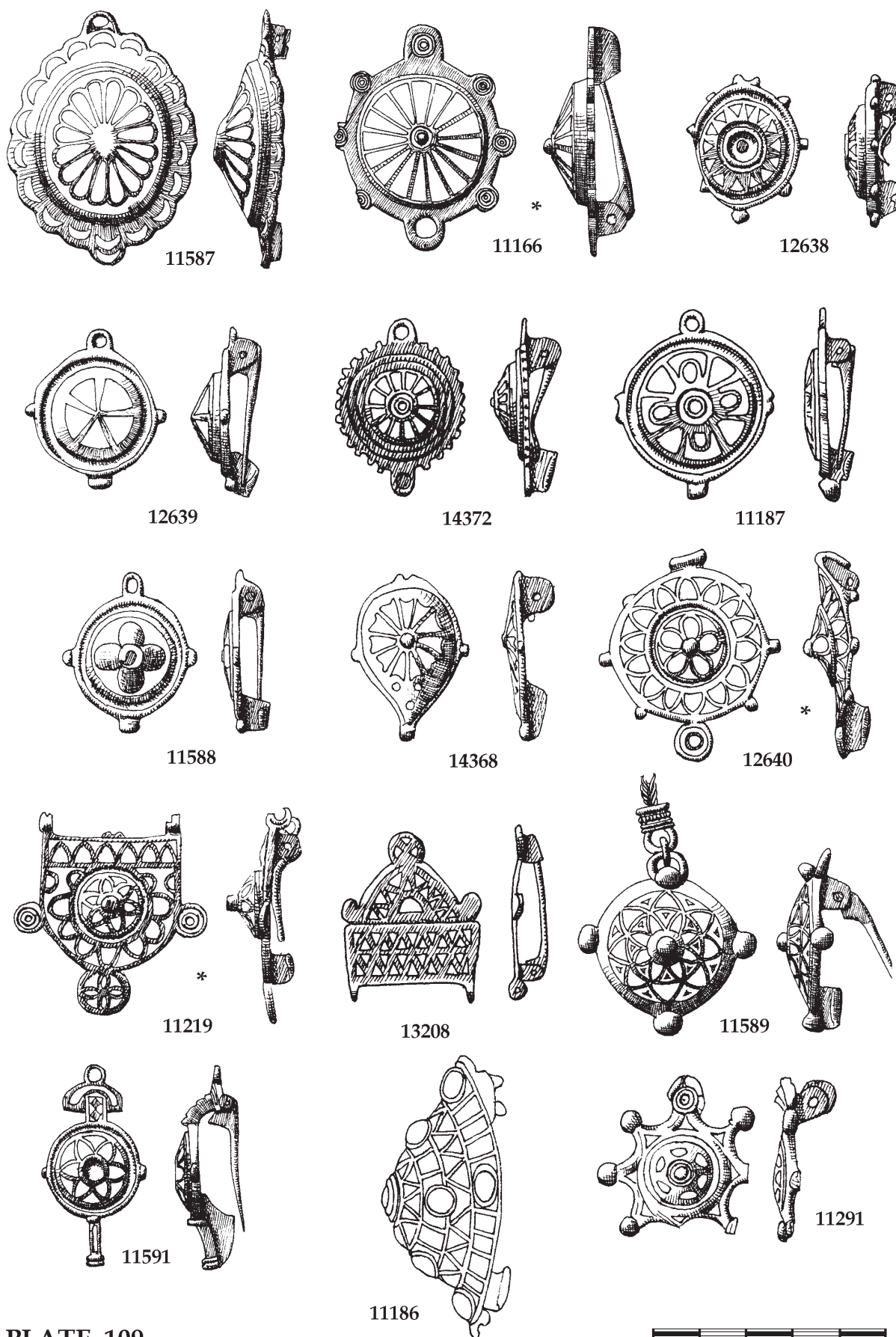
13190



11180

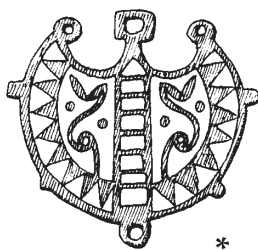


PLATE 108

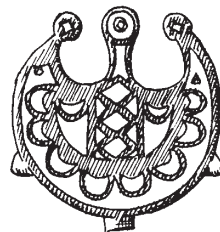




11228



11220



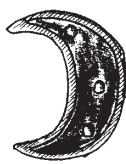
11226



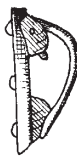
11232



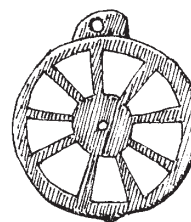
11341



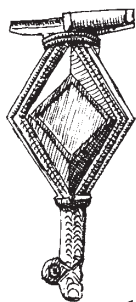
11337



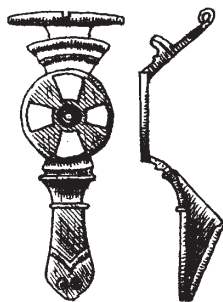
12667



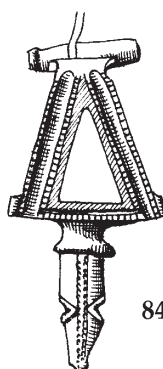
15453



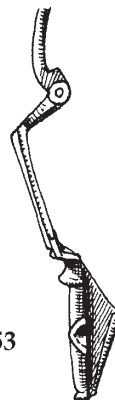
11646



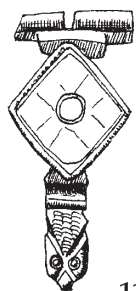
8464



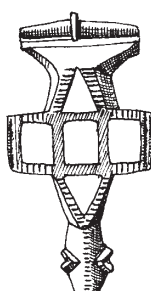
8453



8458



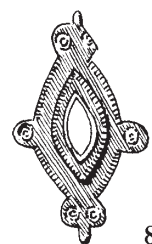
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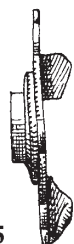
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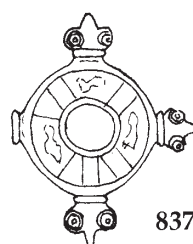
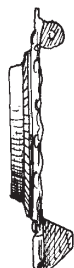
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8365



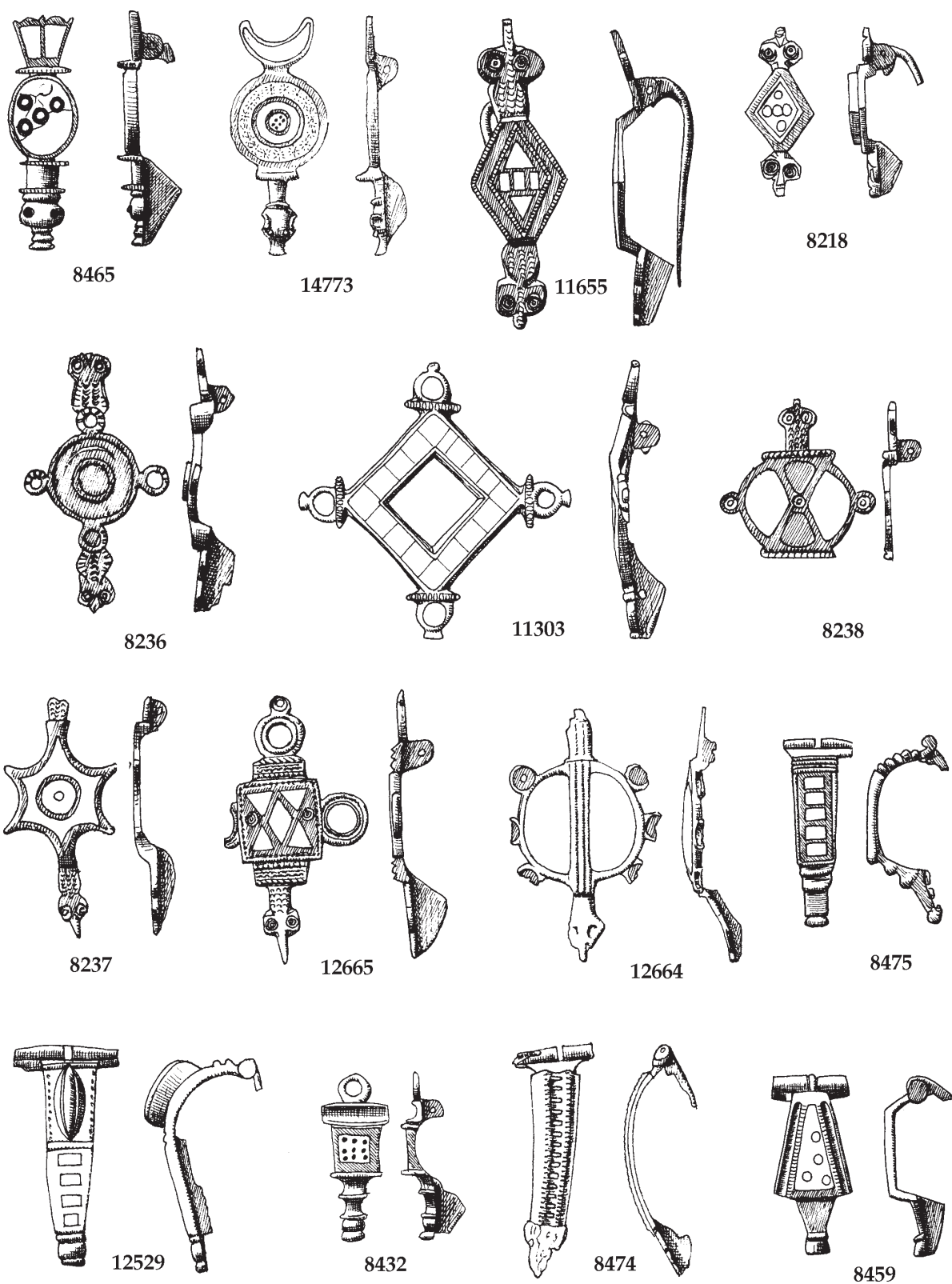
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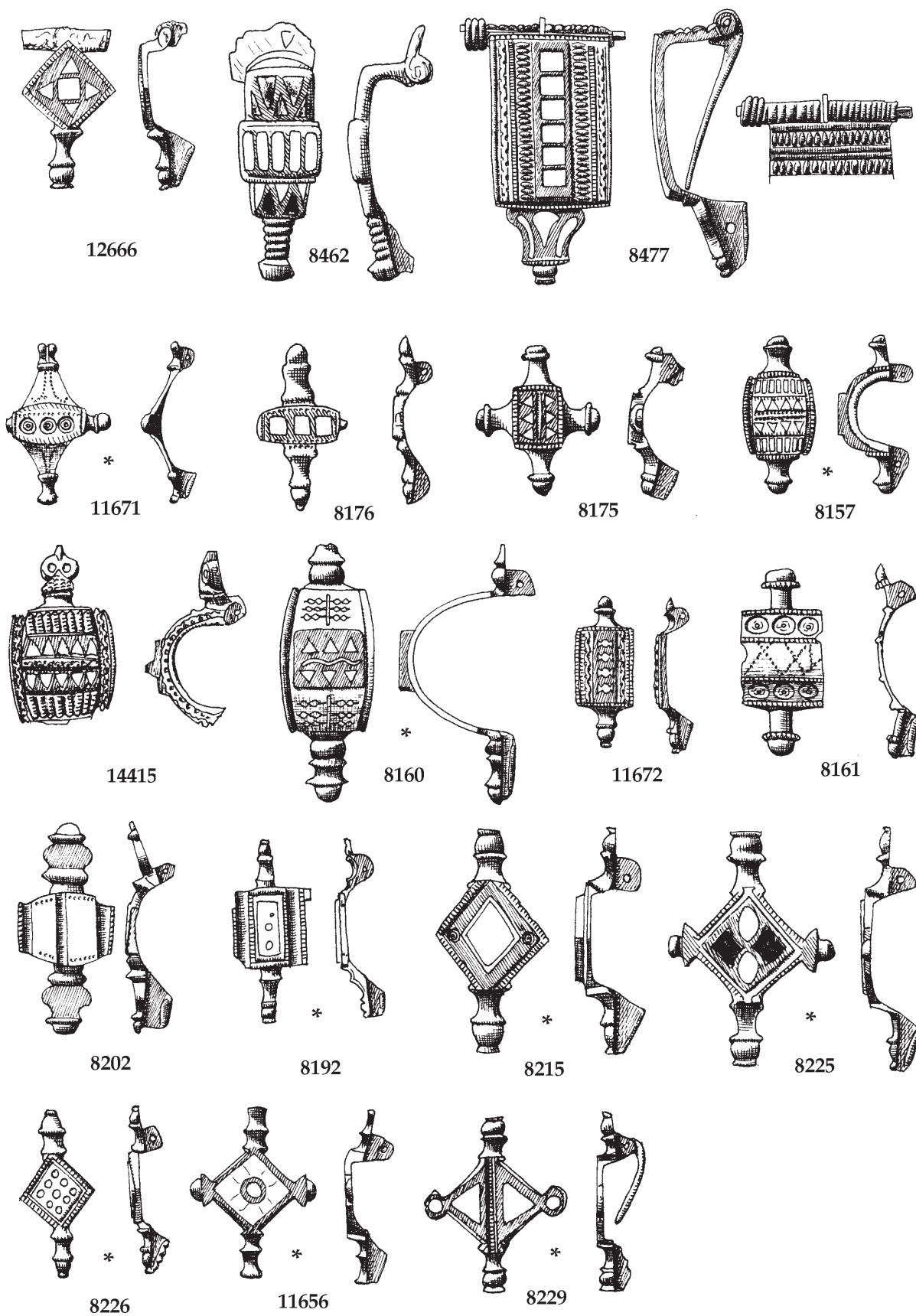


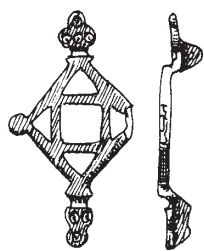
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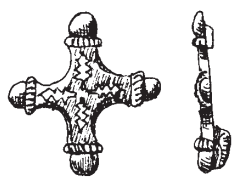
PLATE 110





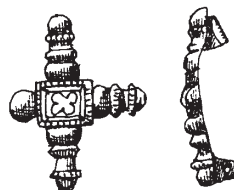


8219



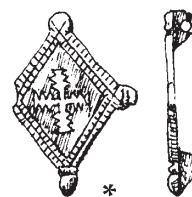
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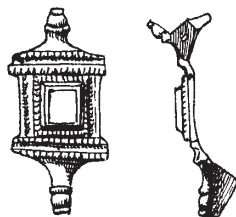
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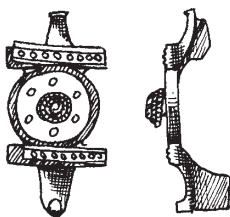


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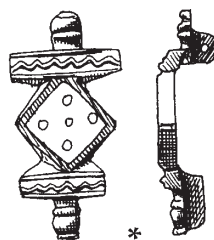
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8264

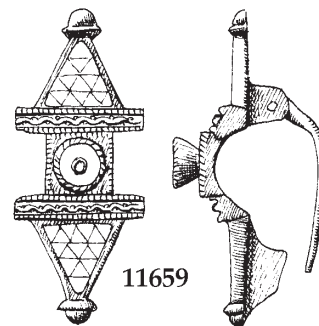


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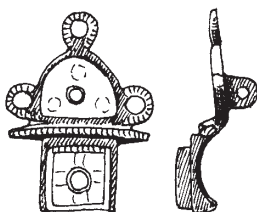


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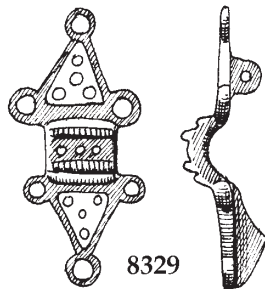
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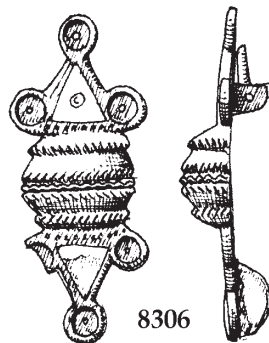
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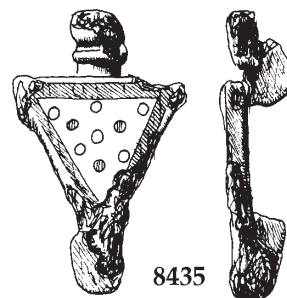
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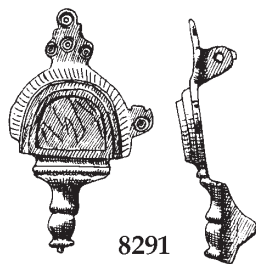
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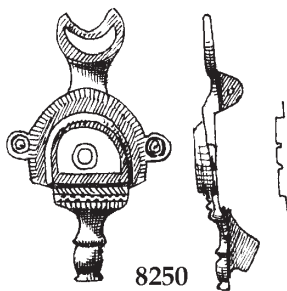
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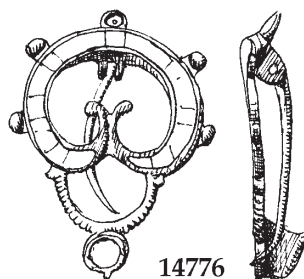
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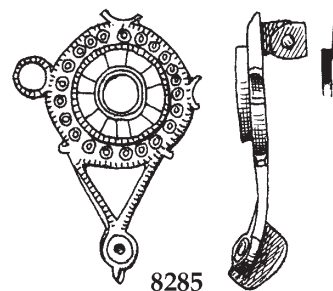
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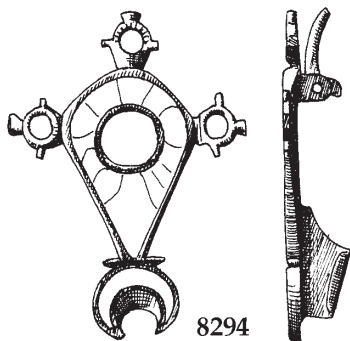
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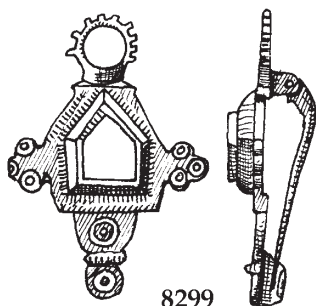
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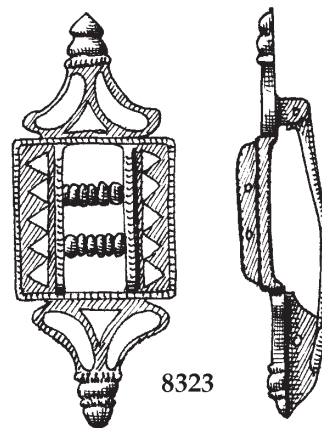
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8294



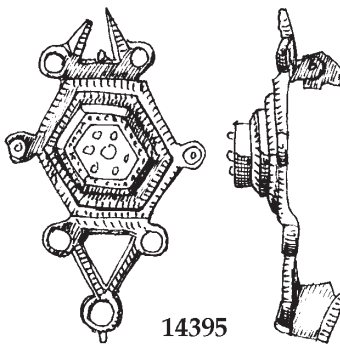
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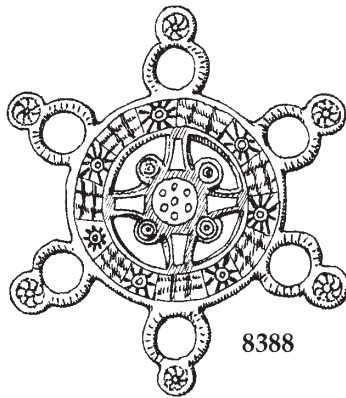
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PLATE 113

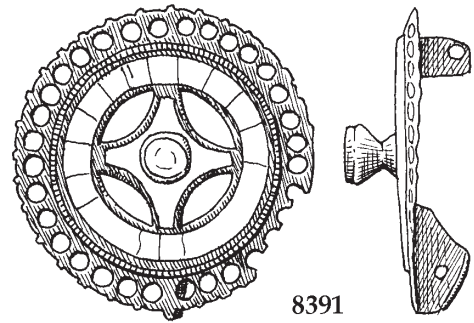




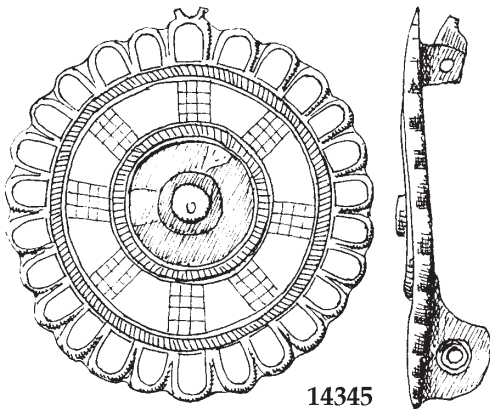
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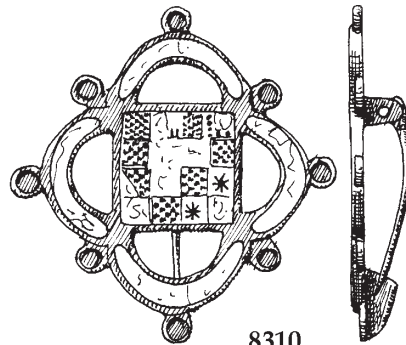
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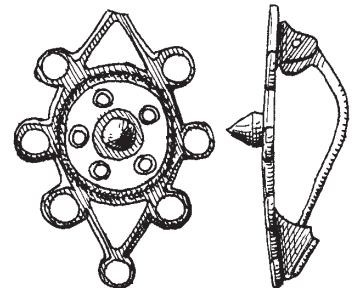
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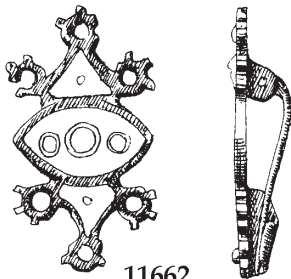
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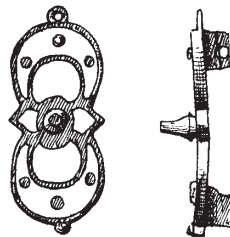
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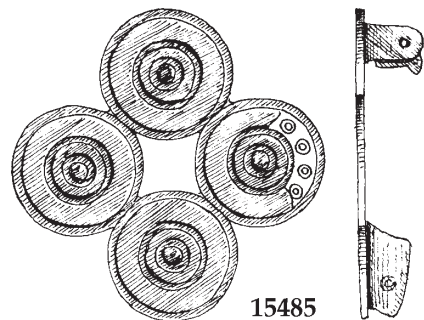
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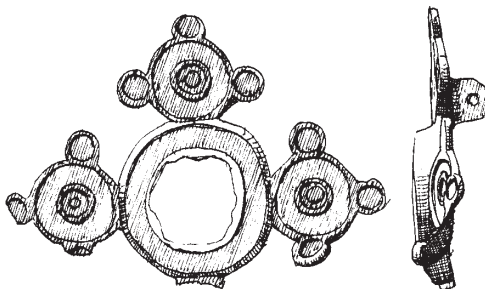
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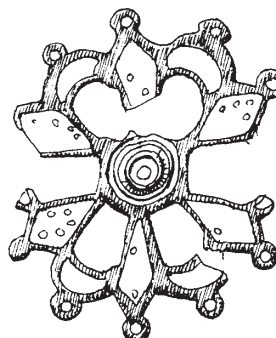
12678



15485



15489

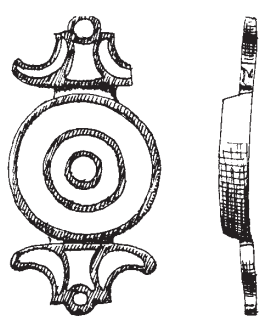


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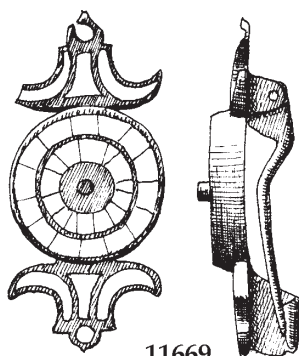


12675

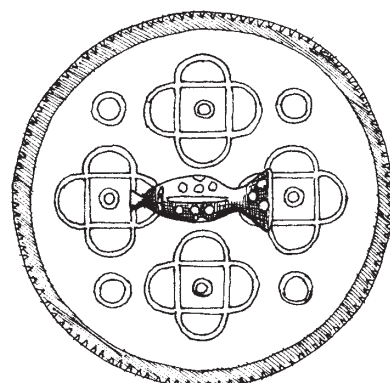




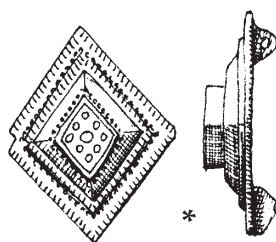
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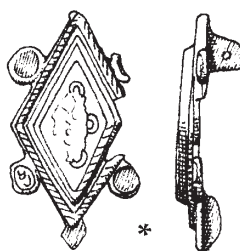
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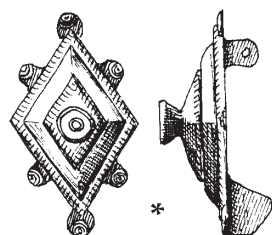
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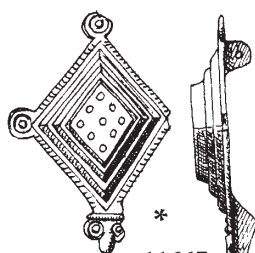
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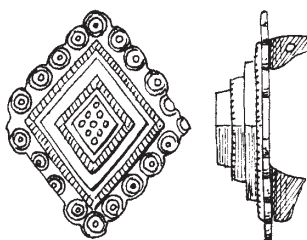
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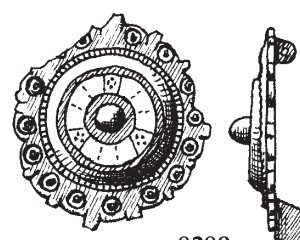
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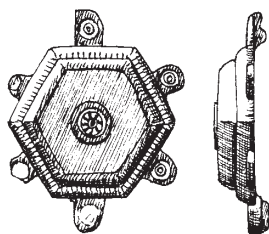
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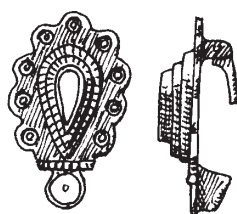
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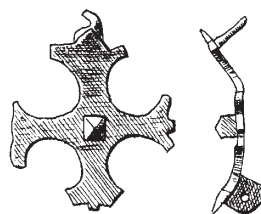
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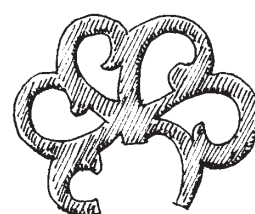
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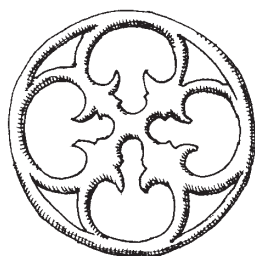
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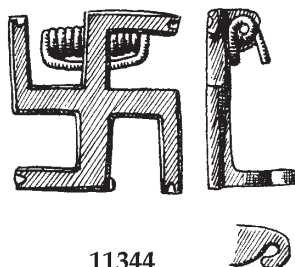
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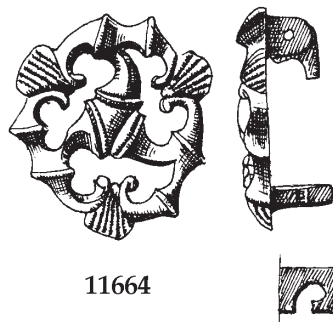
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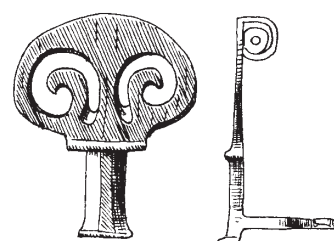
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11344

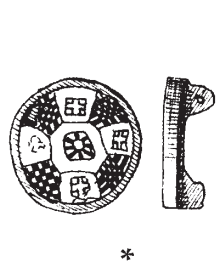


11664

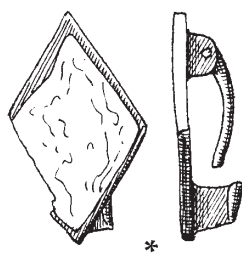


11346

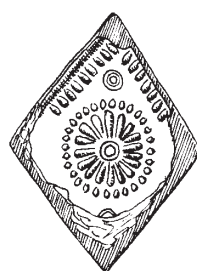




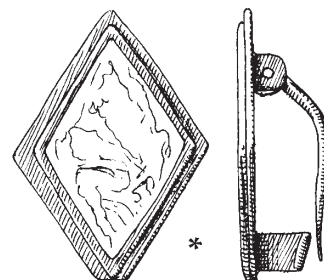
11064



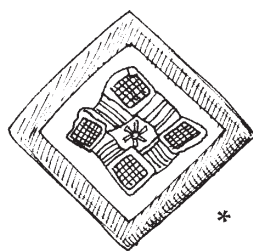
11079



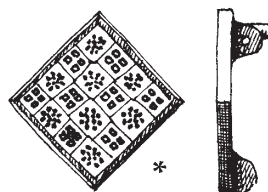
11310



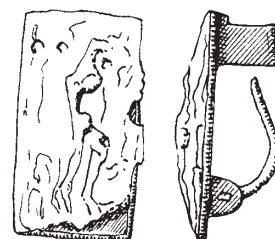
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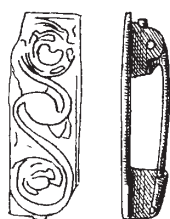
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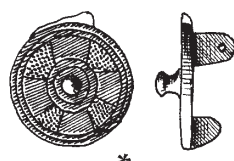
11640



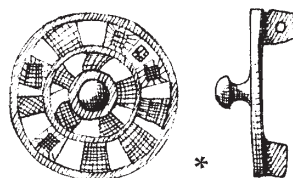
11293



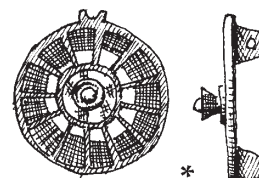
11296



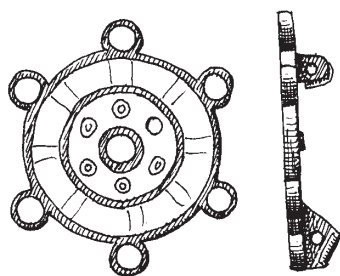
11025



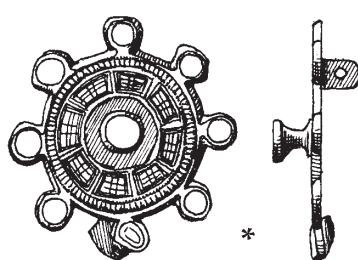
6974



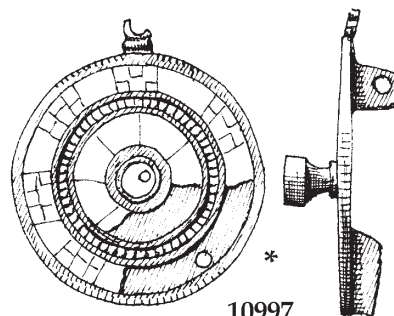
14363



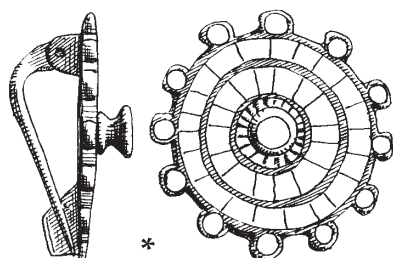
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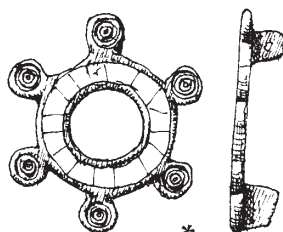
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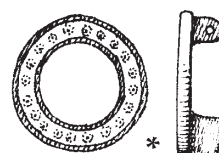
10997



11038



3566



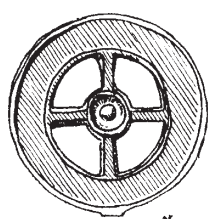
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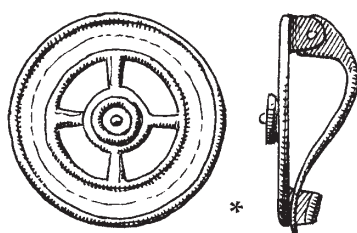
10630



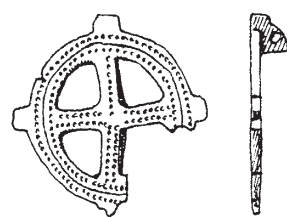
PLATE 116



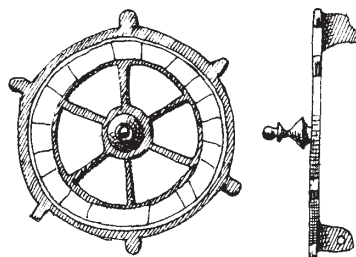
11050



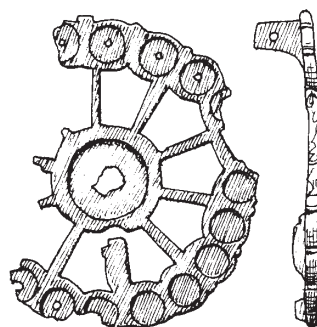
11055



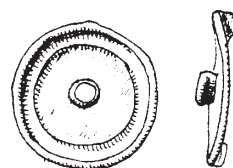
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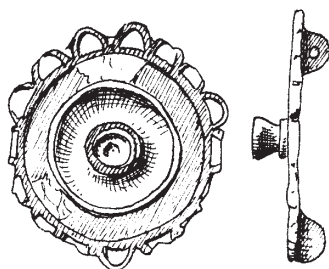
11090



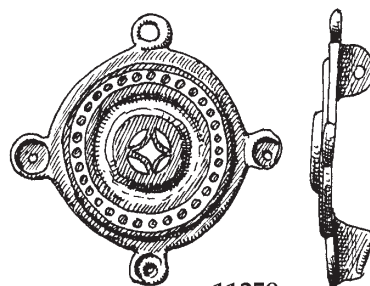
12649



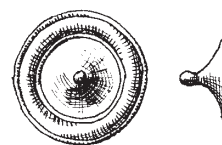
10966



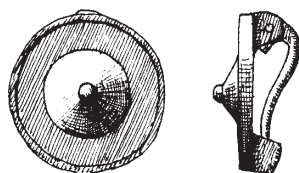
11243



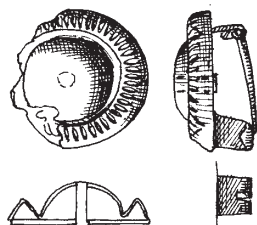
11259



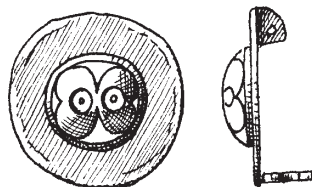
10974



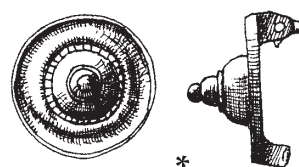
11596



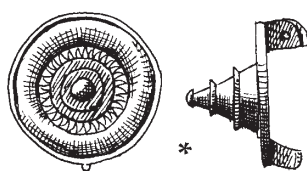
11023



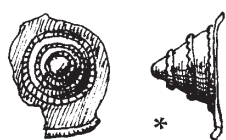
11024



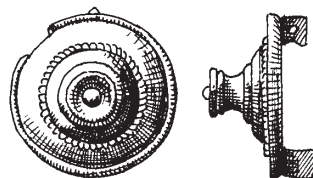
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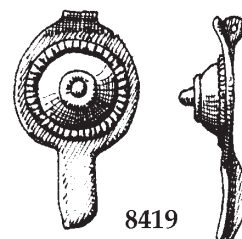
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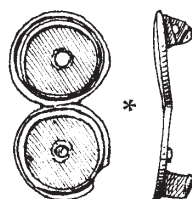
14365



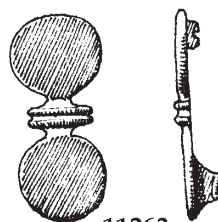
11032



8419



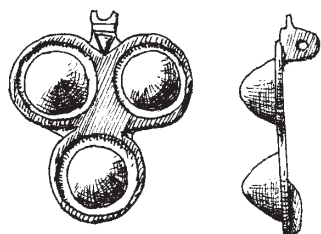
11264



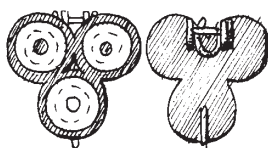
11263

PLATE 117

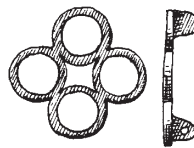




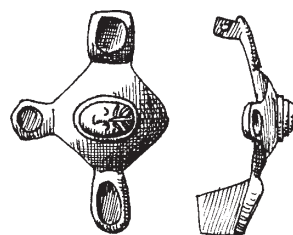
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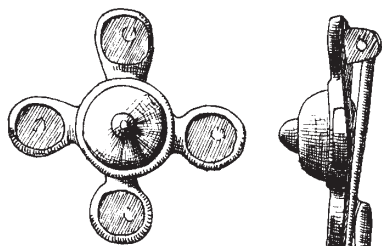
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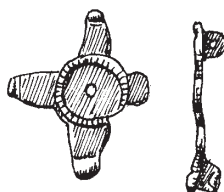
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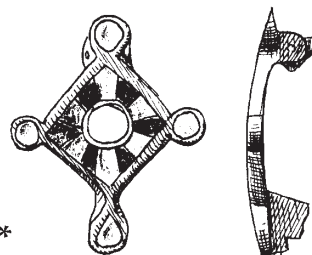
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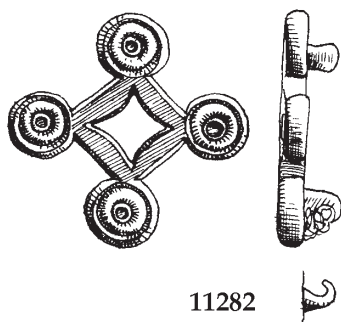
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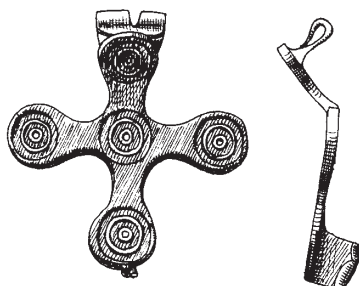
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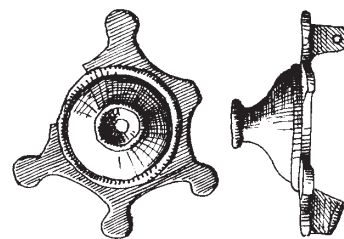
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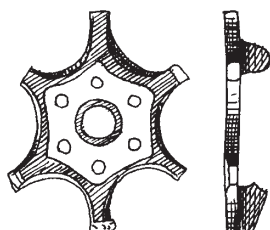
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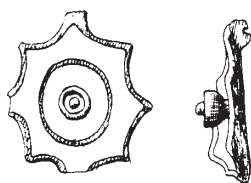
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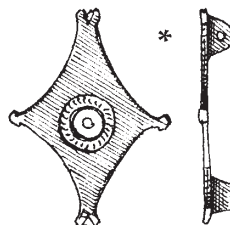
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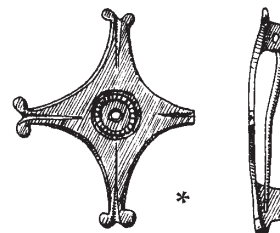
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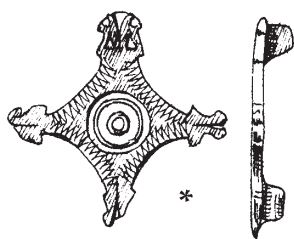
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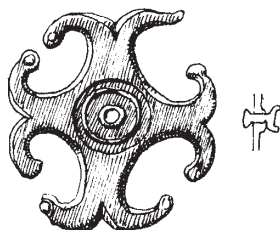
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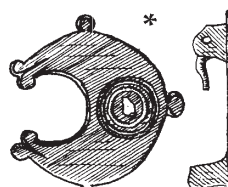
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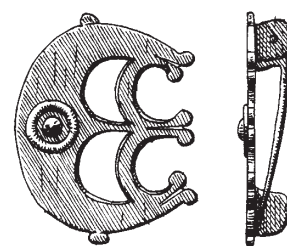
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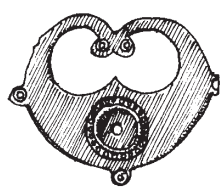


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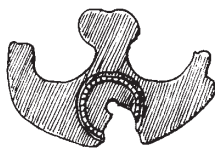


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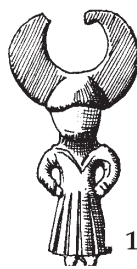




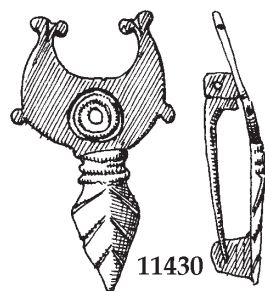
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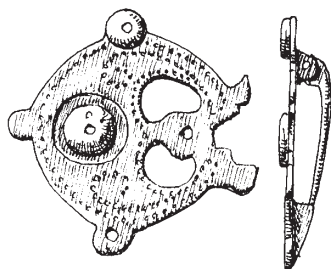
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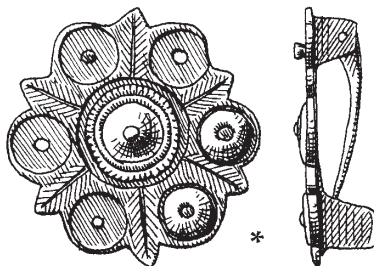
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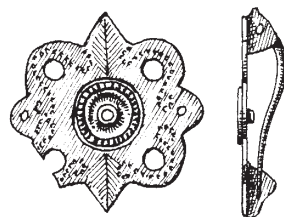
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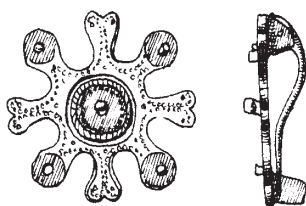
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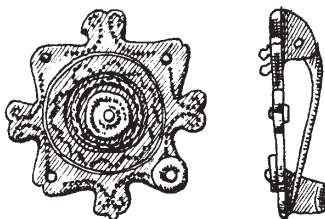
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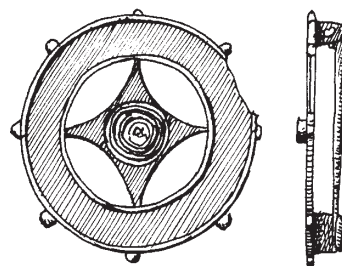
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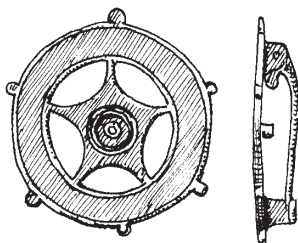
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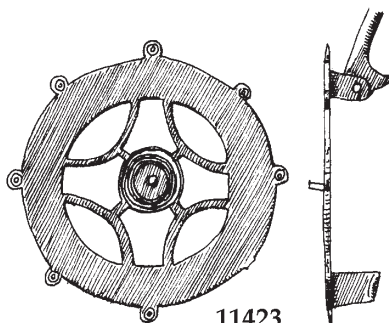
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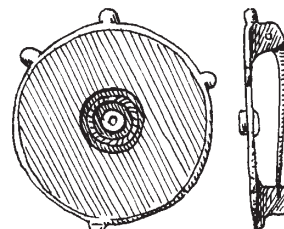
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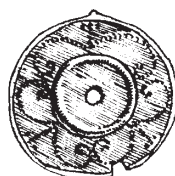
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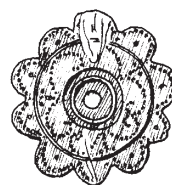
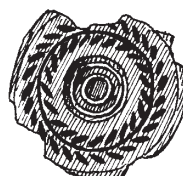
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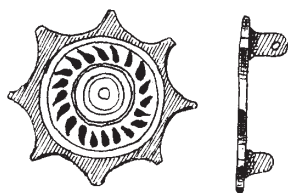


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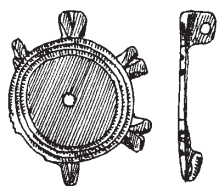


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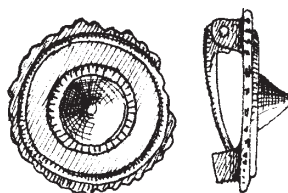




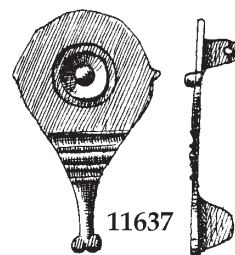
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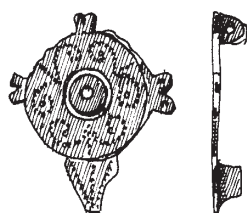
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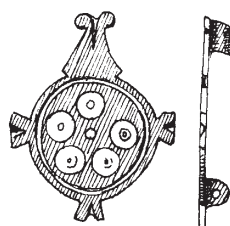
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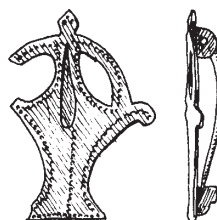
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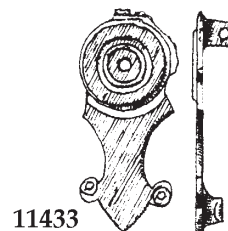
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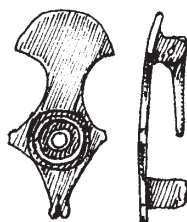
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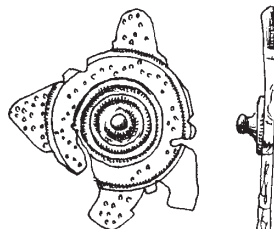
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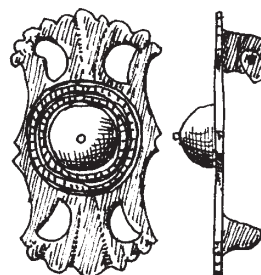
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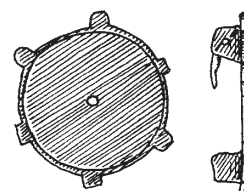
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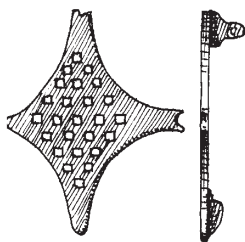
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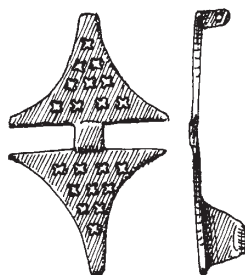
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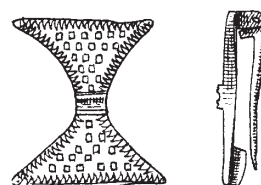
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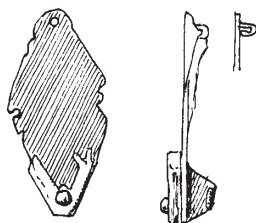
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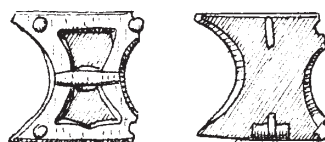
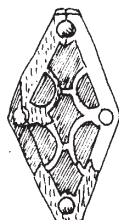
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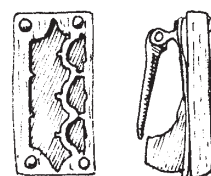
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11352



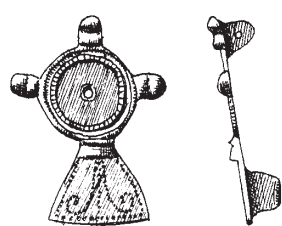
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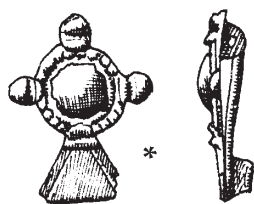
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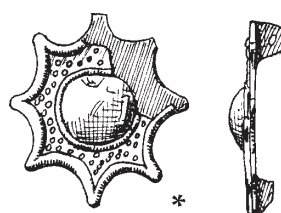
PLATE 120



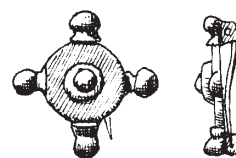
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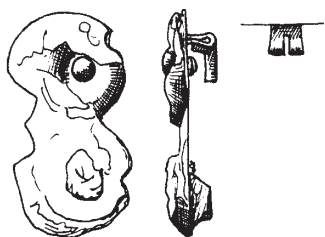
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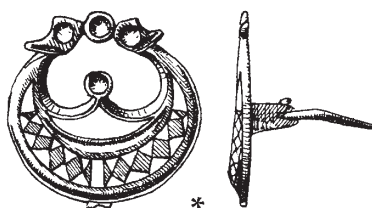
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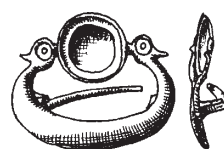
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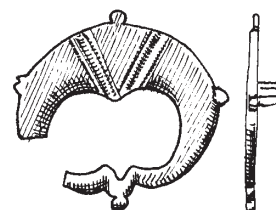
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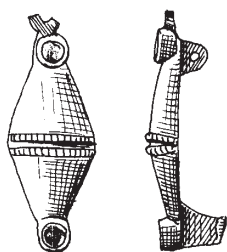
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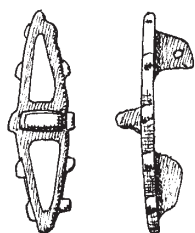
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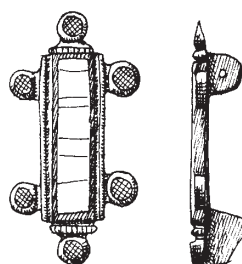
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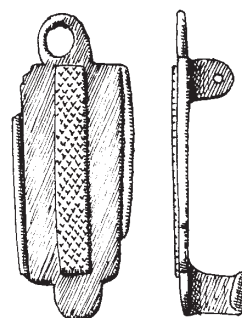
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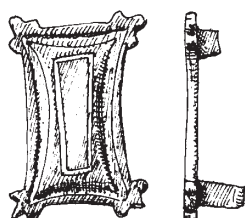
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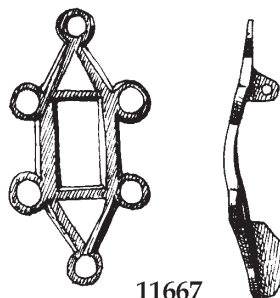
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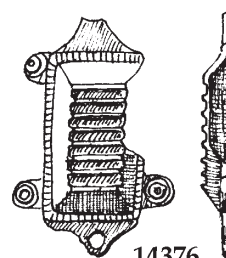
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14347



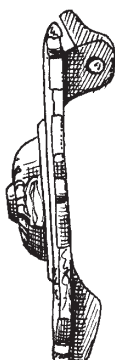
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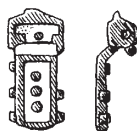
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8406



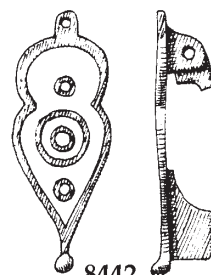
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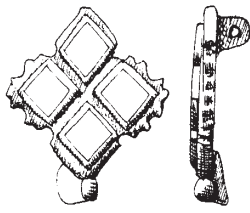


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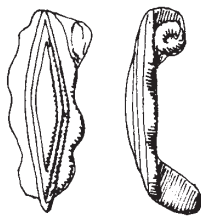


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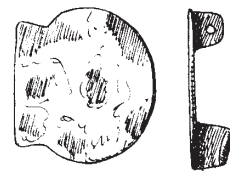




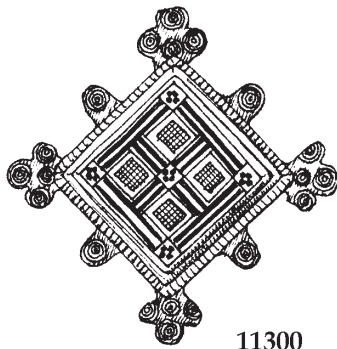
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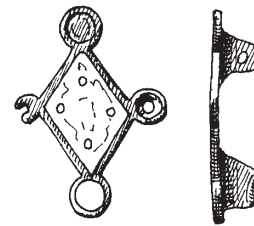
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11300



11307



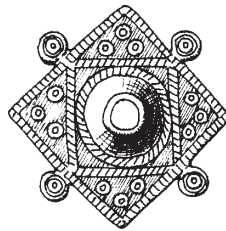
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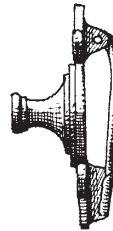
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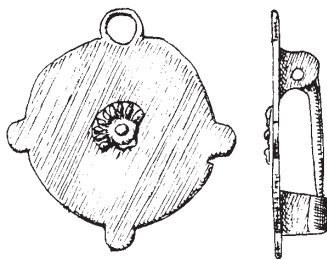
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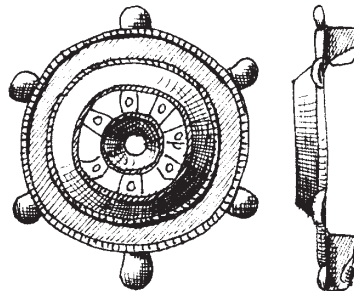
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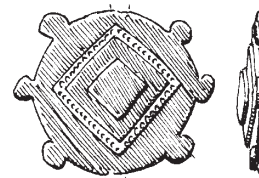
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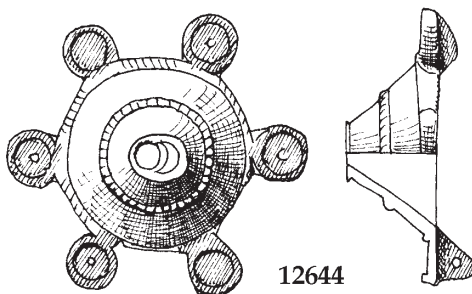
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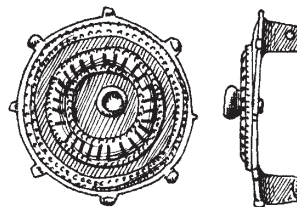
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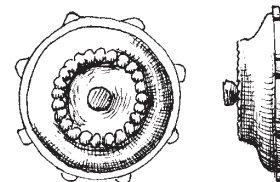
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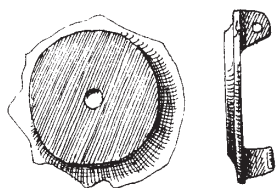


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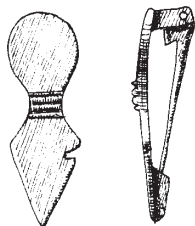


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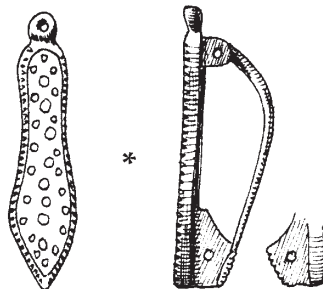




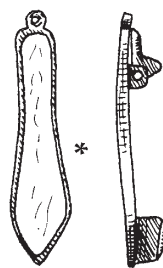
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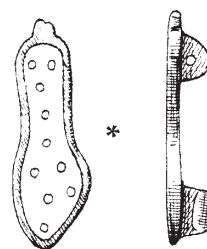
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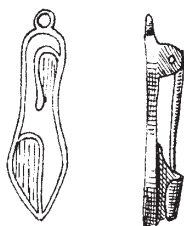
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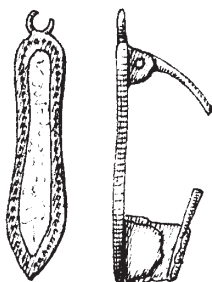
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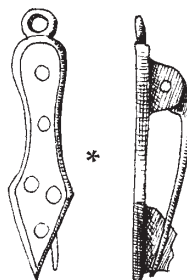
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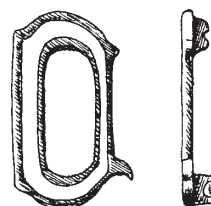
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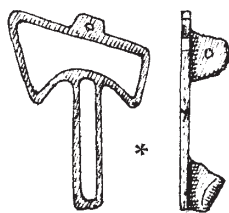
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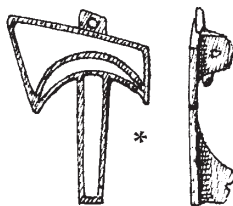
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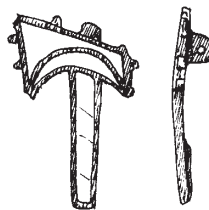
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7867



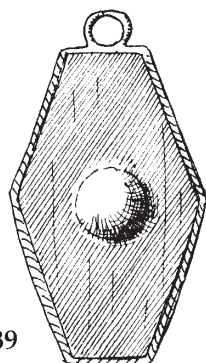
7869



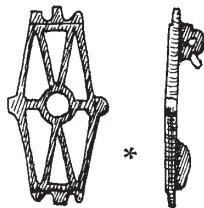
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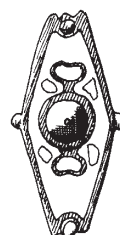
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7889

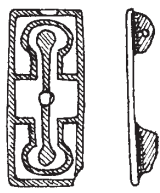


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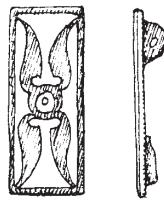


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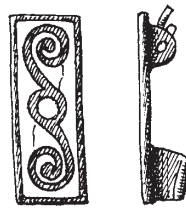




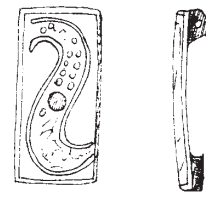
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14793



7886



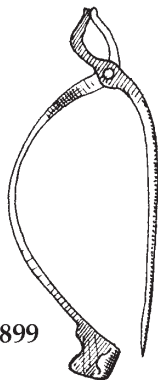
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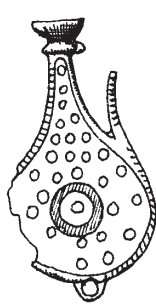
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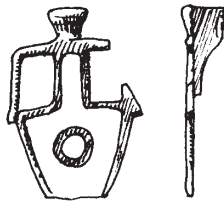
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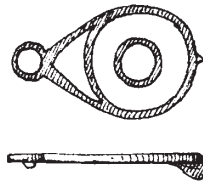
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7881



14794



7879



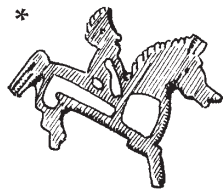
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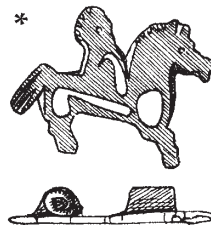
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7935



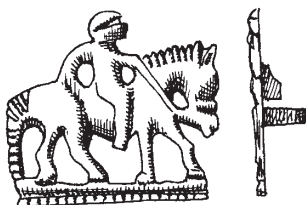
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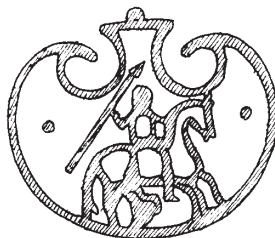
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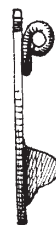
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7941



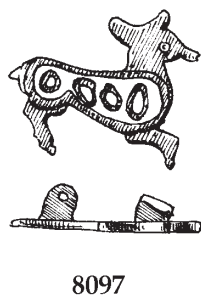
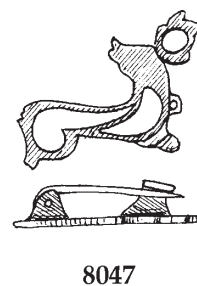
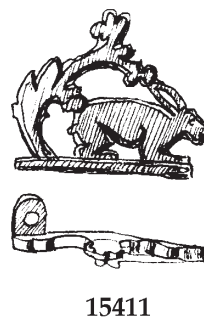
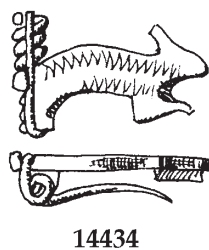
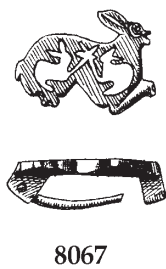
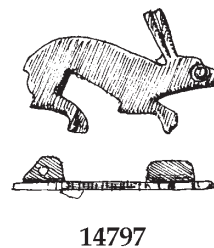
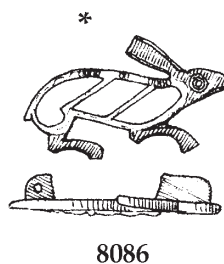
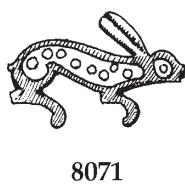
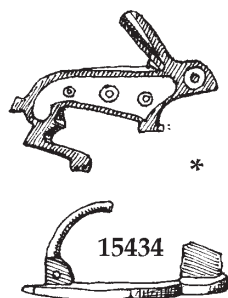
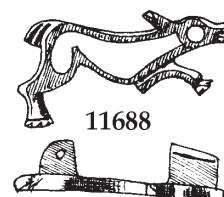
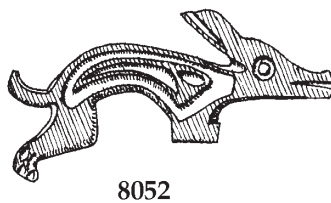
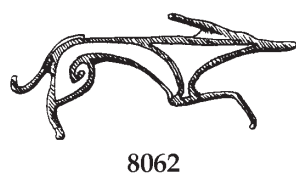
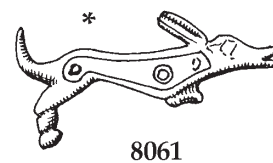
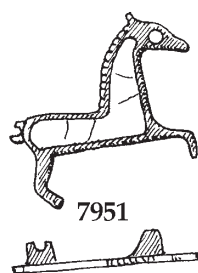
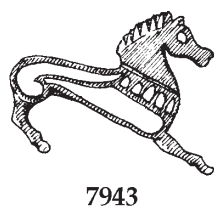
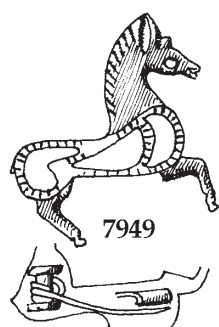
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7942

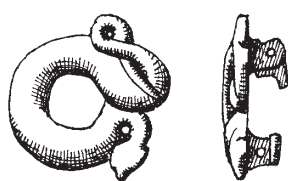


PLATE 124

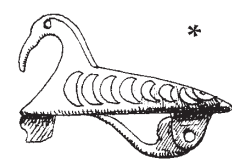


3.f, beasts, on Supplementary Plate 2

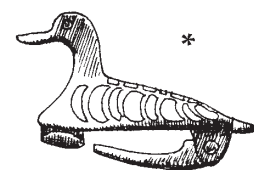




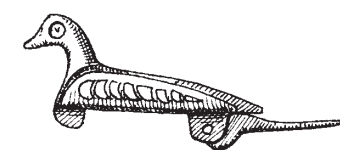
6151



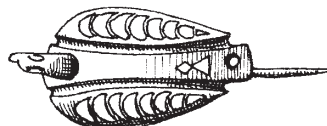
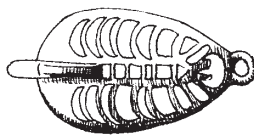
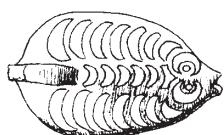
11692



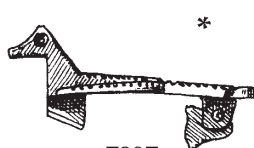
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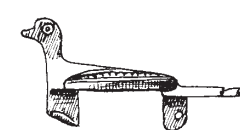
7974



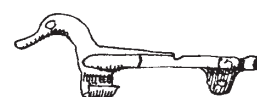
7999



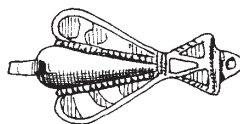
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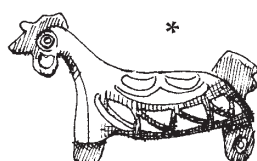
12692



14443



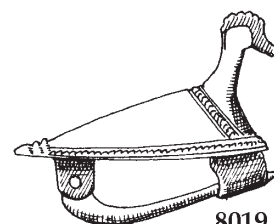
12691



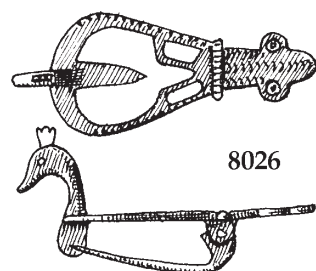
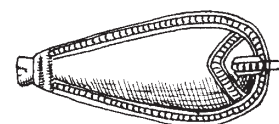
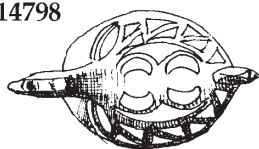
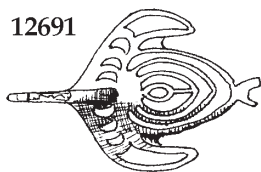
14798



8012



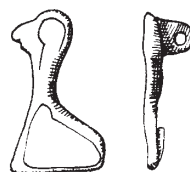
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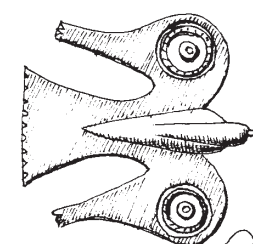
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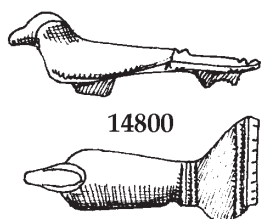
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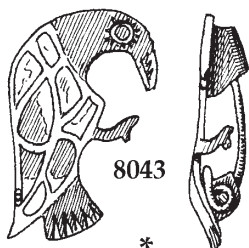
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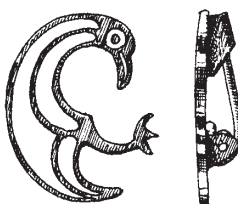
14445



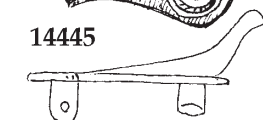
14800



8043



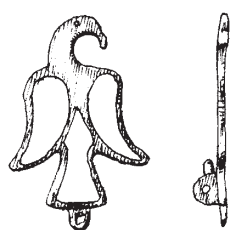
12694



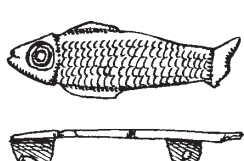
8045



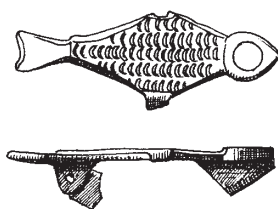
PLATE 126



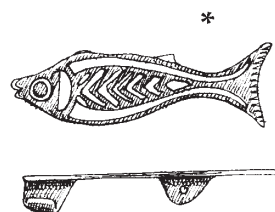
15443



7953



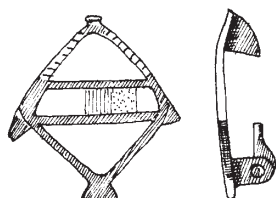
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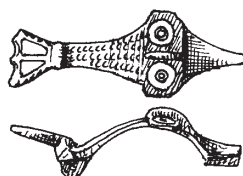
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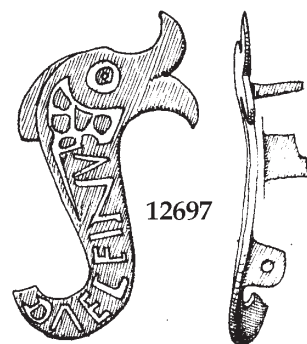
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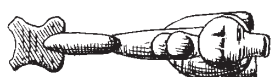
7963



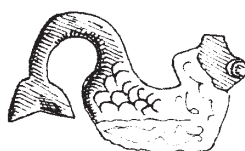
7964



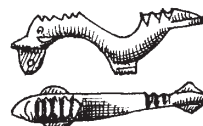
12697



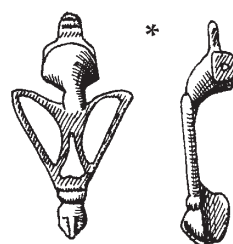
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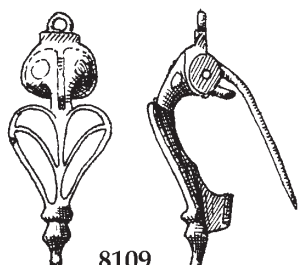
7970



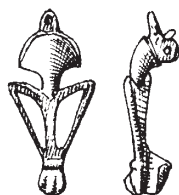
7971



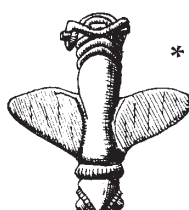
8100



8109



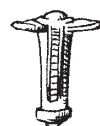
8110



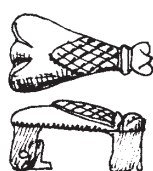
8114



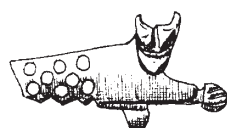
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8113



14449



11687



14440



8123

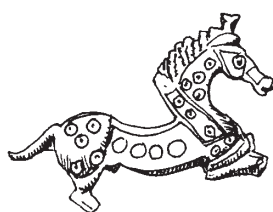
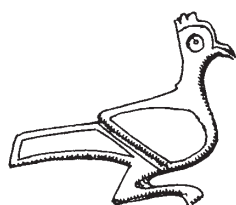
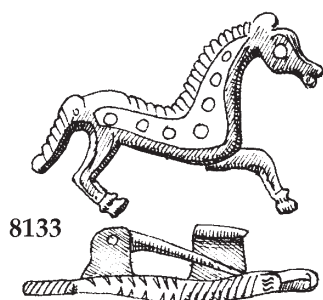


PLATE 127

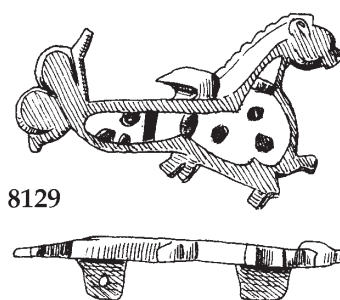




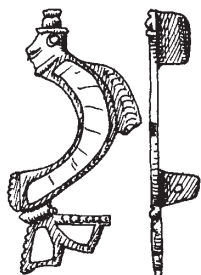
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8133



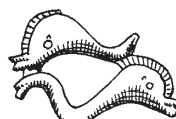
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8132



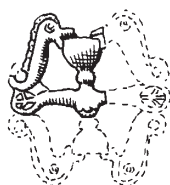
15445



8136



8137



8144



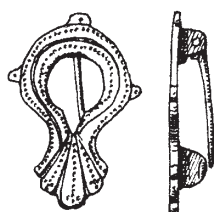
8138



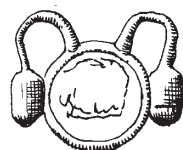
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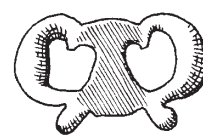
8146



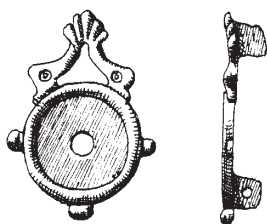
11451



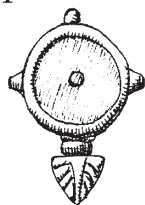
11452



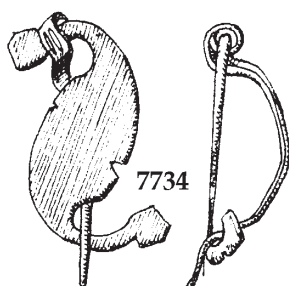
11455



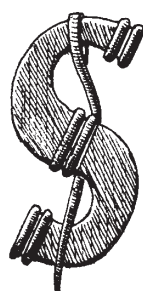
11636



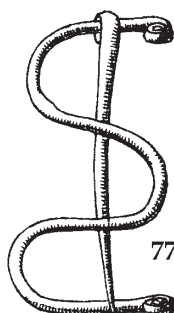
14319



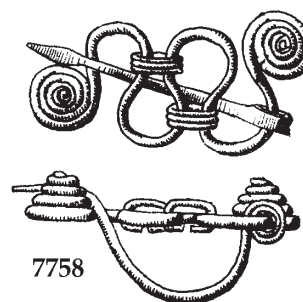
7734



7750

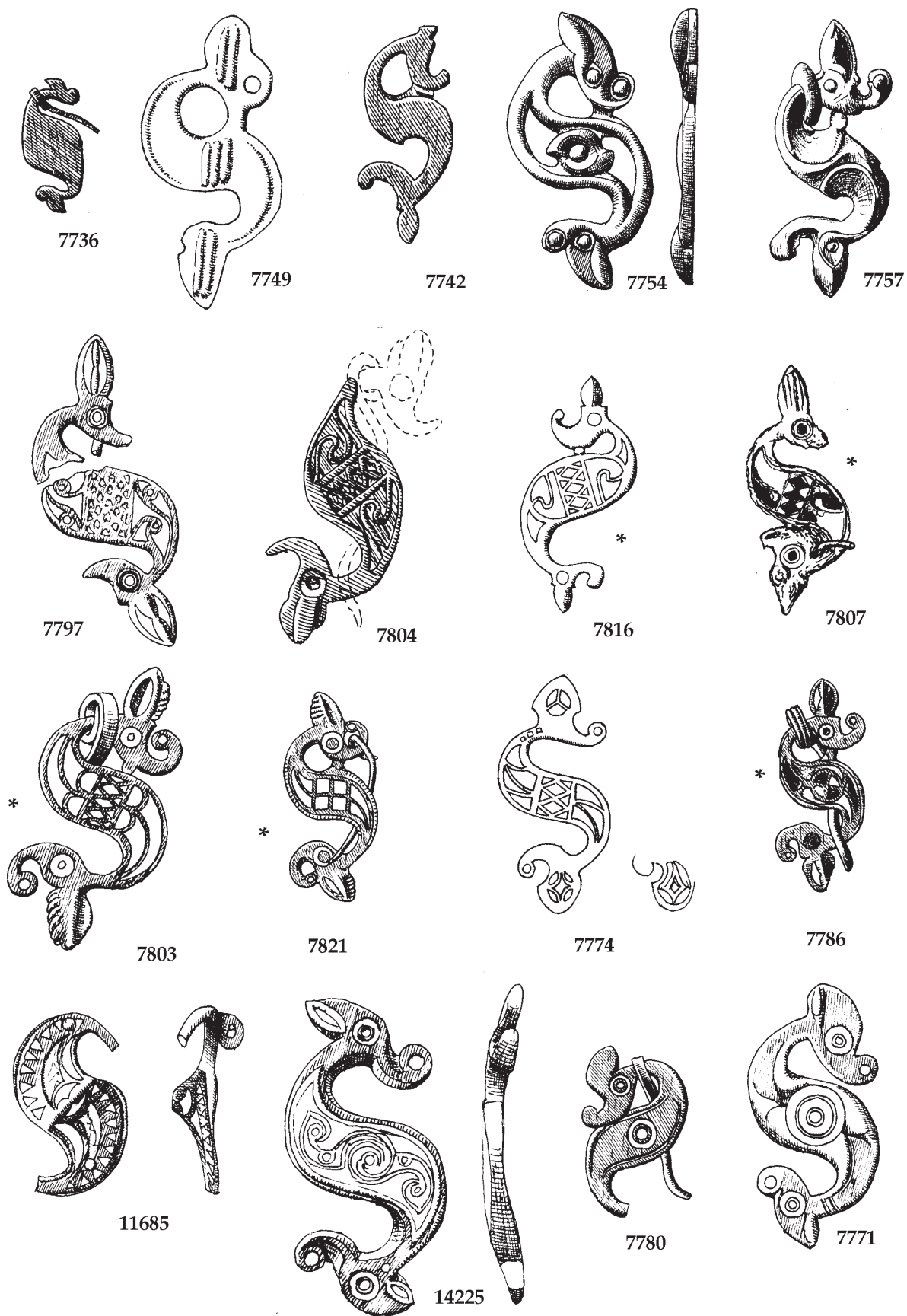


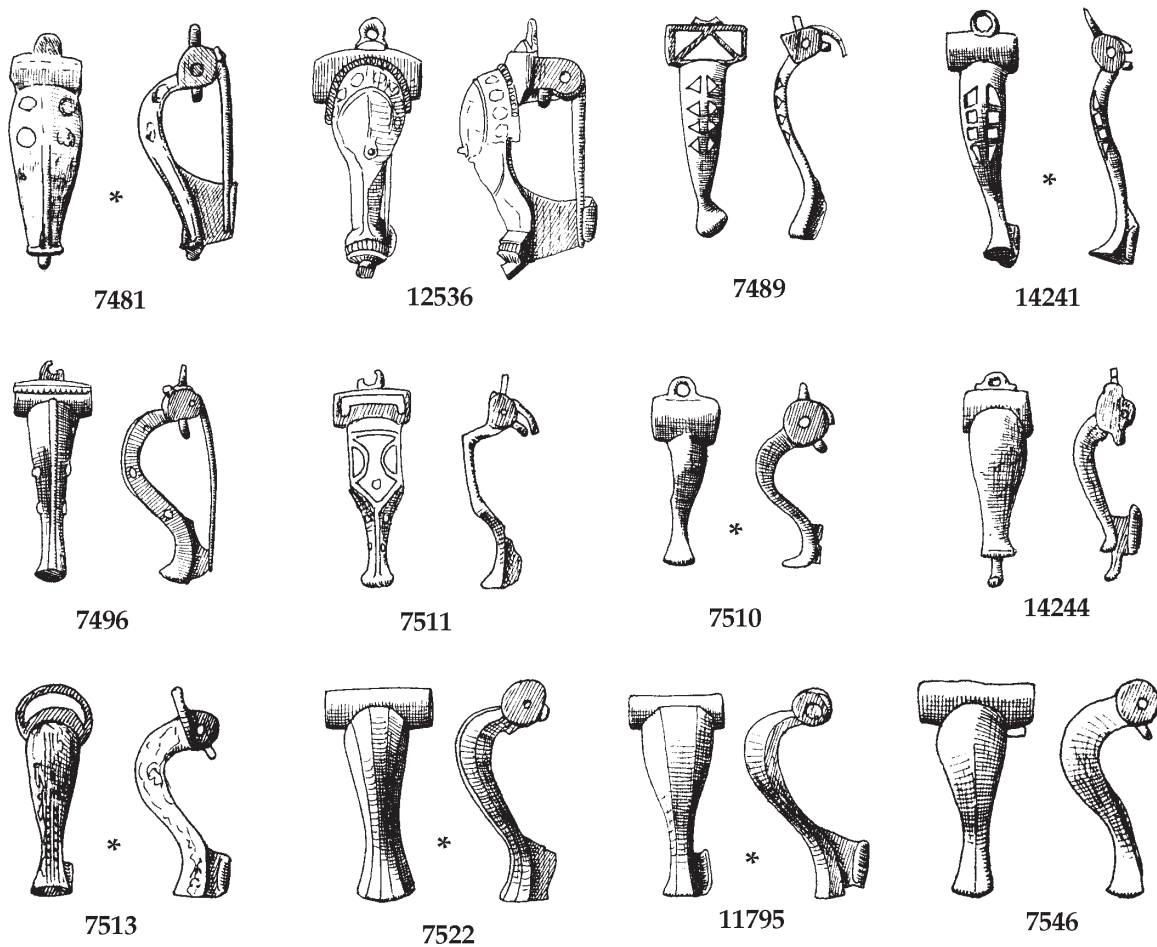
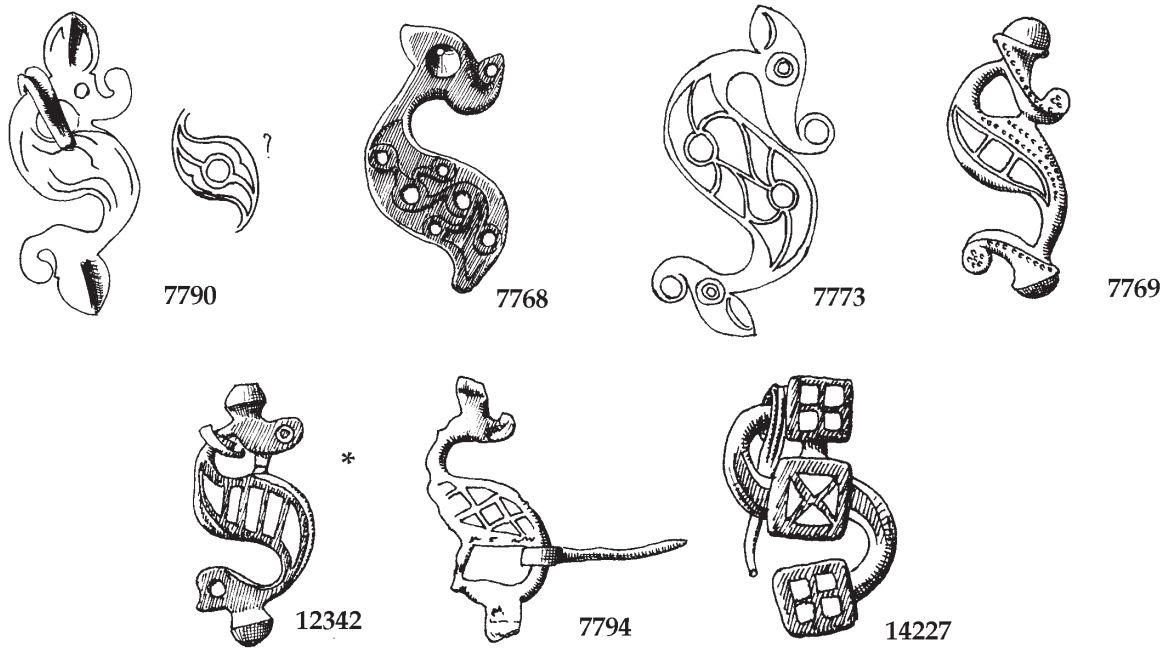
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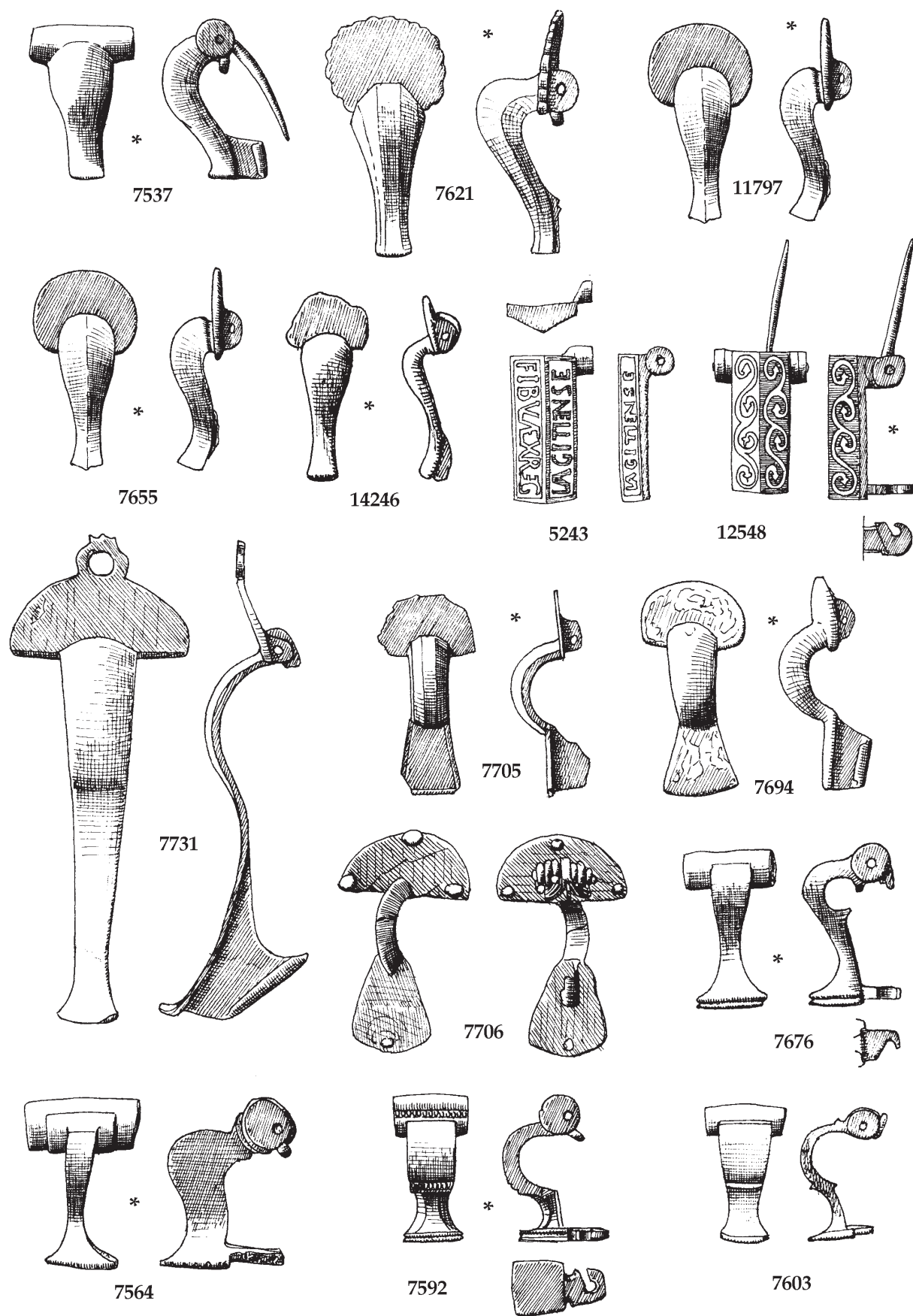


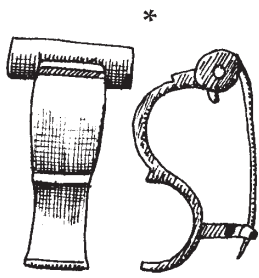
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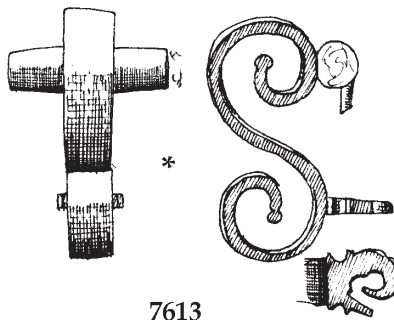




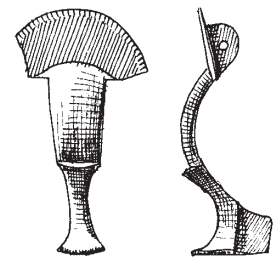




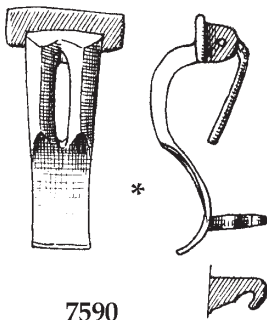
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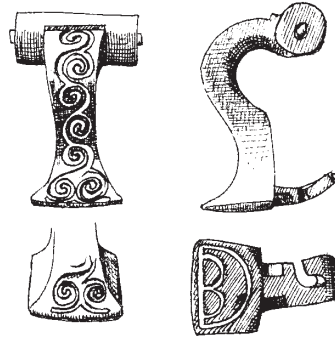
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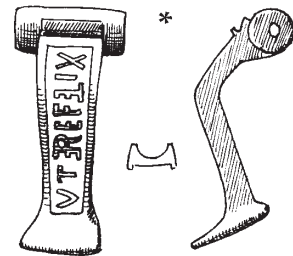
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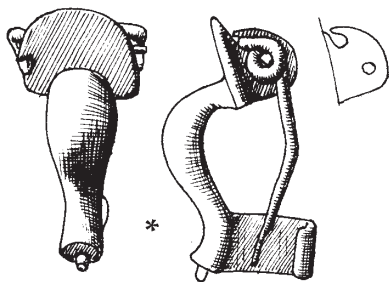
7590



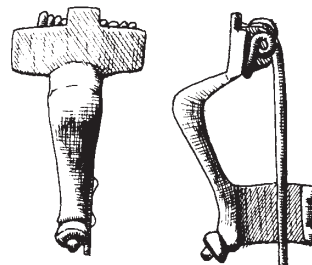
11798



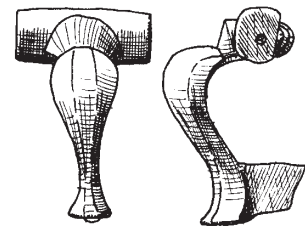
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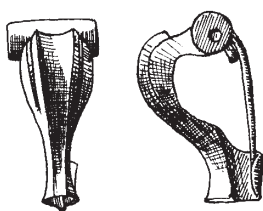
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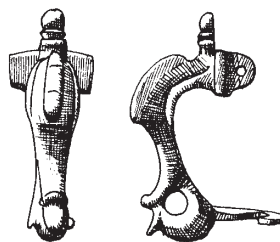
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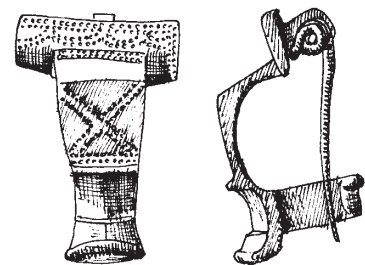
7552



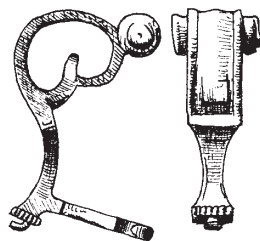
12545



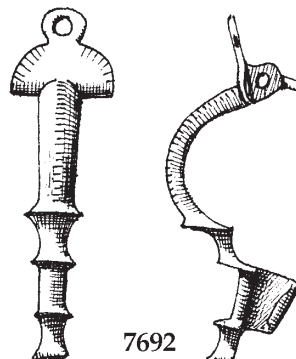
7689



14253



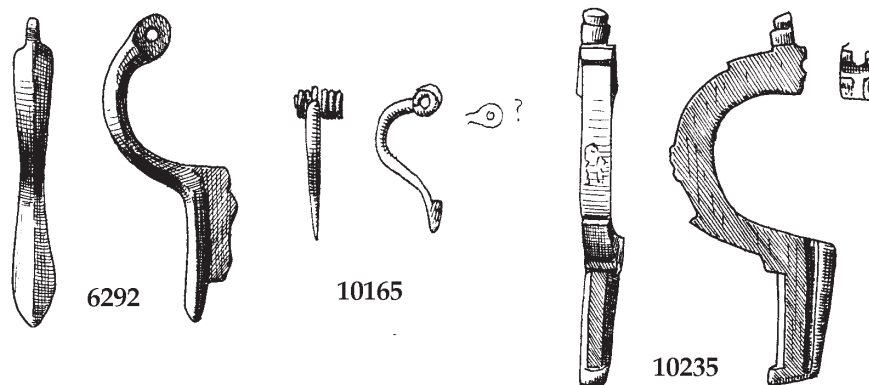
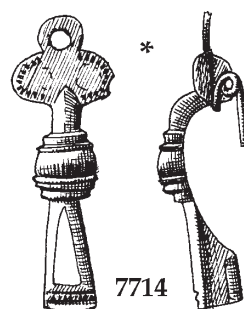
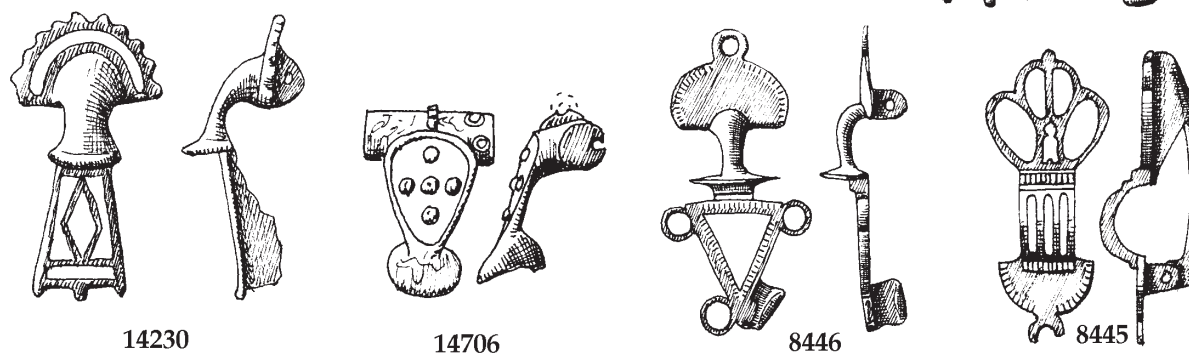
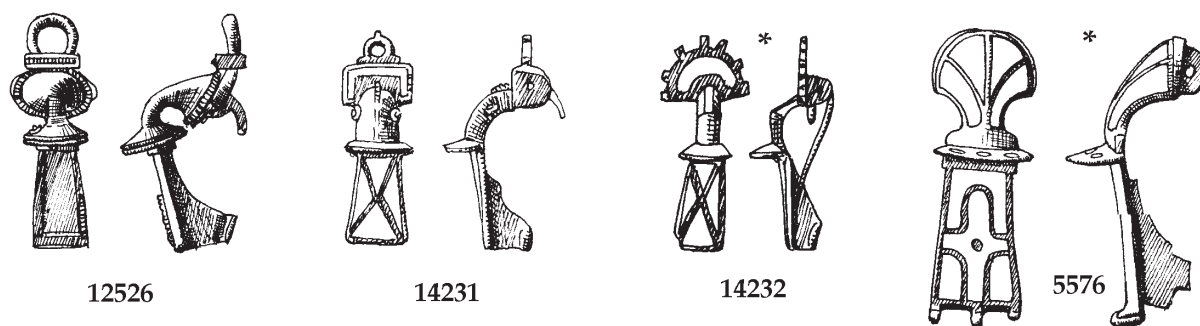
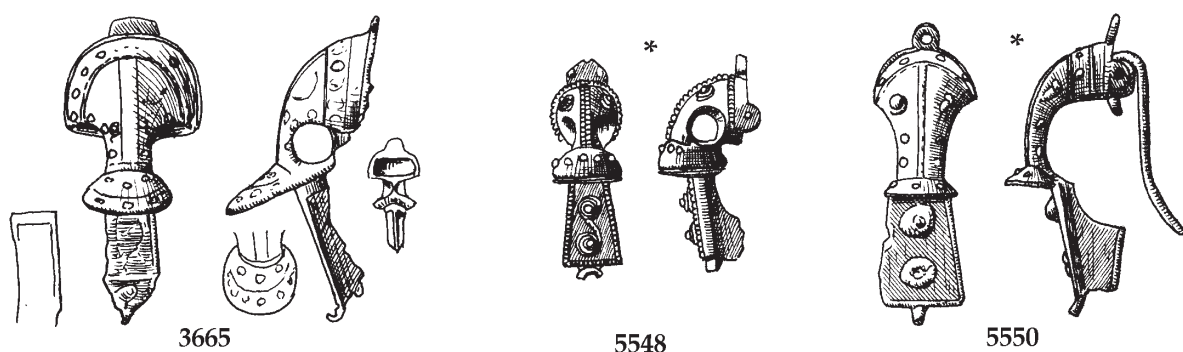
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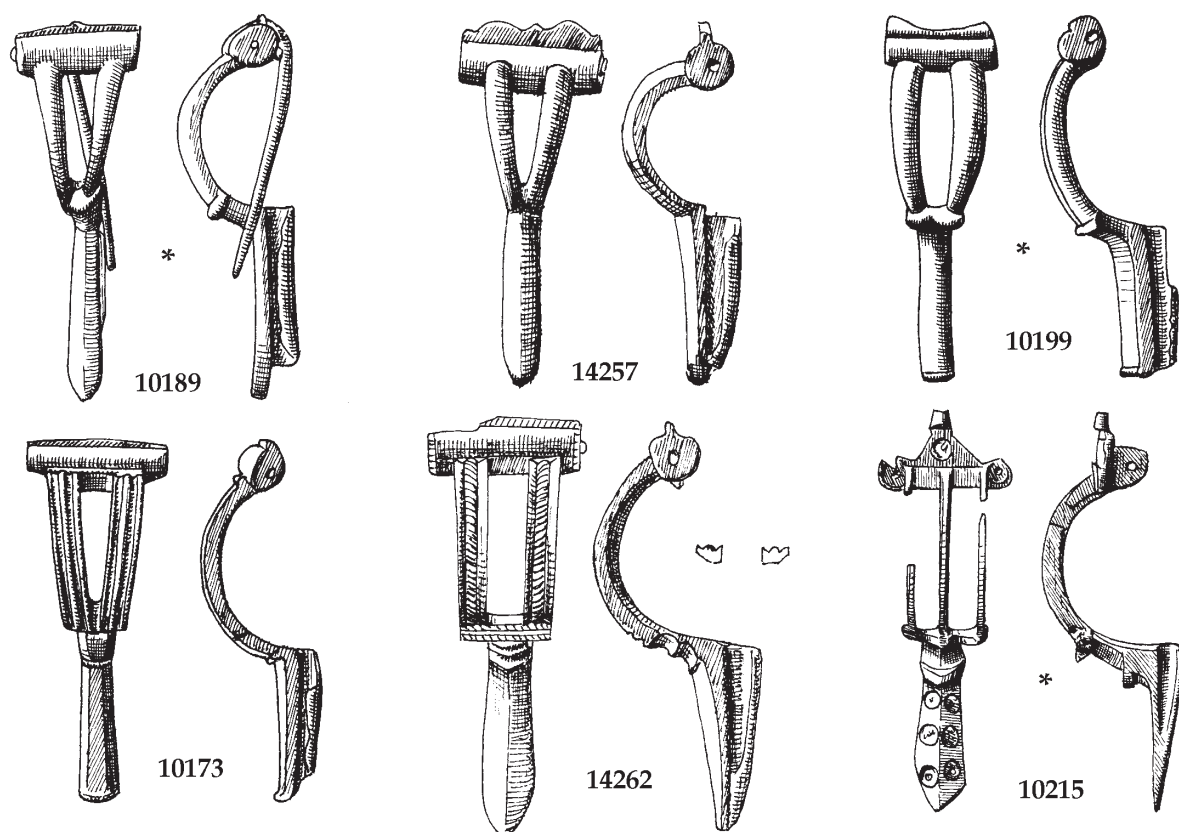
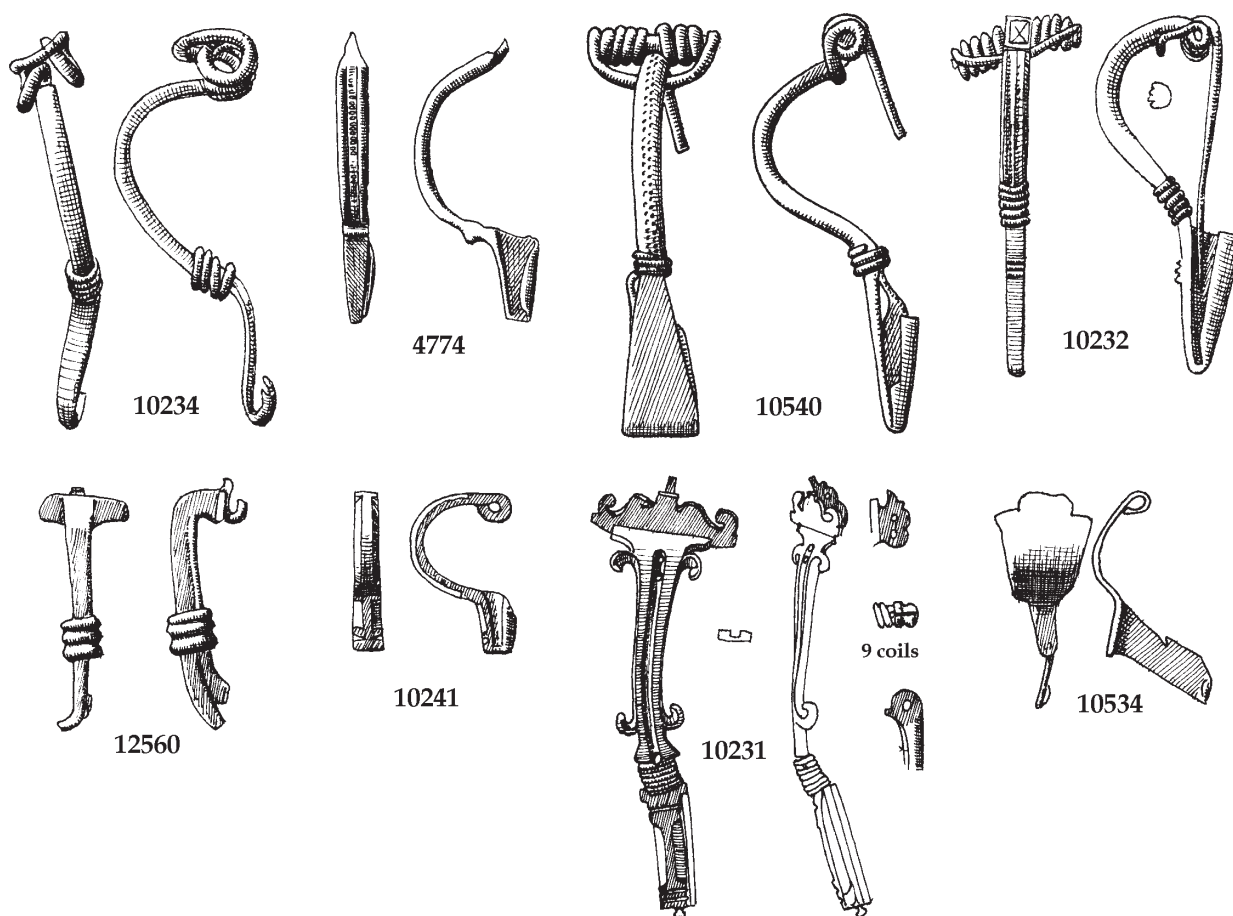


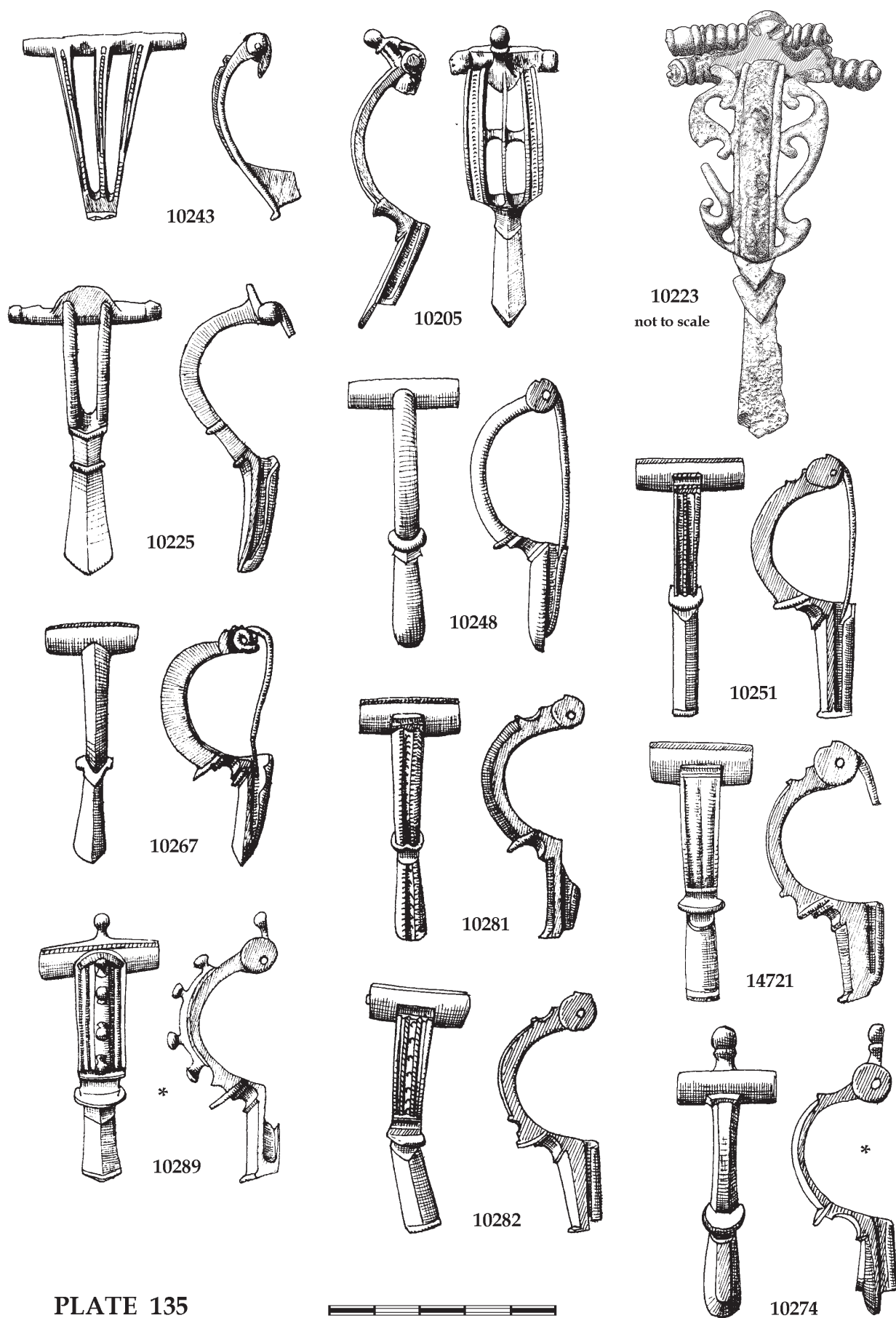
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PLATE 132







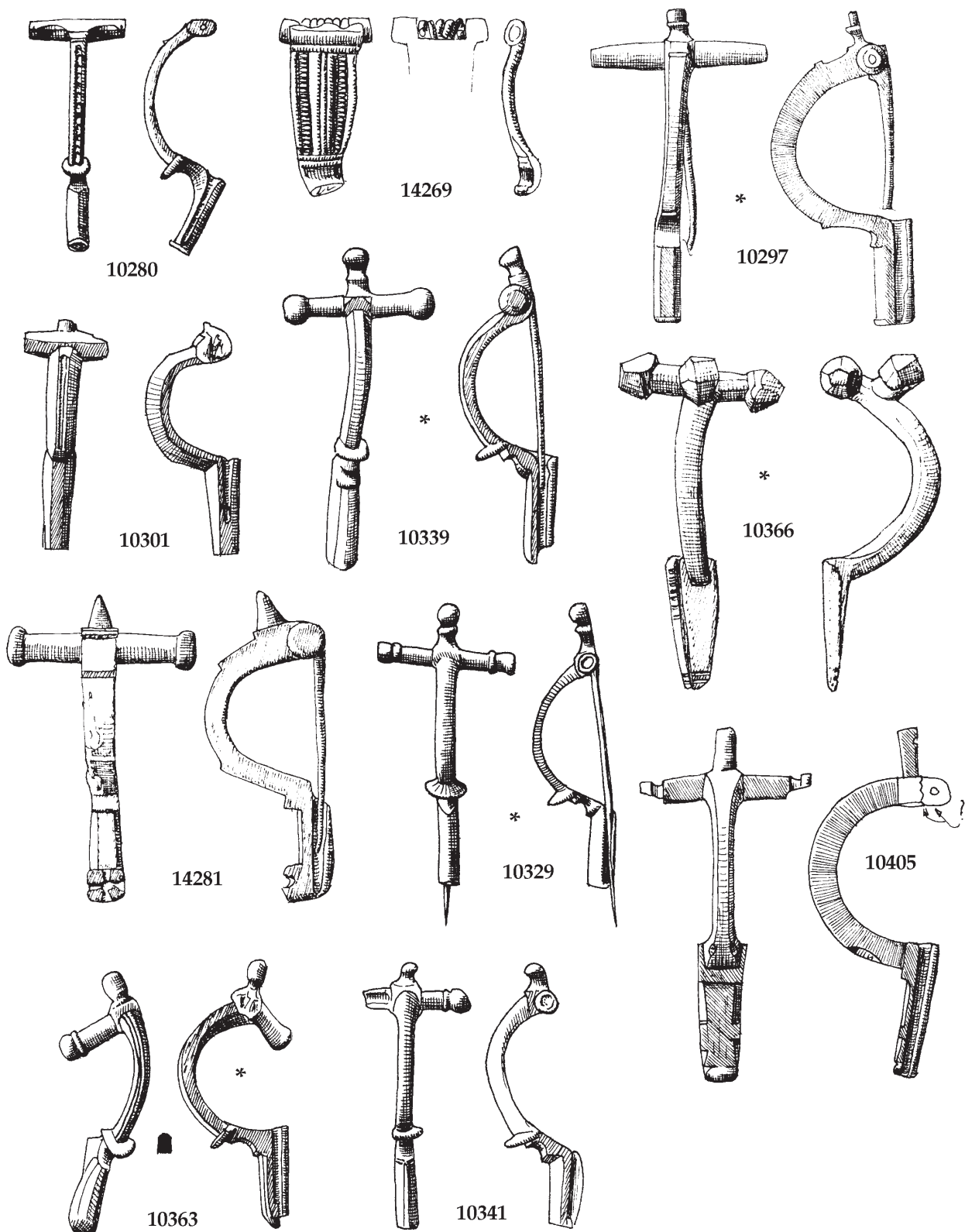


PLATE 136

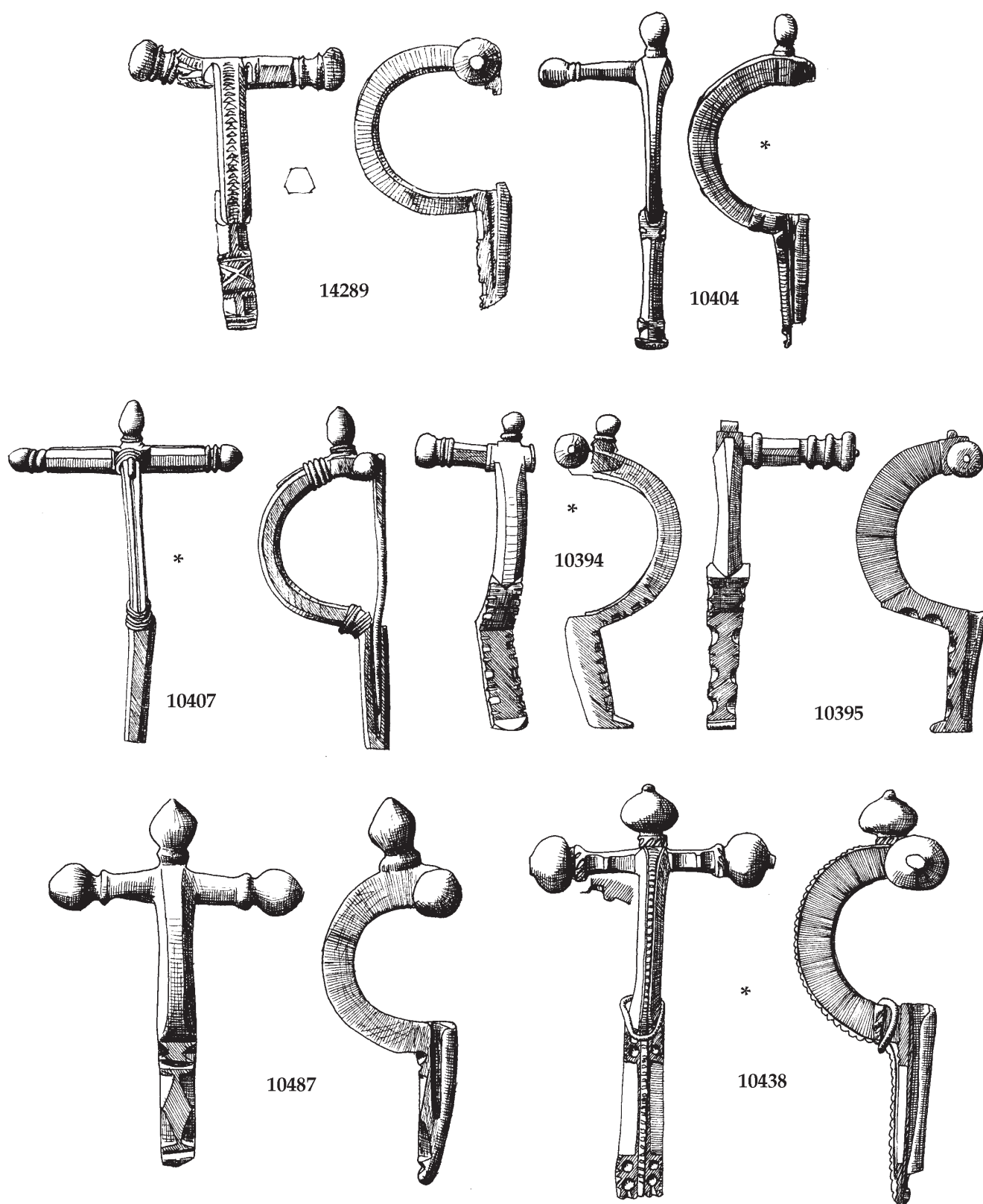
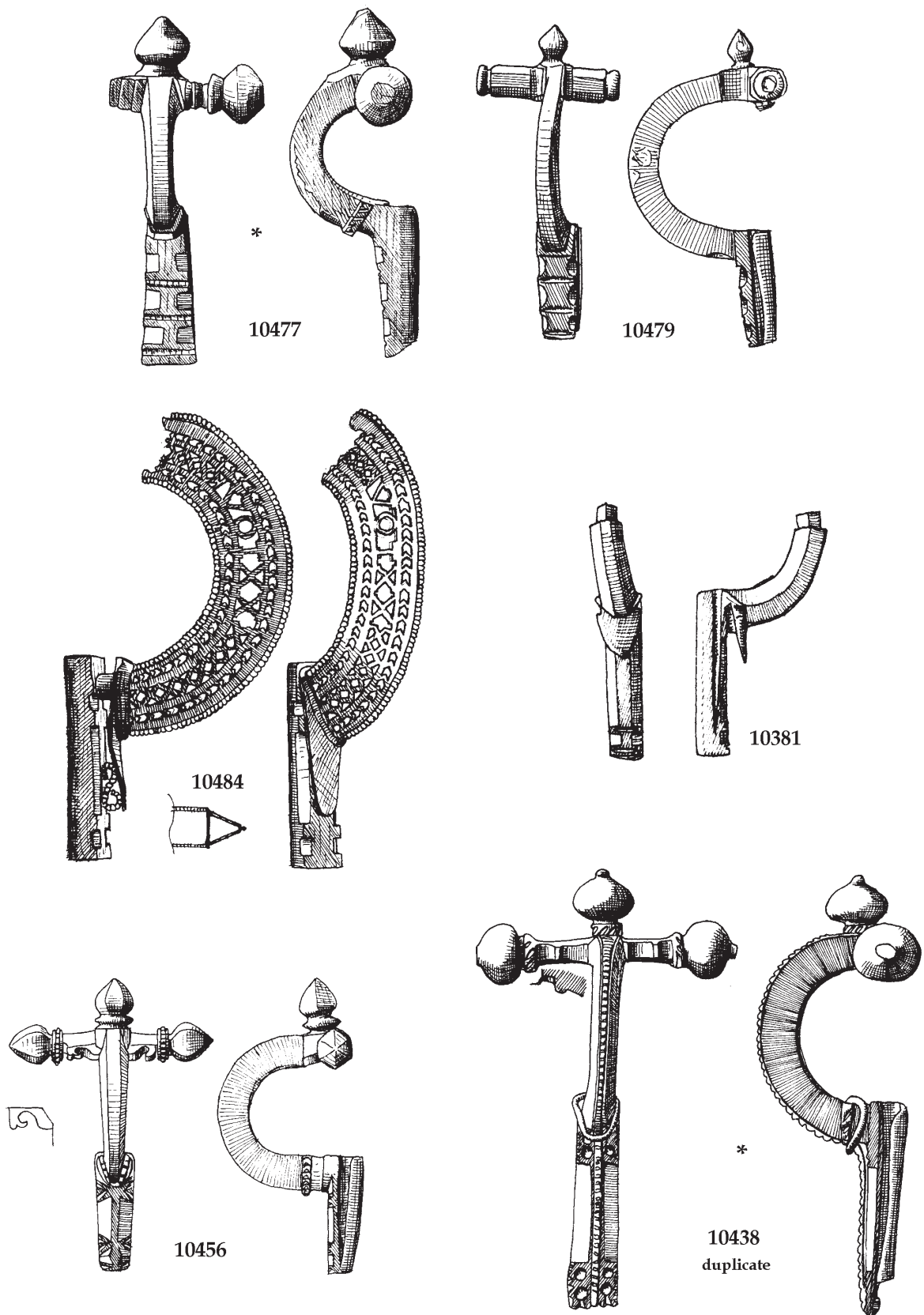
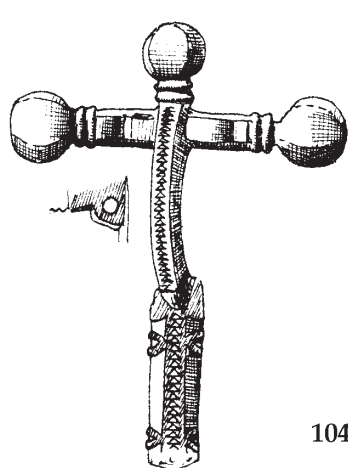
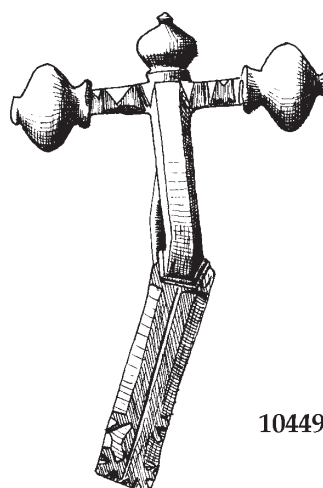
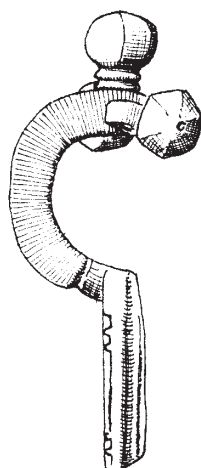


PLATE 137

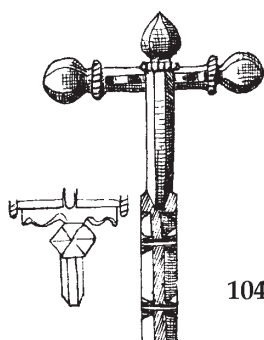
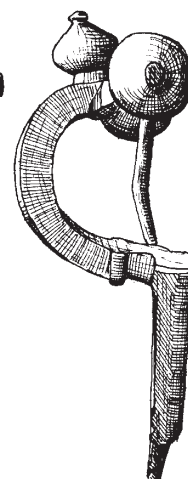




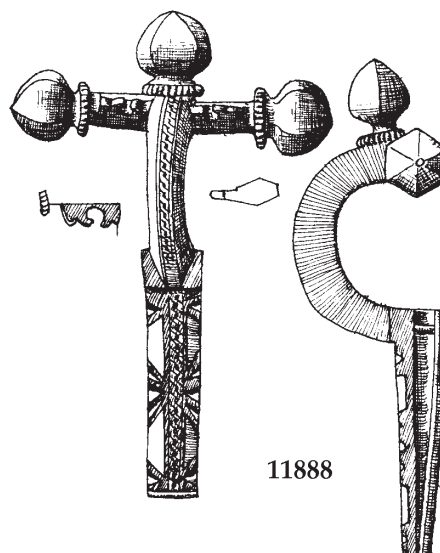
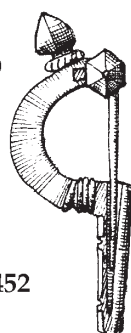
10495



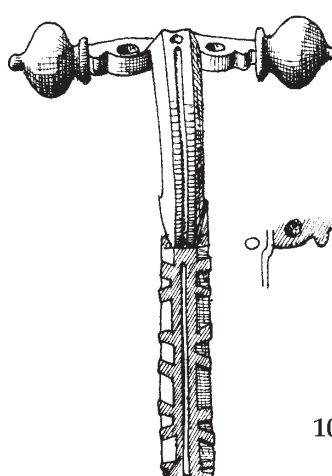
10449



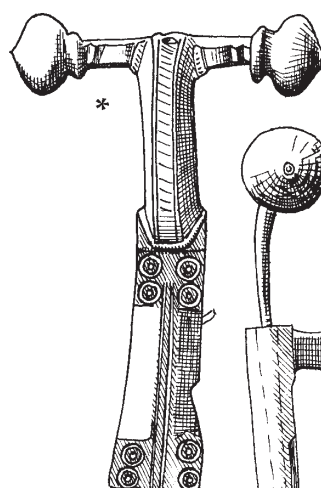
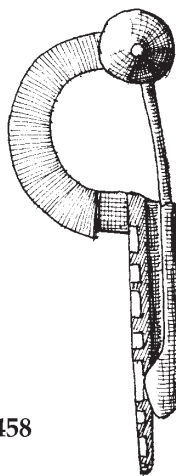
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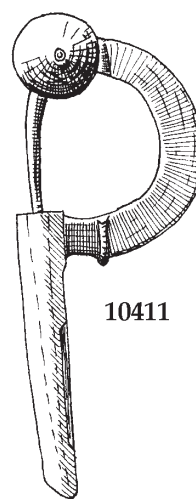
11888

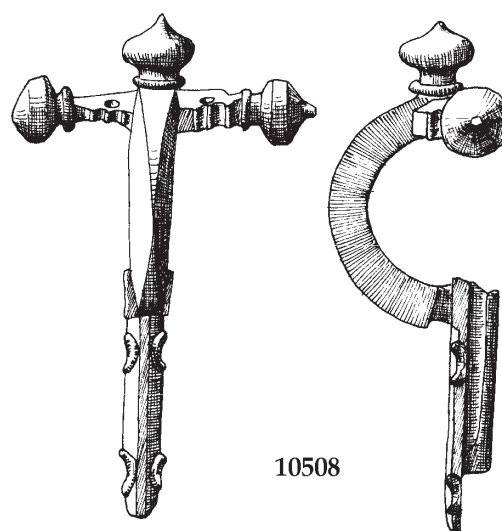
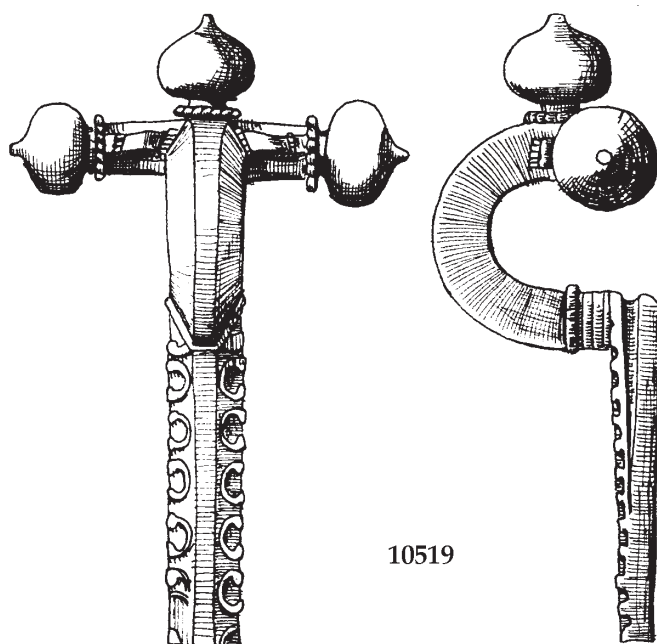
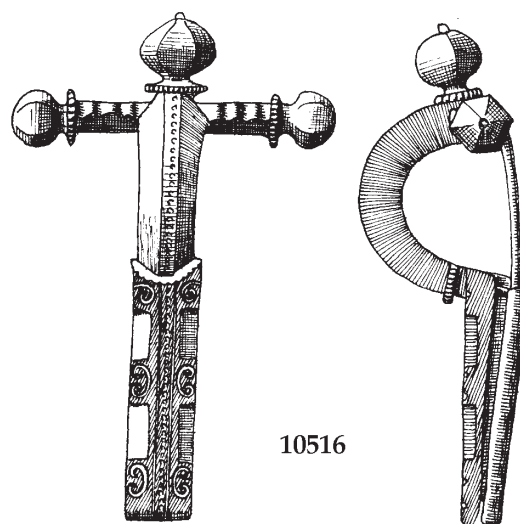
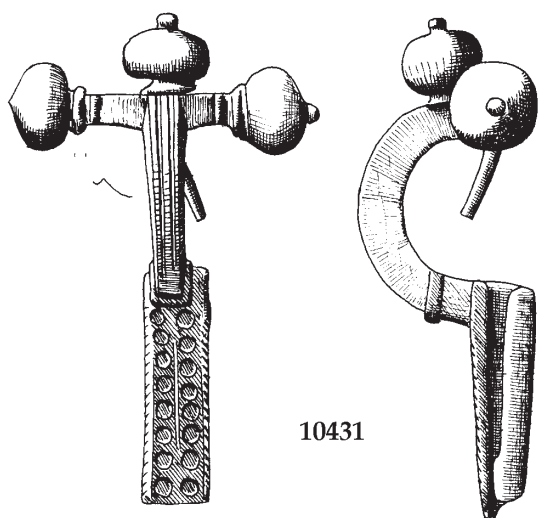
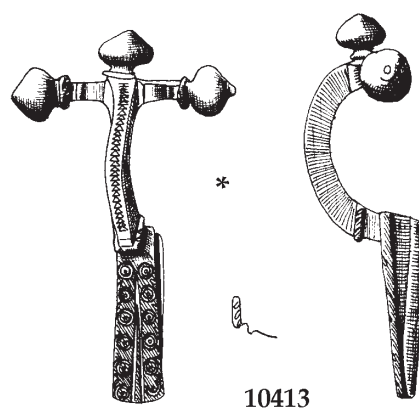
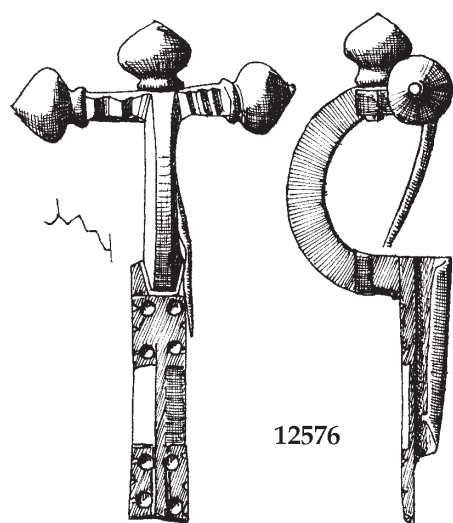


10458



10411





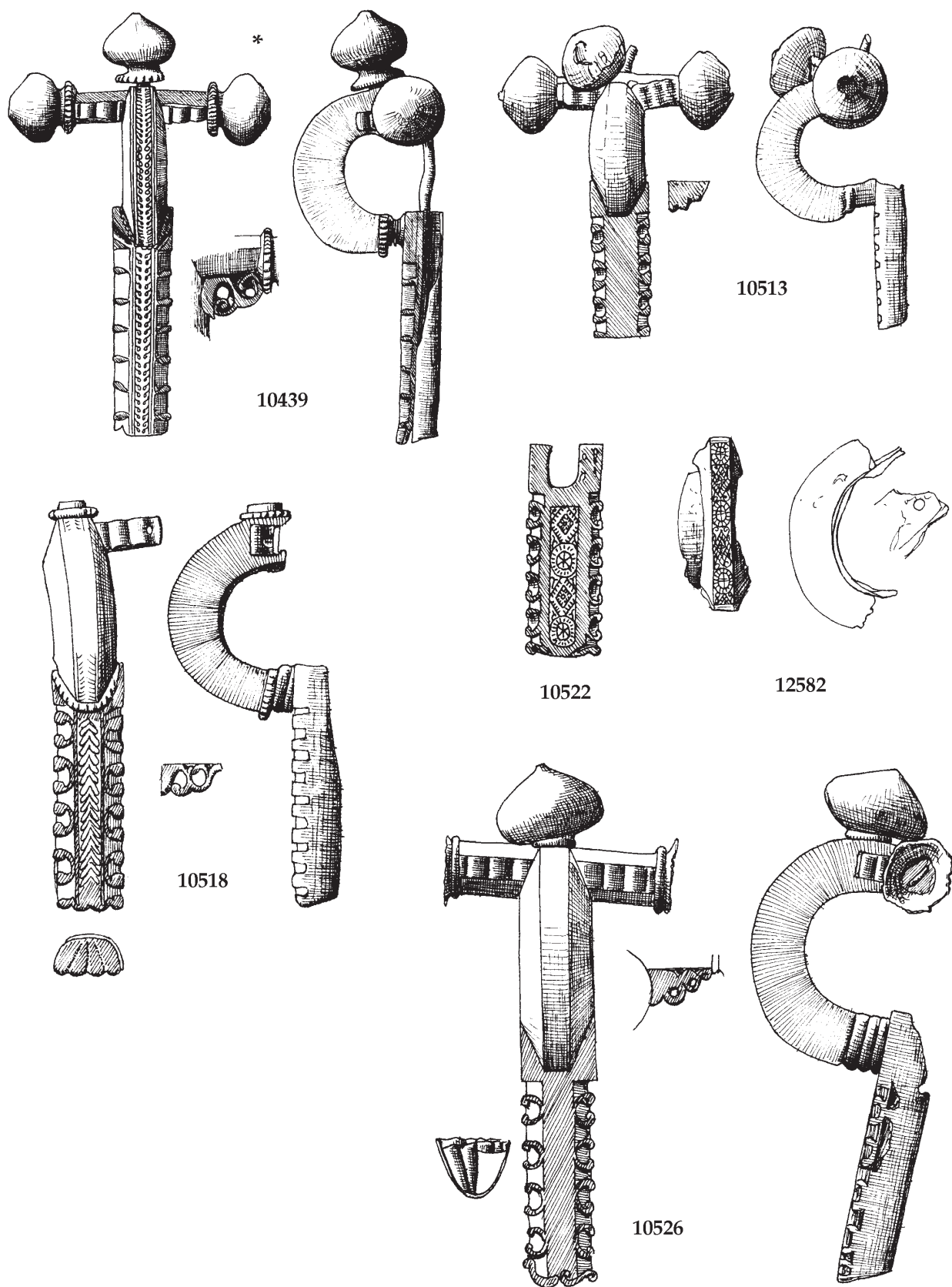
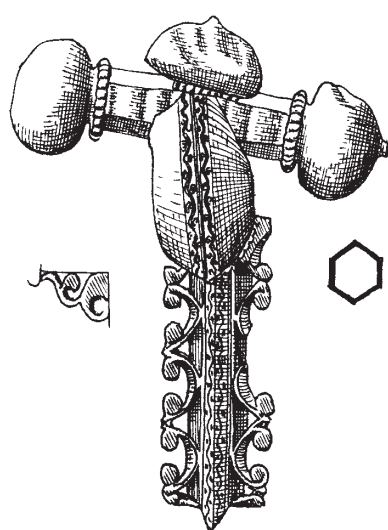
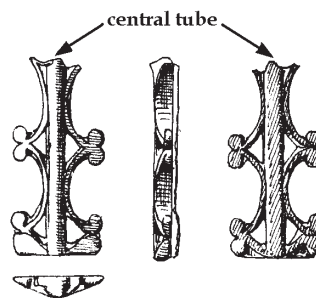
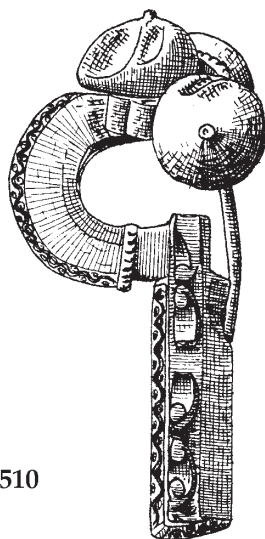


PLATE 141



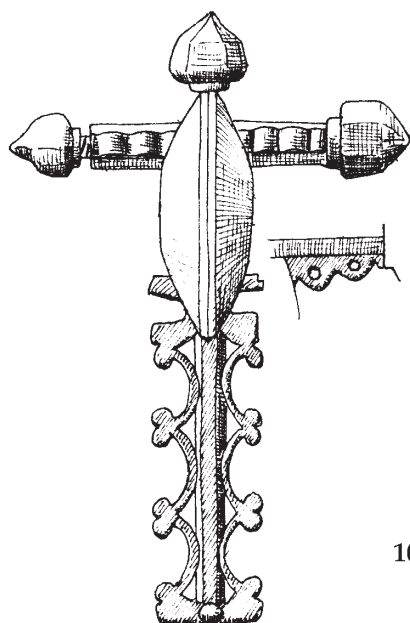
10510



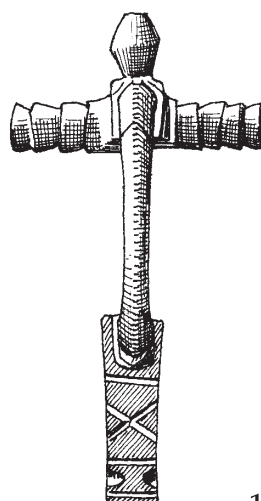
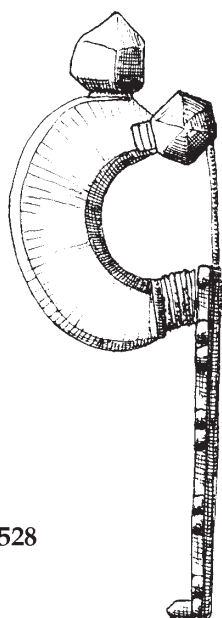
12584



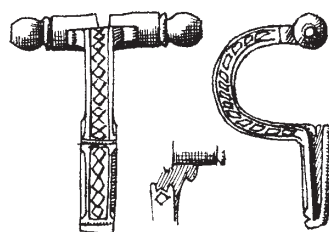
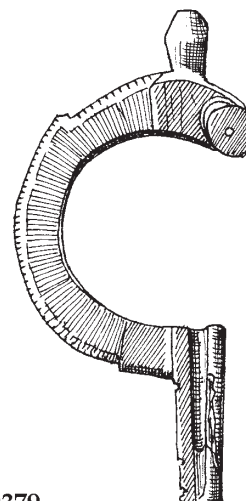
10527



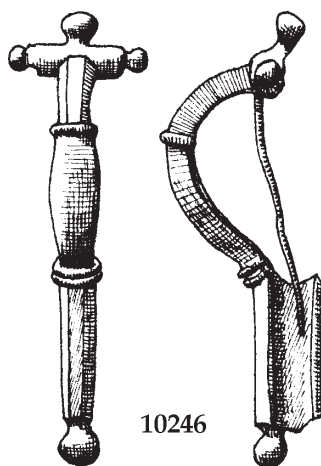
10528



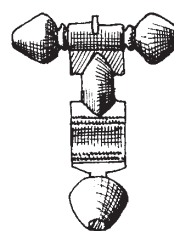
10379



10375



10246



10245



PLATE 142

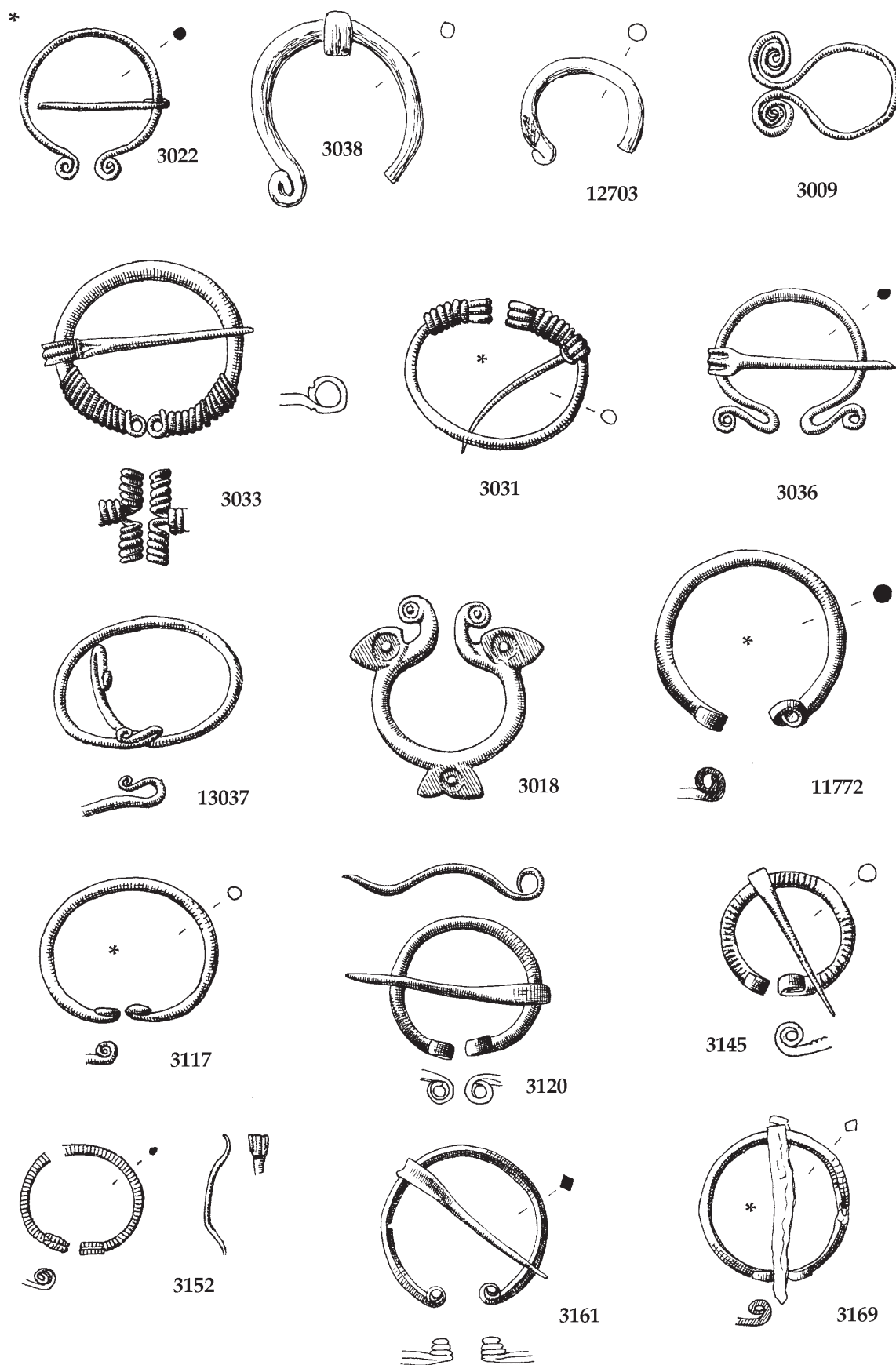
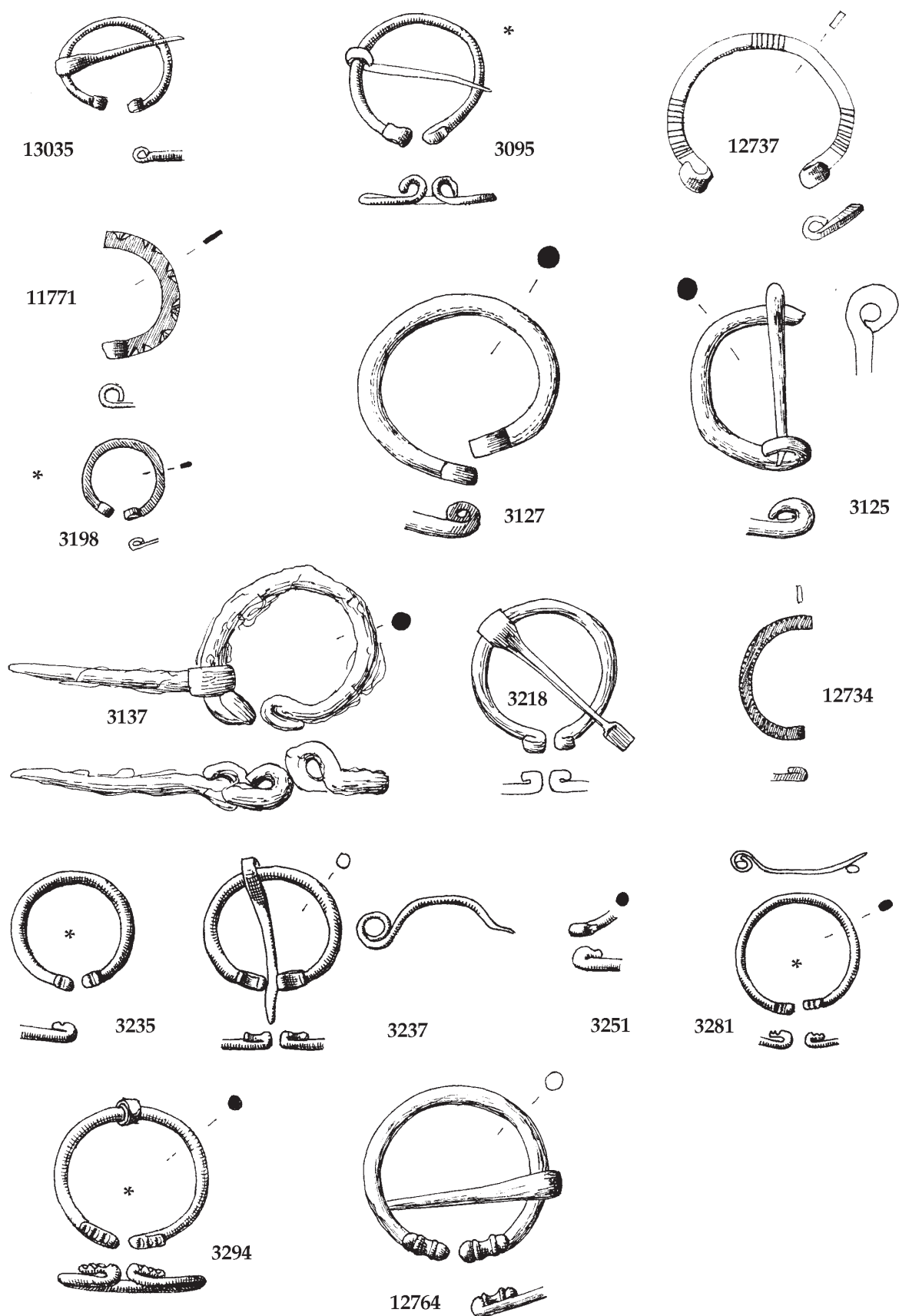
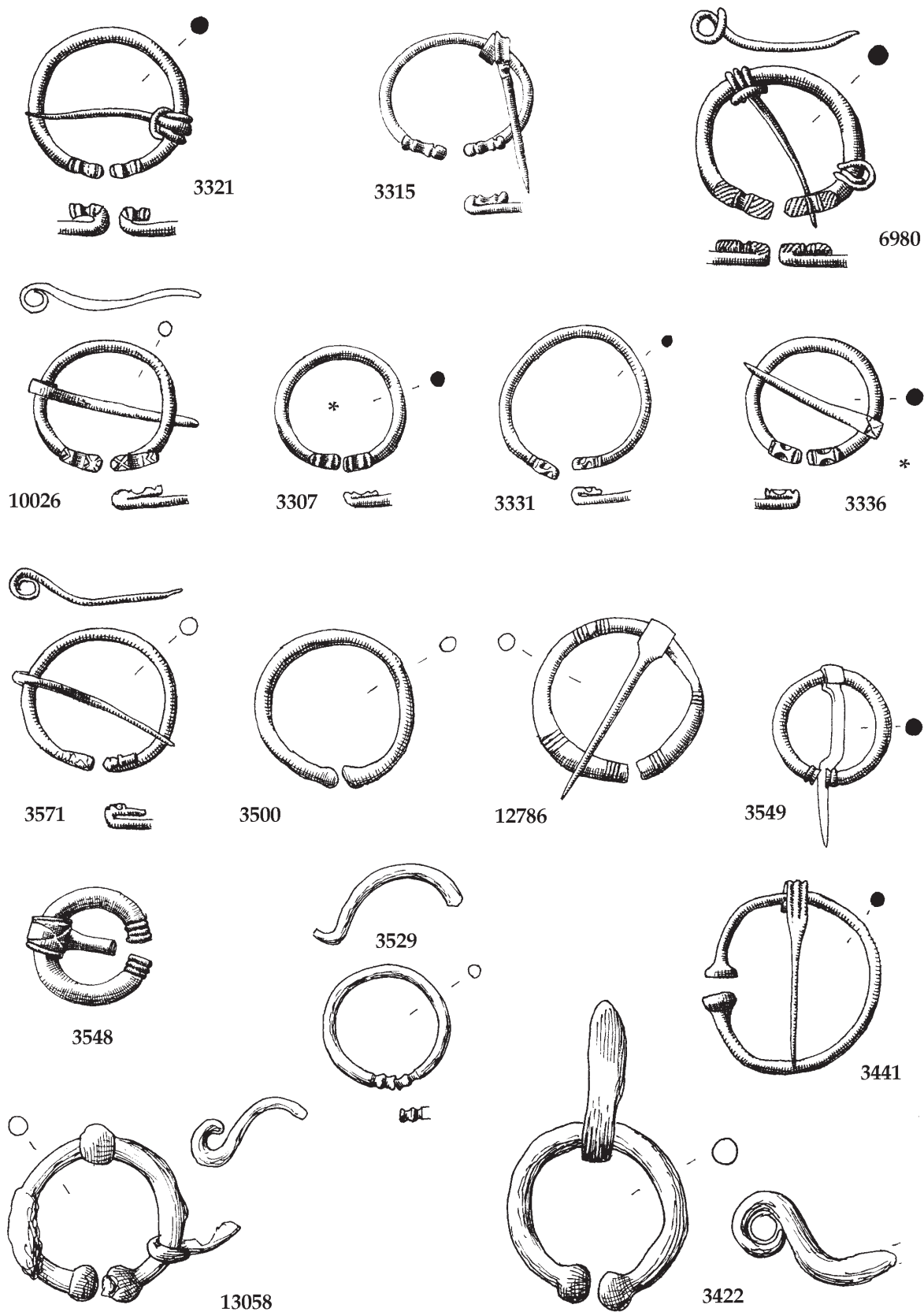
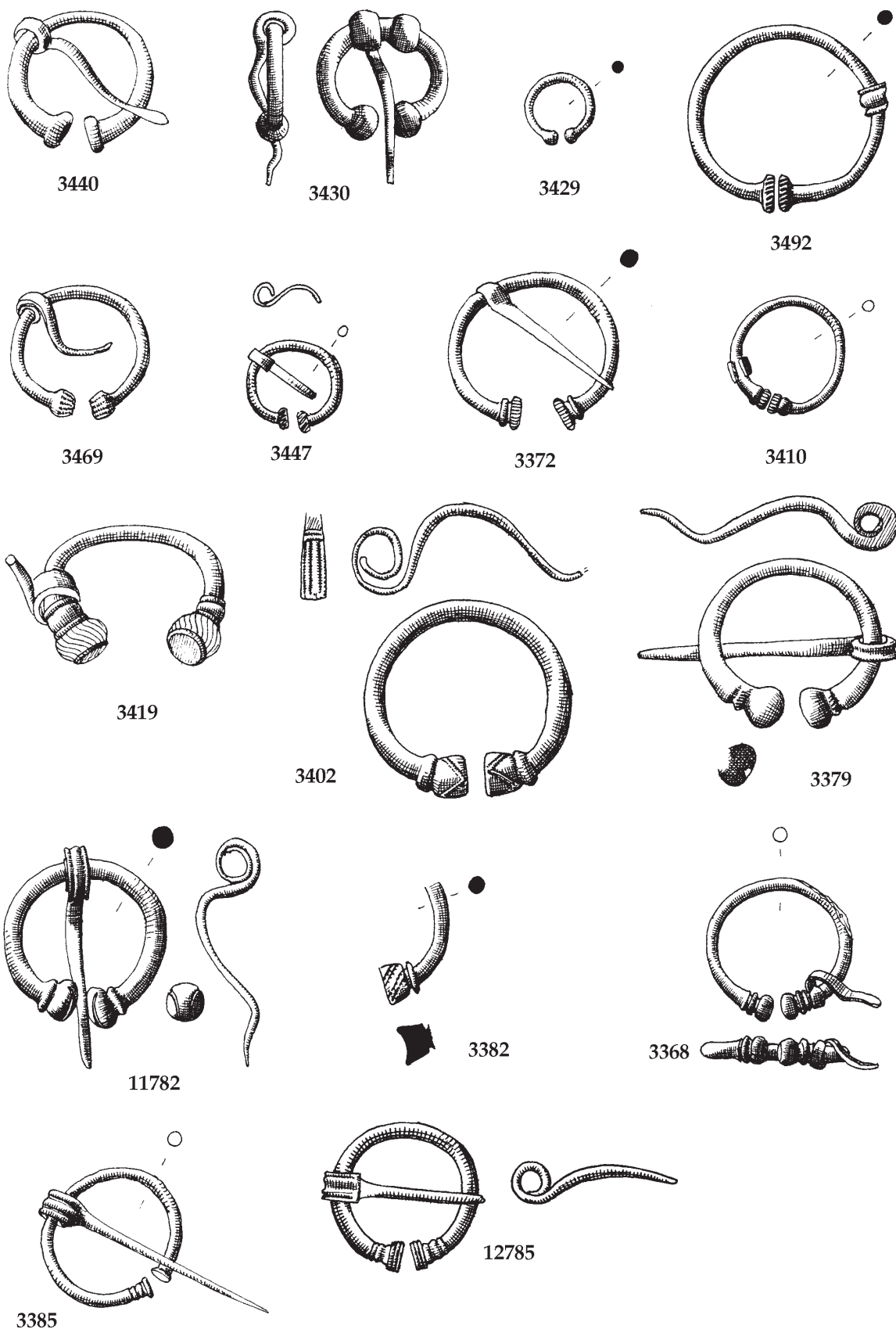
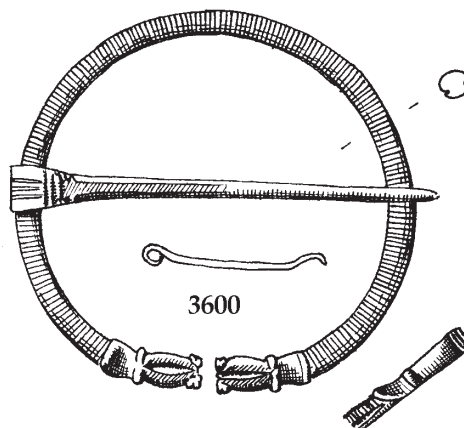
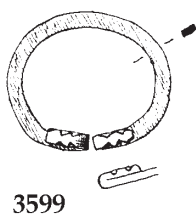
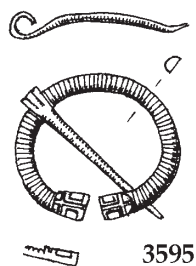
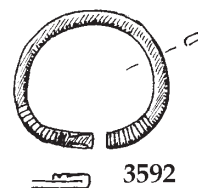
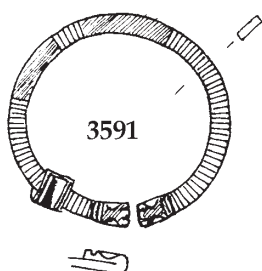
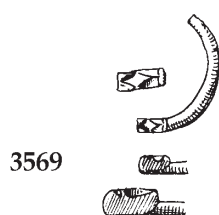
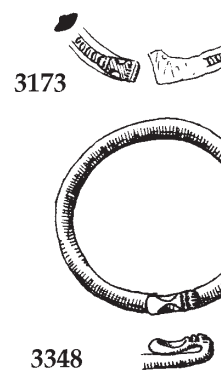
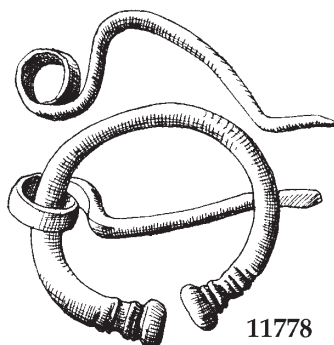
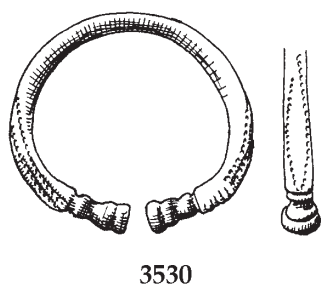
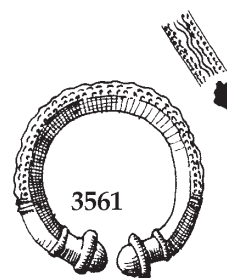
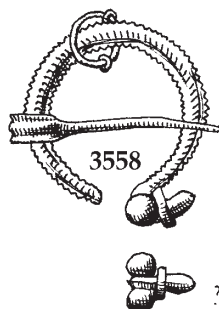
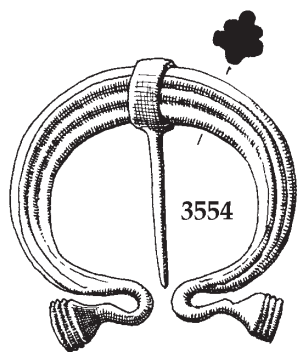
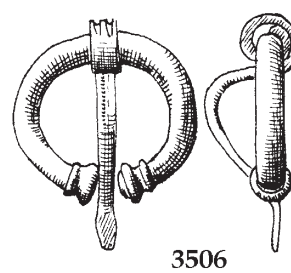
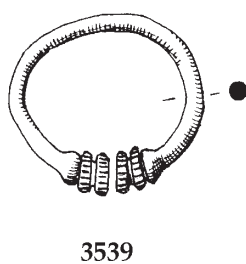
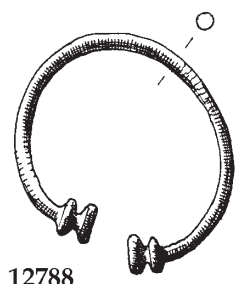


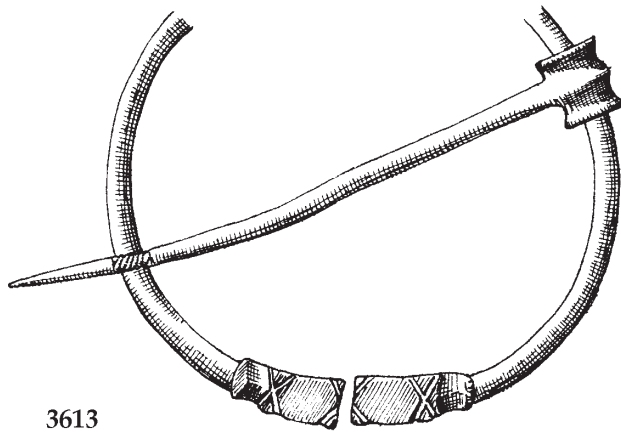
PLATE 143



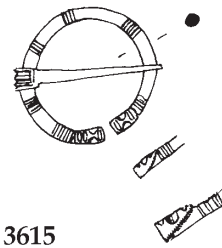




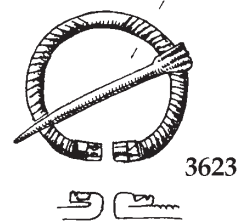




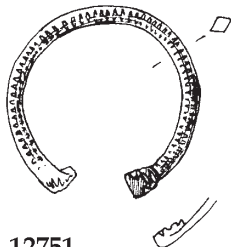
3613



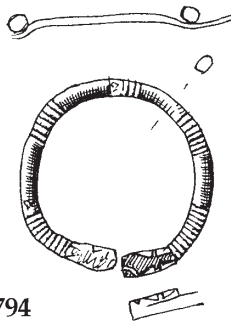
3615



3623



12751



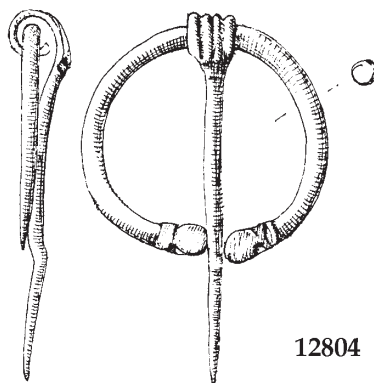
12794



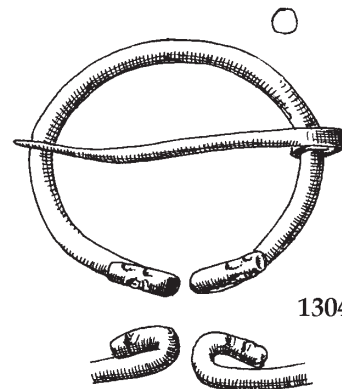
12795



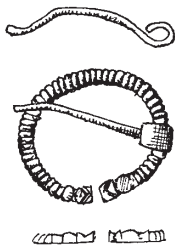
12796



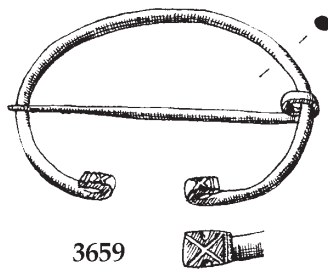
12804



13046



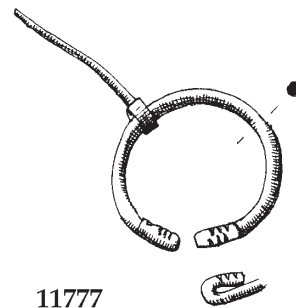
13092



3659

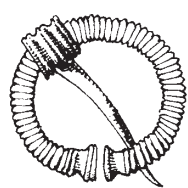


x 2

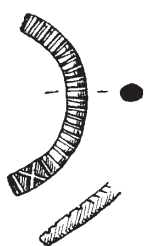


11777

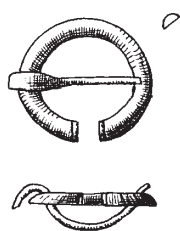




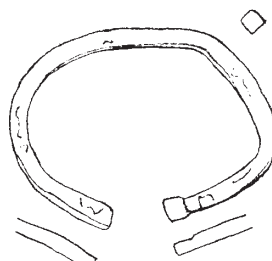
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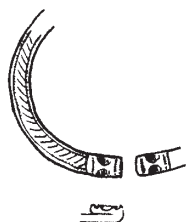
3656



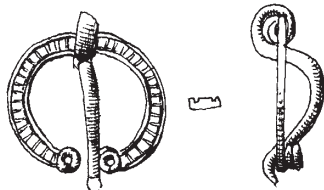
3662



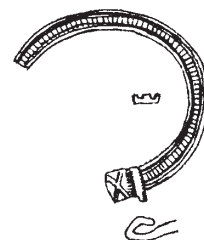
3536



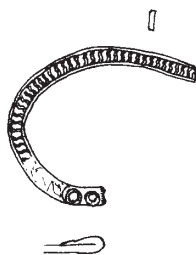
3334



13081



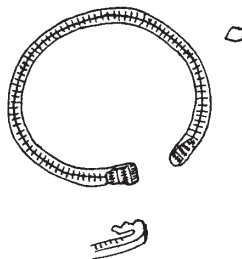
3197



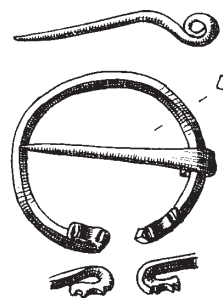
12748



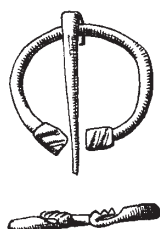
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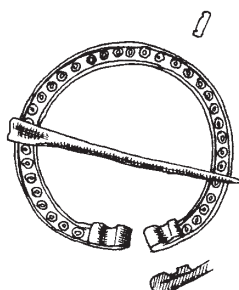
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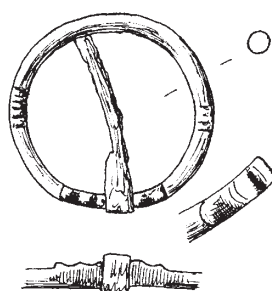
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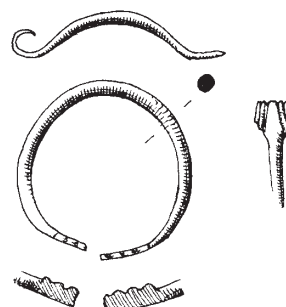
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12749



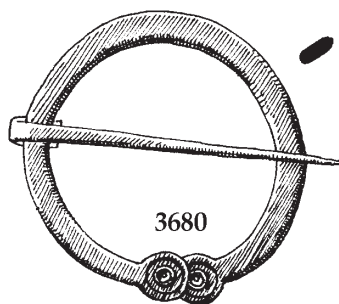
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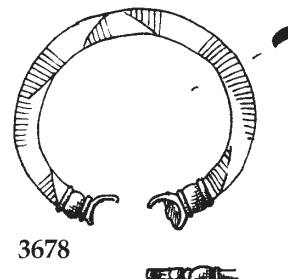
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3638



3680



3678



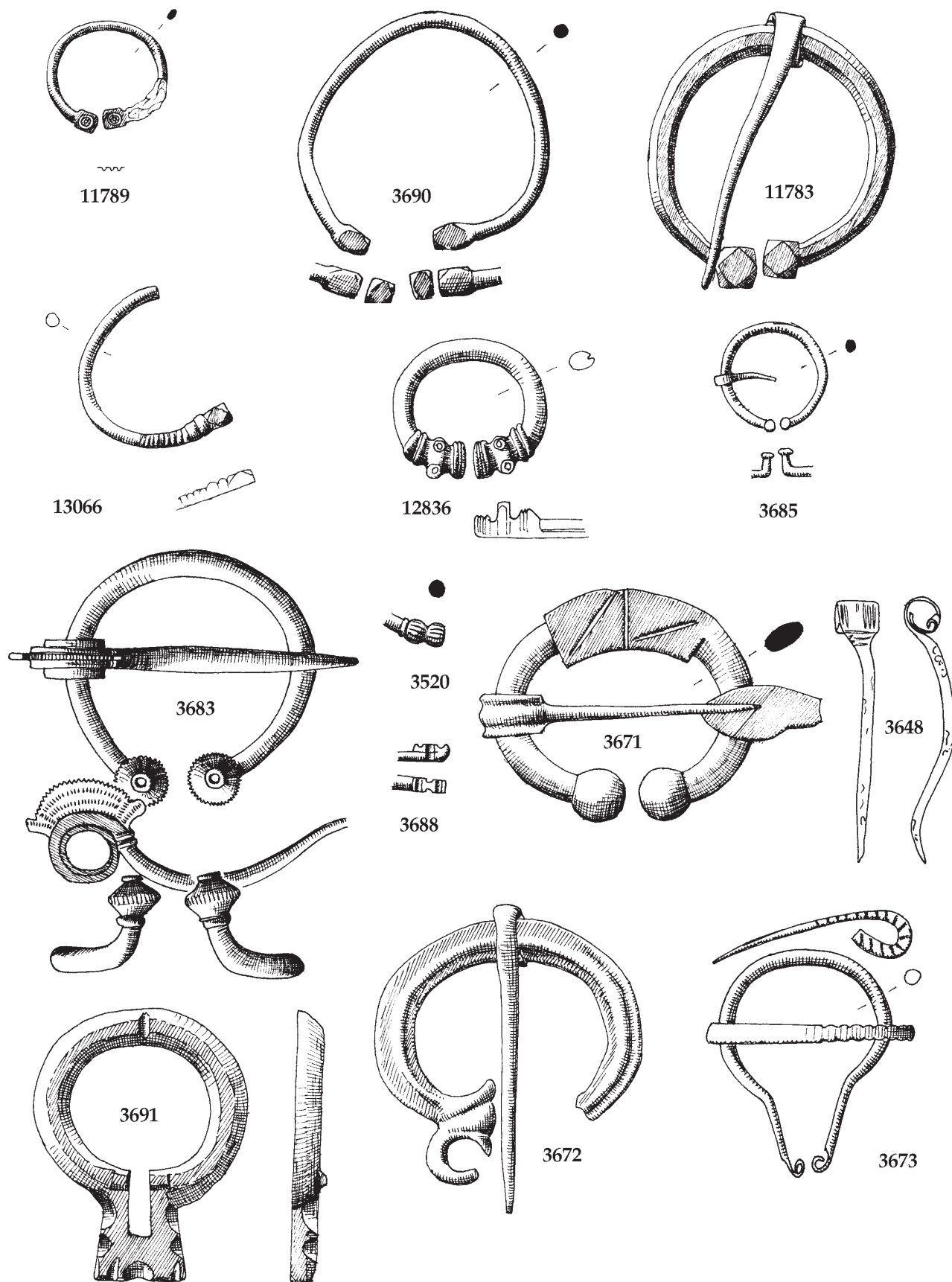
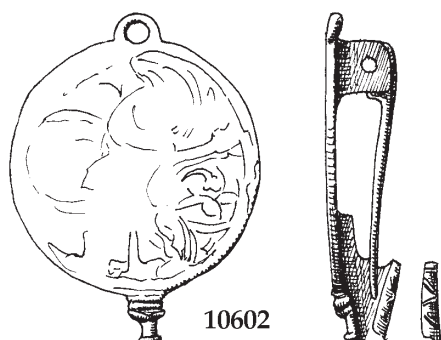
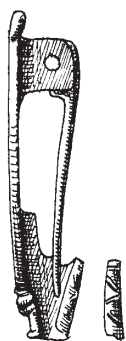


PLATE 150



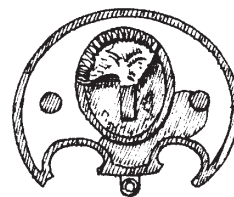
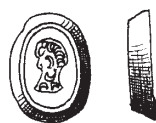
10602

pt 1, 1x



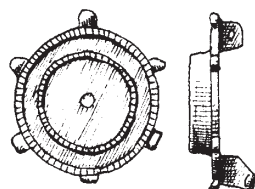
10836

pt 1, 3.1a



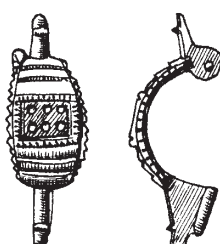
10840

pt 1, 3.a4



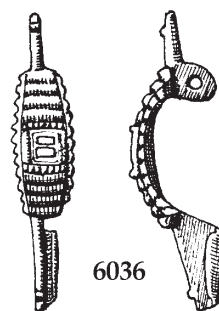
10696

pt 1, 4



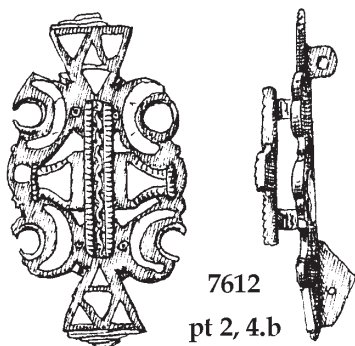
8172

pt 2, 2.c2



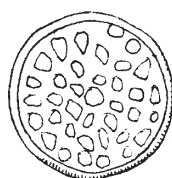
6036

pt 2, 2.c2



7612

pt 2, 4.b



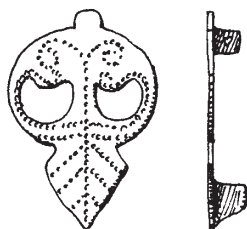
11072

pt 2, 8.a



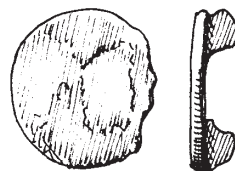
10631

pt 2, 12



14303

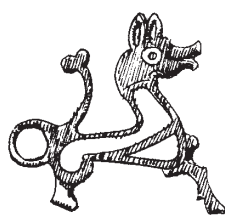
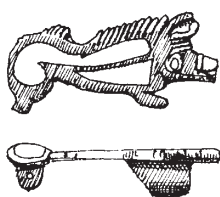
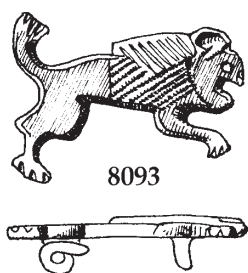
pt 2, 20x



14322

pt 2, UNC 3





Supplementary PLATE 2

